# THE BOOK WAS DRENCHED

# LIVES OF THE ENGLISH POETS

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# CONTENTS OF VOLUME II


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| SMITH | 1 |
| Appendix A | 22 |
| DUKE | 24 |
| KING | 26 |
| SPRAT | 32 |
| Appendices B, C | 38, 39 |
| HALIFAX | 41 |
| Appendix D | 48 |
| PARNELL | 49 |
| Appendices E to G | 55, 56 |
| GARTH | 57 |
| ROWE | 65 |
| Appendix H | 78 |
| ADDISON | 79 |
| Appendices I to Y | 150–158 |
| HUGHES | 159 |
| Appendix Z | 165 |
| SHEFFIELD | 167 |
| Appendices AA to EE | 177–179 |
| PRIOR | 180 |
| CONGREVE | 212 |
| BLACKMORE | 235 |
| FENTON | 257 |
| GAY | 267 |
| GRANVILLE | 286 |
| YALDEN | 297 |
| TICKELL | 304 |
| HAMMOND | 312 |
| SOMERVILE | 317 |
| YVAGE | 321 |
| Appendices FF to KK | 435–440 |

# LIVES OF THE ENGLISH POETS

## IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER


| | VOL. | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| ADDISON | II | 79 |
| AKENSIDE | III | 411 |
| BLACKMORE | II | 235 |
| BROOME | III | 75 |
| BUTLER | I | 201 |
| COLLINS | III | 334 |
| CONGREVE | II | 212 |
| COWLEY | I | 1 |
| DENHAM | I | 70 |
| DORSET | I | 303 |
| DRYDEN | I | 331 |
| DUKE | II | 24 |
| DYER | III | 343 |
| FENTON | II | 257 |
| GARTH | II | 57 |
| GAY | II | 267 |
| GRANVILLE | II | 286 |
| GRAY | III | 421 |
| HALIFAX | II | 41 |
| HAMMOND | II | 312 |
| HUGHES | II | 159 |
| KING | II | 26 |
| LYTTELTON | III | 446 |
| MALLET | III | 400 |
| MILTON | I | 84 |
| OTWAY | I | 241 |
| PARNELL | II | 49 |
| PHILIPS, A. | III | 312 |
| PHILIPS, J. | I | 312 |
| PITT | III | 277 |
| POMFRET | I | 301 |
| POPE | III | 82 |
| ROCHESTER | I | 219 |
| PRIOR | II | 180 |
| ROSCOMMON | I | 229 |
| ROWE | II | 65 |
| SAVAGE | II | 321 |
| SHEFFIELD | II | 167 |
| SHENSTONE | III | 348 |
| SMITH, EDMUND | II | 1 |
| SOMERVILE | II | 317 |
| SPRAT | II | 32 |
| STEPNEY | I | 309 |
| SWIFT | III | 1 |
| THOMSON | III | 281 |
| TICKELL | II | 304 |
| WALLER | I | 249 |
| WALSH | I | 328 |
| WATTS | III | 302 |
| WEST | III | 328 |
| YALDEN | II | 297 |
| YOUNG | III | 361 |

# EDMUND SMITH

EDMUND SMITH is one of those lucky writers who have 1
without much labour attained high reputation, and who are mentioned with reverence rather for the possession than the exertion of uncommon abilities [1].

Of his life little is known; and that little claims no praise but 2
what can be given to intellectual excellence, seldom employed to any virtuous purpose. His character, as given by Mr. Oldisworth [2] with all the partiality of friendship, which is said by Dr. Burton to show 'what fine things one man of parts can say of another [3],' and which, however, comprises great part of what can be known of Mr. Smith, it is better to transcribe at once, than to take by pieces. I shall subjoin such little memorials as accident has enabled me to collect.

'Mr. EDMUND SMITH was the only son of an eminent merchant, one Mr. Neale, by a daughter of the famous baron Lechmere [4]. Some misfortunes of his father, which were soon after followed by his death, were the occasion of the son's being left very young in the hands of a near relation (one who married Mr. Neale's sister) whose name was Smith.

'This gentleman and his lady treated him as their own child, 4
and put him to Westminster-school under the care of Dr. Busby [5]; whence after the loss of his faithful and generous guardian (whose name he assumed and retained) he was removed to Christ-church, in Oxford, and there by his aunt handsomely maintained till her death; after which he continued a member of that learned and ingenious society till within five years of his own; though, some time before his leaving Christ-church, he was sent for by his

[1] His reputation did not win him a place in Campbell's *Specimens of the British Poets*, published forty years after the *Lives*.

[2] *Post*, BROOME, 3. Oldisworth was editor of the Tory *Examiner*. 'He is,' wrote Swift, 'an ingenious fellow, but the most confounded vain coxcomb in the world, so that I dare not let him see me.' Swift's *Works*, iii. 125. His character of Smith is prefixed to Smith's *Works*, ed. 1719.

[3] *The Genuineness of Lord Clarendon's History Vindicated*, &c. By John Burton, B.D., Fellow of Eton College. 1744, p. 40. *Post*, SMITH, 59.

[4] Nicholas Lechmere was one of the managers against Sacheverell. He was created Baron Lechmere in 1721. He is the hero of Swift's ballad *Duke upon Duke*, *Works*, xiii. 297. Hearne describes him as 'a man of parts, but a most vile stinking whigg.' *Remains*, i. 187.

[5] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 4.

mother to Worcester, and owned and acknowledged as her legitimate son, which had not been mentioned, but to wipe off the aspersions that were ignorantly cast by some on his birth. It is to be remembered for our author's honour that when at Westminster election he stood a candidate for one of the universities, he so signally distinguished himself by his conspicuous performances, that there arose no small contention between the representative electors of Trinity-college in Cambridge and Christ-church in Oxon, which of those two royal societies should adopt him as their own. But the electors of Trinity-college having the preference of choice that year, they resolutely elected him, who yet, being invited at the same time to Christ-church, chose to accept of a studentship there[1]. Mr. Smith's perfections, as well natural as acquired, seem to have been formed upon Horace's plan, who says in his *Art of Poetry*

> "Ego nec studium sine divite venâ,
> Nec rude quid prosit video ingenium: alterius sic
> Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amice[2]."

5 'He was endowed by Nature with all those excellent and necessary qualifications which are previous to the accomplishment of a great man. His memory was large and tenacious, yet by a *curious felicity chiefly* susceptible of the finest impressions it received from the best authors he read, which it always preserved in their primitive strength and amiable order.

6 'He had a quickness of apprehension and vivacity of understanding which easily took in and surmounted the most subtle and knotty parts of mathematicks and metaphysicks. His wit was prompt and flowing, yet solid and piercing; his taste delicate, his head clear, and his way of expressing his thoughts perspicuous and engaging. I shall say nothing of his person, which yet was so well *turned* that no neglect of himself in his dress could render it disagreeable; insomuch that the fair sex, who observed and esteemed him, at once commended and reproved him by the

[1] By the statutes of Queen Elizabeth 'three scholars of Westminster at least were to be elected annually on to the foundation of Christ Church and three to the foundation of Trinity.' The Dean of Christ Church, the Master of Trinity, and a Master of Arts of each College formed four of the seven electors. 'From the beginning boys preferred Oxford to Cambridge. A studentship at Christ Church was of considerable value, and was tenable until marriage or promotion. At Trinity a boy began as a Pensioner, and when, after a year's interval, he obtained a scholarship, he found it worth but half of what fell to his Oxford contemporary. Nor could he be sure of a fellowship.' J. SARGEAUNT, *Annals of Westminster School*, pp. 21, 31. See also *ib.* p. 111; *post*, HALIFAX, 2.

[2] *Ars Poetica*, l. 409.

'But art, if not enriched by nature's vein,
And a rude genius of uncultured strain,
Are useless both; but when in friendship joined,
A mutual succour in each other find.'
FRANCIS.

name of the *handsome sloven*. An eager but generous and noble emulation grew up with him, which (as it were a rational sort of instinct) pushed him upon striving to excel in every art and science that could make him a credit to his college, and that college the ornament of the most learned and polite university; and it was his happiness to have several contemporaries and fellow-students who exercised and excited this virtue in themselves and others, thereby becoming so deservedly in favour with this age, and so good a proof of its nice discernment. His judgement, naturally good, soon ripened into an exquisite fineness and distinguishing sagacity, which as it was active and busy so it was vigorous and manly, keeping even paces with a rich and strong imagination, always upon the wing, and never tired with aspiring. Hence it was that, though he writ as young as Cowley, he had no puerilities; and his earliest productions were so far from having any thing in them mean and trifling that, like the junior compositions of Mr. Stepney, they may make grey authors blush [1]. There are many of his first essays in oratory, in epigram, elegy, and epique still handed about the university in manuscript, which shew a masterly hand; and, though maimed and injured by frequent transcribing, make their way into our most celebrated miscellanies, where they shine with uncommon lustre. Besides those verses in the Oxford books, which he could not help setting his name to, several of his compositions came abroad under other names, which his own singular modesty and faithful silence strove in vain to conceal. The Encaenia and public Collections of the University upon State Subjects were never in such esteem, either for elegy or congratulation, as when he contributed most largely to them; and it was natural for those who knew his peculiar way of writing to turn to his share in the work, as by far the most relishing part of the entertainment. As his parts were extraordinary, so he well knew how to improve them; and not only to polish the diamond, but enchase it in the most solid and durable metal. Though he was an academick the greatest part of his life, yet he contracted no sourness of temper, no spice of pedantry, no itch of disputation, or obstinate contention for the old or new philosophy, no assuming way of dictating to others; which are faults (though excusable) which some are insensibly led into, who are constrained to dwell long within the walls of a private college. His conversation was pleasant and instructive, and what Horace said of Plotius, Varius, and Virgil might justly be applied to him:

"Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus Amico [2]."

[1] *Ante*, STEPNEY, 3.

[2] *Sat.* i. 5. 44.

'For sure no blessing in the power of fate
Can be compared in sanity of mind
To friends of such companionable kind.' FRANCIS.

7 'As correct a writer as he was in his most elaborate pieces he read the works of others with candour, and reserved his greatest severity for his own compositions; being readier to cherish and advance than damp or depress a rising genius, and as patient of being excelled himself (if any could excel him) as industrious to excel others.

8 ''Twere to be wished he had confined himself to a particular profession, who was capable of surpassing in any; but in this his want of application was in a great measure owing to his want of due encouragement.

9 'He passed through the exercises of the college and university with unusual applause, and though he often suffered his friends to call him off from his retirements and to lengthen out those jovial avocations, yet his return to his studies was so much the more passionate, and his intention upon those refined pleasures of reading and thinking so vehement (to which his facetious and unbended intervals bore no proportion), that the habit grew upon him, and the series of meditation and reflection being kept up whole weeks together he could better sort his ideas and take in the sundry parts of a science at one view without interruption or confusion. Some indeed of his acquaintance, who were pleased to distinguish between the wit and the scholar, extolled him altogether on the account of the first of these titles; but others, who knew him better, could not forbear doing him justice as a prodigy in both kinds. He had signalized himself in the schools, as a philosopher and polemick of extensive knowledge and deep penetration, and went through all the courses with a wise regard to the dignity and importance of each science. I remember him in the Divinity-school responding and disputing with a perspicuous energy, a ready exactness, and commanding force of argument, when Dr. Jane worthily presided in the chair[1]; whose condescending and disinterested commendation of him gave him such a reputation as silenced the envious malice of his enemies, who durst not contradict the approbation of so profound a master in theology. None of those self-sufficient creatures, who have either trifled with philosophy by attempting to ridicule it, or have encumbered it with novel terms and burdensome explanations, understood its real weight and purity half so well as Mr. Smith. He was too discerning to allow of the character of unprofitable, rugged, and abstruse, which some superficial sciolists (so very smooth and polite as to admit of no impression), either out of an unthinking indolence or an ill-grounded prejudice, had affixed to this sort of studies. He

[1] William Jane was Regius Professor of Divinity from 1680 to 1707. 'He had borne the chief part in framing that decree by which his University ordered the works of Milton and Buchanan to be publicly burned in the Schools.' MACAULAY, *History*, v. 97. See *ante*, MILTON, 99 *n*.

knew the thorny terms of philosophy served well to fence in the true doctrines of religion, and looked upon school-divinity as upon a rough but well-wrought armour, which might at once adorn and defend the Christian hero and equip him for the combat.

'Mr. Smith had a long and perfect intimacy with all the Greek 10
and Latin Classicks, with whom he had carefully compared whatever was worth perusing in the French, Spanish, and Italian (to which languages he was no stranger), and in all the celebrated writers of his own country. But then, according to the curious observation of the late earl of Shaftesbury, he kept the poet in awe by regular criticism[1], and, as it were, married the two arts for their mutual support and improvement. There was not a tract of credit upon that subject which he had not diligently examined, from Aristotle down to Hedelin[2] and Bossu[3]; so that, having each rule constantly before him, he could carry the art through every poem, and at once point out the graces and deformities. By this means he seemed to read with a design to correct, as well as imitate.

'Being thus prepared he could not but taste every little 11
delicacy that was set before him, though it was impossible for him at the same time to be fed and nourished with any thing but what was substantial and lasting. He considered the ancients and moderns not as parties or rivals for fame, but as architects upon one and the same plan, the Art of Poetry, according to which he judged, approved, and blamed, without flattery or detraction. If he did not always commend the compositions of others it was not ill-nature (which was not in his temper) but strict justice that would not let him call a few flowers set in ranks a glib measure and so many couplets by the name of poetry: he was of Ben Jonson's opinion, who could not admire

[1] The writer refers, I believe, to Shaftesbury's *Advice to an Author*, in *Characteristics*. In vol. i. p. 186, ed. 1714, he writes:—'As cruel a court as the Inquisition appears, there must, it seems, be full as formidable a one erected in ourselves. ... We hope that by our method of practice, and the help of the grand *Arcanum* which we have professed to reveal, this regimen, or discipline of the fancies, may not in the end prove so severe or mortifying as is imagined.'

[2] François Hedelin, Abbé d'Aubignac (1604–76). 'Sa *Pratique du théâtre* est peu lue; il prouva par sa tragédie de *Zénobie* que les connaissances ne donnent pas les talens.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xvii. 43.

'Il s'applaudissait d'avoir fait une pièce selon toutes les règles d'Aristote. Ce qui fit dire à M. le Prince, le Grand Condé:—"Je sais bon gré à M. l'Abbé d'Aubignac d'avoir si bien suivi les règles d'Aristote; mais je ne pardonne pas aux règles d'Aristote d'avoir fait faire une si méchante tragédie à M. l'Abbé d'Aubignac."' *Œuvres de Boileau*, v. 155.

[3] René Lebossu (1631–80). 'Son *Traité sur le Poeme épique* a beaucoup de réputation, mais il ne fera jamais de poètes.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xvii. 117. See *ante*, MILTON, 209.

"—Verses as smooth and soft as cream,
In which there was neither depth nor stream[1]."

12 'And therefore, though his want of complaisance for some men's overbearing vanity made him enemies, yet the better part of mankind were obliged by the freedom of his reflections.

13 'His Bodleian Speech[2], though taken from a remote and imperfect copy, hath shewn the world how great a master he was of the Ciceronian eloquence, mixed with the conciseness and force of Demosthenes, the elegant and moving turns of Pliny, and the acute and wise reflections of Tacitus.

14 'Since Temple[3] and Roscommon[4], no man understood Horace better, especially as to his happy diction, rolling numbers, beautiful imagery, and alternate mixture of the soft and the sublime. This endeared Dr. Hannes's[5] odes to him, the finest genius for Latin lyrick since the Augustan Age. His friend Mr. Philips's ode to Mr. St. John (late Lord Bolingbroke), after the manner of Horace's Lusory or Amatorian Odes, is certainly a masterpiece[6]; but Mr. Smith's *Pocockius*[7] is of the sublimer kind, though, like Waller's writings upon Oliver Cromwell[8], it wants not the most delicate and surprising turns peculiar to the person praised. I do not remember to have seen any thing like it in Dr. Bathurst[9], who had made some attempts this way with applause. He was an excellent judge of humanity; and so good an historian that in familiar discourse he would talk over the most memorable facts in antiquity, the lives, actions, and characters of celebrated men, with amazing facility and accuracy. As he had thoroughly read and digested Thuanus's works so he was able to copy after him; and his talent in this kind was so well known and allowed that he had been singled

[1] 'Others there are that have no composition at all, but a kind of tuning and rhyming fall in what they write. It runs and slides, and only makes a sound. Women's-poets they are called, as you have women's-taylors.
They write a verse as smooth, as soft as cream,
In which there is no torrent nor scarce stream.'
Jonson's *Works*, ed. 1756, vii. 93.

[2] *Oratio . . . in laudem . . . T. Bodleii.* 'Dr. John Morris, who died in 1648, bequeathed £5 annually to be paid to some M.A. of Christ Church, chosen by the Dean, for a speech in honour of Sir Thomas Bodley.' Smith delivered the speech in 1701. The MS. is in the Library, 'very beautifully written in imitation of typography.' W. D. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*, 1890, p. 150.

[3] Sir William Temple made a few translations from Horace. *Works*, 1757, iii. 535.

[4] *Ante*, ROSCOMMON, 30.

[5] *Ante*, JOHN PHILIPS, 14.

[6] *Ib.*

[7] *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 122; *post*, SMITH, 30. In *Gent. Mag.* 1750, p. 575, is advertised:—'*Thales. A Monody sacred to the Memory of Dr. Pococke.* From an authentic manuscript of Mr. Edm. Smith, author of *Phaedra and Hippolitus.*

[8] *Ante*, WALLER, 128.

[9] Ralph Bathurst, President of Trinity College, Oxford, from 1665 to 1704. 'He is accounted a most celebrated Latin Poet.' WOOD, *Fasti Oxon.* ii. 183.

out by some great men to write a history, which it was for their interest to have done with the utmost art and dexterity. I shall not mention for what reasons this design was dropped, though they are very much to Mr. Smith's honour[1]. The truth is, and I speak it before living witnesses, whilst an agreeable company could fix him upon a subject of useful literature, nobody shone to greater advantage: he seemed to be that Memmius whom Lucretius speaks of:

"Quem tu, Dea, tempore in omni
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus[2]."

'His works are not many, and those scattered up and down in 15
Miscellanies and Collections, being wrested from him by his friends with great difficulty and reluctance. All of them together make but a small part of that much greater body which lies dispersed in the possession of numerous acquaintance; and cannot perhaps be made entire, without great injustice to him, because few of them had his last hand, and the transcriber was often obliged to take the liberties of a friend. His condolence for the death of Mr. Philips is full of the noblest beauties[3], and hath done justice to the ashes of that second Milton[4], whose writings will last as long as the English language, generosity, and valour. For him Mr. Smith had contracted a perfect friendship[5]; a passion he was most susceptible of, and whose laws he looked upon as sacred and inviolable.

'Every subject that passed under his pen had all the life, 16
proportion, and embellishments bestowed on it which an exquisite skill, a warm imagination, and a cool judgement could possibly bestow on it. The epique, lyrick, elegiack, every sort of poetry he touched upon (and he touched upon a great variety), was raised to its proper height, and the differences between each of them observed with a judicious accuracy. We saw the old rules and new beauties placed in admirable order by each other; and there was a predominant fancy and spirit of his own infused, superior to what some draw off from the ancients, or from poesies here and there culled out of the moderns, by a painful industry and servile imitation. His contrivances were adroit and magnificent; his images lively and adequate; his sentiments charming and majestick; his expressions natural and bold; his numbers various and sounding; and that enameled mixture of classical wit, which, without redundance and affectation, sparkled through his writings, and was no less pertinent and agreeable.

'His *Phædra*[6] is a consummate tragedy, and the success of it 17

[1] *Post*, SMITH, 43.
[2] Lucretius, i. 27.
[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 108; *post*, SMITH, 51.
[4] *Ante*, MILTON, 156.
[5] *Ante*, JOHN PHILIPS, 3.
[6] *Phaedra and Hippolitus*, *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 3.

was as great as the most sanguine expectations of his friends could promise or foresee. The number of nights, and the common method of filling the house, are not always the surest marks of judging what encouragement a play meets with; but the generosity of all the persons of a refined taste about town was remarkable on this occasion; and it must not be forgotten how zealously Mr. Addison espoused his interest[1], with all the elegant judgement and diffusive good-nature for which that accomplished gentleman and author is so justly valued by mankind. But as to *Phædra*, she has certainly made a finer figure under Mr. Smith's conduct, upon the English stage, than either Rome or Athens; and if she excels the Greek and Latin *Phædra*, I need not say she surpasses the French one, though embellished with whatever regular beauties and moving softness Racine himself could give her.

18 'No man had a juster notion of the difficulty of composing than Mr. Smith, and he sometimes would create greater difficulties than he had reason to apprehend. Writing with ease what (as Mr. Wycherley speaks) may be easily written[2] moved his indignation. When he was writing upon a subject, he would seriously consider what Demosthenes, Homer, Virgil, or Horace, if alive, would say upon that occasion, which whetted him to exceed himself as well as others. Nevertheless, he could not, or would not, finish several subjects he undertook; which may be imputed either to the briskness of his fancy, still hunting after new matter, or to an occasional indolence, which spleen and lassitude brought upon him, which, of all his foibles, the world was least inclined to forgive. That this was not owing to conceit and vanity, or a fulness of himself (a frailty which has been imputed to no less men than Shakespeare and Jonson), is clear from hence—because he left his works to the entire disposal of his friends, whose most rigorous censures he even courted and solicited; submitting to their animadversions, and the freedom they took with them, with an unreserved and prudent resignation.

19 'I have seen sketches and rough draughts of some poems he designed set out analytically; wherein the fable, structure, and connexion, the images, incidents, moral, episodes, and a great variety of ornaments, were so finely laid out, so well fitted to the rules of art, and squared so exactly to the precedents of the ancients, that I have often looked on these poetical elements with the same concern with which curious men are affected at the sight of the most entertaining remains and ruins of an antique figure or building. Those fragments of the learned, which some

[1] *Post*, SMITH, 46–49.

[2] 'Blockheads (said Congreve) suppose easy writing to be what any man can write easily.' *The Guardian*, 1789, i. 104 *n.*

men have been so proud of their pains in collecting, are useless rarities without form and without life when compared with these embryos, which wanted not spirit enough to preserve them; so that I cannot help thinking that if some of them were to come abroad, they would be as highly valued by the poets as the sketches of Julio and Titian are by the painters, though there is nothing in them but a few outlines as to the design and proportion.

'It must be confessed that Mr. Smith had some defects in 20
his conduct, which those are most apt to remember who could imitate him in nothing else. His freedom with himself drew severer acknowledgements from him than all the malice he ever provoked was capable of advancing, and he did not scruple to give even his misfortunes the hard name of faults; but if the world had half his good-nature all the shady parts would be entirely struck out of his character.

'A man who, under poverty, calamities, and disappointments, 21
could make so many friends, and those so truly valuable, must have just and noble ideas of the passion of friendship, in the success of which consisted the greatest, if not the only, happiness of his life. He knew very well what was due to his birth, though Fortune threw him short of it in every other circumstance of life. He avoided making any, though perhaps reasonable, complaints of her dispensations, under which he had honour enough to be easy, without touching the favours she flung in his way when offered to him at the price of a more durable reputation. He took care to have no dealings with mankind, in which he could not be just; and he desired to be at no other expence in his pretensions than that of intrinsick merit, which was the only burthen and reproach he ever brought upon his friends. He could say, as Horace did of himself, what I never yet saw translated:

'Meo sum pauper in ære[1].'

'At his coming to town no man was more surrounded by all 22
those who really had or pretended to wit, or more courted by the great men, who had then a power and opportunity of encouraging arts and sciences, and gave proofs of their fondness for the name of Patron in many instances, which will ever be remembered to their glory. Mr. Smith's character grew upon his friends by intimacy, and outwent the strongest prepossessions, which had been conceived in his favour. Whatever quarrel a few sour creatures, whose obscurity is their happiness, may possibly have to the age, yet amidst a studied neglect, and total disuse of all those ceremonial attendances, fashionable equipments, and external recommendations, which are thought necessary introductions into the *grand monde*, this gentleman was so happy as still to

[1] *Epis.* ii. 2. 12. 'My stock is little, but that stock my own.' FRANCIS.

please; and whilst the rich, the gay, the noble, and honourable saw how much he excelled in wit and learning, they easily forgave him all other differences. Hence it was that both his acquaintance and retirements were his own free choice. What Mr. Prior observes upon a very great character was true of him: 'that most of his faults brought their excuse with them [1].'

23 'Those who blamed him most understood him least: it being the custom of the vulgar to charge an excess upon the most complaisant, and to form a character by the morals of a few who have sometimes spoiled an hour or two in good company. Where only fortune is wanting to make a great name, that single exception can never pass upon the best judges and most equitable observers of mankind; and when the time comes for the world to spare their pity we may justly enlarge our demands upon them for their admiration.

24 'Some few years before his death he had engaged himself in several considerable undertakings; in all which he had prepared the world to expect mighty things from him. I have seen about ten sheets of his *English Pindar* [2], which exceeded any thing of that kind I could ever hope for in our own language. He had drawn out the plan of a tragedy of the *Lady Jane Grey*, and had gone through several scenes of it. But he could not well have bequeathed that work to better hands than where, I hear, it is at present lodged [3]; and the bare mention of two such names may justify the largest expectations, and is sufficient to make the town an agreeable invitation.

25 'His greatest and noblest undertaking was Longinus. He had finished an entire translation of the *Sublime*, which he sent to the reverend Mr. Richard Parker [4], a friend of his, late of Merton College, an exact critick in the Greek tongue, from whom it came to my hands. The French version of Monsieur Boileau, though truly valuable, was far short of it. He proposed a large addition to this work, of notes and observations of his own, with an entire system of the Art of Poetry, in three books, under the titles of *Thought*, *Diction*, and *Figure*. I saw the last of these perfect, and in a fair copy, in which he shewed prodigious judgement and reading; and particularly had reformed the Art of Rhetorick, by reducing that vast and confused heap of terms, with which a long succession of pedants had encumbered the world, to a very narrow compass, comprehending all that was useful and ornamental in

[1] Prior wrote of the Earl of Dorset:—'His faults brought their excuse with them, and his very failings had their beauties.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 133.

[2] *Post*, SMITH, 53.

[3] *Post*, SMITH, 54, 66; ROWE, 16.

[4] 'He was an excellent classic scholar, and was acquainted with the chief wits of the University, among whom he would be very merry and facetious, but he was very modest and even sheepish, and would be very shy in strange company. He was commonly called *learned Dick Parker*.' HEARNE, *Remains*, iii. 24.

poetry. Under each head and chapter he intended to make remarks upon all the ancients and moderns, the Greek, Latin, English, French, Spanish, and Italian poets, and to note their several beauties and defects.

'What remains of his works is left, as I am informed, in the 26
hands of men of worth and judgement, who loved him. It cannot be supposed they would suppress any thing that was his, but out of respect to his memory, and for want of proper hands to finish what so great a genius had begun [1].'

SUCH is the declamation of Oldisworth, written while his 27
admiration was yet fresh, and his kindness warm; and therefore such as, without any criminal purpose of deceiving, shews a strong desire to make the most of all favourable truth. I cannot much commend the performance. The praise is often indistinct, and the sentences are loaded with words of more pomp than use. There is little however that can be contradicted, even when a plainer tale comes to be told.

EDMUND NEAL, known by the name of Smith, was born 28
at Handley [2], the seat of the Lechmeres, in Worcestershire. The year of his birth is uncertain.

He was educated at Westminster. It is known to have been 29
the practice of Dr. Busby to detain those youths long at school, of whom he had formed the highest expectations [3]. Smith took his Master's degree on the 8th of July, 1696; he therefore was probably admitted into the university in 1689, when we may suppose him twenty years old [4].

His reputation for literature in his college was such as has been 30
told; but the indecency and licentiousness of his behaviour drew upon him, Dec. 24, 1694, while he was yet only Batchelor, a publick admonition, entered upon record, in order to his expulsion [5]. Of this reproof the effect is not known. He was probably

[1] [In 1777 the work was still unpublished. *Gent. Mag.* xlvii. 110, 371. In 1739 had appeared a translation of Longinus by William Smith, D.D., of New College, Oxford, afterwards Dean of Chester.]

[2] Hanley Castle, near Upton upon Severn. Lewis's *Top. Dict.*

[3] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 4. Four years after Busby's death W. Wogan, 'at about the age of twenty,' being captain of the school, was employed to copy the MS. of Clarendon's *History*, and 'stayed a year extraordinary at the School for this purport.' Burton's *Genuineness*, &c., pp. 136, 140.

[4] He matriculated at Christ Church on June 25, 1688, aged 16. *Alumni Oxon.*

[5] 'Dec. 24, 1694, Ds. [Dominus] Smith was admonished for habitual irregularities in order to his expulsion.' Burton's *Genuineness*, &c., p. 42.

less notorious. At Oxford, as we all know, much will be forgiven to literary merit; and of that he had exhibited sufficient evidence by his excellent ode on the death of the great Orientalist, Dr. Pocock[1], who died in 1691, and whose praise must have been written by Smith when he had been yet but two years in the university.

31 This ode, which closed the second volume of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*[2], though perhaps some objections may be made to its Latinity, is by far the best Lyrick composition in that collection; nor do I know where to find it equalled among the modern writers[3]. It expresses with great felicity images not classical in classical diction: its digressions and returns have been deservedly recommended by Trapp as models for imitation[4].

32 He has several imitations of Cowley:

'Vestitur hinc tot sermo coloribus
Quot tu, Pococki, dissimilis tui
Orator effers, quot vicissim
Te memores celebrare gaudent.'

33 I will not commend the figure which makes the orator *pronounce colours*, or give to *colours memory* and *delight*. I quote it, however, as an imitation of these lines:

'So many languages he had in store,
That only Fame shall speak of him in more[5].'

34 The simile by which an old man retaining the fire of his youth is compared to Ætna flaming through the snow, which Smith has

[1] *Ante*, SMITH, 14. 'Since the days of Pocock and Hyde Oriental learning has always been the pride of Oxford.' GIBBON, *Memoirs*, p. 61.

[2] Ed. 1741, ii. 196; *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 122; *post*, ADDISON, 10. Lord Lyttelton, the elegant scholar, described the *Musæ* as 'an admirable anonymous collection, from which Eton boys used largely to "crib," and I presume do still.' *N. & Q.* 5 S. ii. 289.

[3] Smith said that 'Addison's poem on the Peace of Ryswick was the best Latin poem since the *Aeneid*.' *Post*, ADDISON, 18.

[4] Trapp quotes the following lines:—

'Quin nunc requiris tecta virentia
Nini ferocis, nunc Babel arduum,
Immane opus! crescentibusque
Vertice sideribus propinquum!
Nequicquam; amici disparibus sonis
Eludit aures nescius artifex,
Linguasque miratur recentes,
In patriis peregrinus oris.
Vestitur hinc, &c.' [for the continuation see next paragraph in the text].

Trapp continues:—'Quam eleganter ab instituto divertit, ut Babel et linguas confusas pulcherrime describat; inde quam eleganter redit ad laudes viri linguarum peritia insignissimi!' *Praelectiones Poeticae*, ed. 1722, p. 228.

[5] 'Who had so many languages in store,' &c.
*On the Death of Sir Henry Wotton*, *Eng. Poets*, vii. 113.

used with great pomp[1], is stolen from Cowley[2], however little worth the labour of conveyance.

He proceeded to take his degree of Master of Arts, July 8, 1696. 35
Of the exercises which he performed on that occasion I have not heard any thing memorable.

As his years advanced, he advanced in reputation: for he 36
continued to cultivate his mind, though he did not amend his irregularities, by which he gave so much offence that, April 24, 1700, the Dean and Chapter declared 'the place of Mr. Smith void, he having been convicted of riotous misbehaviour in the house of Mr. Cole, an apothecary; but it was referred to the Dean when and upon what occasion the sentence should be put in execution[3].'

Thus tenderly was he treated: the governors of his college 37
could hardly keep him, and yet wished that he would not force them to drive him away[4].

Some time afterwards he assumed an appearance of decency; 38
in his own phrase he *whitened* himself, having a desire to obtain the censorship, an office of honour and some profit in the college; but when the election came the preference was given to Mr. Foulkes, his junior; the same, I suppose, that joined with Freind in an edition of part of Demosthenes[5]: the censor is a tutor, and it was not thought proper to trust the superintendance of others to a man who took so little care of himself[6].

From this time Smith employed his malice and his wit against 39
the Dean, Dr. Aldrich, whom he considered as the opponent of his claim. Of his lampoon upon him I once heard a single line too gross to be repeated.

But he was still a genius and a scholar, and Oxford was unwilling 40
to lose him: he was endured, with all his pranks and his vices, two years longer; but on Dec. 20, 1705, at the instance of all the canons the sentence declared five years before was put in execution[7].

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 124.
[2] *Ode to Mr. Hobbes*, *Ib.* viii. 136.
[3] Burton's *Genuineness*, &c, p. 42.
[4] For the expulsion of six Methodists from Oxford in 1768 for 'publicly praying and exhorting' see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 187.
[5] It was the same Peter Foulkes who, with John Freind, edited the *De Corona* and *In Ctesiphontem* in 1696.
[6] Burton's *Genuineness*, &c., p. 41.
[7] *Ib.* p. 42. [A writer who signs himself 'Philalethes Oxoniensis' contends in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Sept. 1822, p. 222) that the evidence of Smith's expulsion for misconduct rests on untrustworthy report. He

41 The execution was, I believe, silent and tender; for one of his friends, from whom I learned much of his life, appeared not to know it.

42 He was now driven to London[1], where he associated himself with the Whigs, whether because they were in power, or because the Tories had expelled him, or because he was a Whig by principle, may perhaps be doubted. He was however caressed by men of great abilities, whatever were their party, and was supported by the liberality of those who delighted in his conversation.

43 There was once a design hinted at by Oldisworth to have made him useful. One evening, as he was sitting with a friend at a tavern, he was called down by the waiter, and, having staid some time below, came up thoughtful. After a pause, said he to his friend, 'He that wanted me below was Addison, whose business was to tell me that a History of the Revolution was intended, and to propose that I should undertake it[2]. I said, "What shall I do with the character of lord Sunderland[3]?" and Addison immediately returned, "When, Rag, were you drunk last?" and went away.'

44 Captain *Rag* was a name which he got at Oxford by his negligence of dress[4].

points out that the society of Christ Church consisted of 101 students, and of these the highest twenty (*theologi*) were required to enter into orders 'sub poenâ amotionis.' By 1705, sixteen years from his matriculation, according to a computation made by the list in 1822, Smith would have reached the number when he became subject to the statute, unless he obtained 'a faculty studentship.' He would not take orders and so *ipso facto* vacated his studentship.]

[1] In 1690 he had become a student of the Inner Temple. *Alumni Oxon.*

[2] *Ante*, SMITH, 14.

[3] Smith, I suppose, saw great difficulty in honestly drawing the character of the first Earl of Sunderland while his son, the second Earl, was Secretary of State. For the first Earl see Macaulay's *Hist.* i. 256.

[4] Burton wrote more than twenty years after Smith's death:—'He was, and is still, commonly known by the name of Captain Rag.' *Genuineness*, &c., p. 40.

Lord Castledurrow wrote to Swift in 1736:—'It grieves me to think that over Virgil and Horace Rag and Philips smoked many a pipe, and drank many a quart with me, besides the expense of a bushel of nuts, and that now I am scarce able to relish their beauties.' Swift's *Works*, xix. 17.

'The fair sex used at once to commend and reprove him by the name of the *Handsome Sloven*.' *Biog. Brit.* Supple. p. 162.

According to a writer in *Gent. Mag.* 1780, p. 280, he was nicknamed 'from his gown, which was always flying in rags about him, and to conceal which he wore one end of it in his pocket, a practice still common among the young *Rags* of the present day.' His fame lasted long. Forty-three years after his death Joseph Warton, in *The Adventurer*, No. 59, described how 'minute rhymers neglect to change their linen because Smith was a sloven.'

This story I heard from the late Mr. Clark of Lincoln's Inn [1], 45
to whom it was told by the friend of Smith.

Such scruples might debar him from some profitable employ- 46
ments, but as they could not deprive him of any real esteem they left him many friends; and no man was ever better introduced to the theatre than he who, in that violent conflict of parties, had a Prologue and Epilogue from the first wits on either side [2].

But learning and nature will now and then take different courses. 47
His play pleased the criticks, and the criticks only. It was, as Addison has recorded, hardly heard the third night [3]. Smith had indeed trusted entirely to his merit; had ensured no band of applauders, nor used any artifice to force success, and found that naked excellence was not sufficient for its own support.

The play, however, was bought by Lintot [4], who advanced the 48
price from fifty guineas, the current rate, to sixty [5]; and Halifax, the general patron, accepted the dedication [6]. Smith's indolence kept him from writing the dedication, till Lintot, after fruitless importunity, gave notice that he would publish the play without it. Now therefore it was written; and Halifax expected the author with his book, and had prepared to reward him with a place of three hundred pounds a year. Smith, by pride, or caprice, or indolence, or bashfulness, neglected to attend him,

[1] Johnson in his *Shakespeare*, viii. 337, describes him as 'the late learned and ingenious Mr. Thomas Clark of Lincoln's Inn.'

[2] For his *Phaedra and Hippolitus* Addison wrote the prologue (Addison's *Works*, vi. 533) and Prior the epilogue (*Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 92), in which 'he is very happily facetious.' *Post*, PRIOR, 60. It begins:—

'Ladies, to-night your pity I implore
For one who never troubled you before;
An Oxford man, extremely read in Greek,
Who from Euripides makes Phaedra speak;
And comes to town to let us Moderns know
How women loved two thousand years ago.'

[3] 'Would one think it was possible (at a time when an author lived that was able to write the *Phaedra and Hippolitus*) for a people to be so stupidly fond of the Italian opera as scarce to give a third day's hearing to that admirable tragedy?' *The Spectator*, No. 18.

[4] *Post*, POPE, 76.

[5] [Lintot's account book has only an entry of £50. 'Smith (Edmund), 1705-6. March 11. Phaedra and Hippolytus . . . 50 0*s*. 0*d*.' Nichols's *Lit. Anec.* viii. 301.]

[6] *Post*, HALIFAX, 11. Prior wrote to Hanmer on June 24, 1707:—'Phaedra is a prostitute, and Smith's dedication is nonsence—people do me a great deal of honour; they say when you and I had lookt over this piece for six months, the man could write verse; but when we had forsaken him, and he went over to St— [Steele] and Ad— [Addison] he could not write prose.' *Hanmer Corres.* p. 111.

though doubtless warned and pressed by his friends, and at last missed his reward by not going to solicit it[1].

49 Addison has, in *The Spectator*[2], mentioned the neglect of Smith's tragedy as disgraceful to the nation, and imputes it to the fondness for operas then prevailing. The authority of Addison is great; yet the voice of the people, when to please the people is the purpose, deserves regard[3]. In this question, I cannot but think the people in the right. The fable is mythological[4], a story which we are accustomed to reject as false, and the manners are so distant from our own that we know them not from sympathy, but by study: the ignorant do not understand the action, the learned reject it as a school-boy's tale; *incredulus odi*[5]. What I cannot for a moment believe, I cannot for a moment behold with interest or anxiety. The sentiments thus remote from life are removed yet further by the diction, which is too luxuriant and splendid for dialogue, and envelopes the thoughts rather than displays them. It is a scholar's play, such as may please the reader rather than the spectator; the work of a vigorous and elegant mind, accustomed to please itself with its own conceptions, but of little acquaintance with the course of life[6].

50 Dennis tells, in one of his pieces, that he had once a design to have written the tragedy of *Phædra*; but was convinced that the action was too mythological.

51 In 1709, a year after the exhibition of *Phædra*, died John Philips, the friend and fellow-collegian of Smith, who, on that occasion, wrote a poem, which justice must place among the best elegies which our language can shew, an elegant mixture of fondness and admiration, of dignity and softness[7]. There are some

[1] For Thomson's loss of a place by the same neglect see *post*, THOMSON, 27.

[2] *Ante*, SMITH, 47 *n.* Johnson, in *The Idler*, No. 60, makes Dick Minim, the critic, 'often lament the neglect of *Phaedra and Hippolitus*, and wish to see the stage under better regulations.'

[3] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 28. Hume says of eloquence that 'being merely calculated for the public and for men of the world, it cannot, with any pretence of reason, appeal from the people to more refined judges; but must submit to the public verdict without reserve or limitation.' *Essays*, 1770, i. 122.

[4] *Ante*, BUTLER, 41.

[5] HORACE, *Ars Poet.* l. 188. 'They shock our faith.' FRANCIS. Boswell says of Johnson:—'I never knew any person who, upon hearing an extraordinary circumstance told, discovered more of the *incredulus odi*.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 229.

[6] Johnson quotes the play in his *Dictionary*, under *Startle*. See *N. & Q.* 1 S. xi. 368.

[7] *Ante*, SMITH, 15. Philips died on Feb. 15, 1708-9. *Ante*, PHILIPS, 8. 'Mr. Smith, dining with the Prin-

passages too ludicrous[1]; but every human performance has its faults.

This elegy it was the mode among his friends to purchase for 52
a guinea; and, as his acquaintance was numerous, it was a very profitable poem.

Of his *Pindar*, mentioned by Oldisworth[2], I have never other- 53
wise heard. His *Longinus*[3] he intended to accompany with some illustrations, and had selected his instances of the false *Sublime* from the works of Blackmore.

He resolved to try again the fortune of the Stage, with the 54
story of Lady Jane Grey[4]. It is not unlikely that his experience of the inefficacy and incredibility of a mythological tale might determine him to choose an action from English History, at no great distance from our own times, which was to end in a real event, produced by the operation of known characters.

A subject will not easily occur that can give more opportuni- 55
ties of informing the understanding, for which Smith was unquestionably qualified, or for moving the passions, in which I suspect him to have had less power.

Having formed his plan and collected materials he declared 56
that a few months would complete his design; and, that he might pursue his work with less frequent avocations, he was, in June 1710, invited by Mr. George Ducket[5] to his house at Hartham[6] in Wiltshire. Here he found such opportunities of indulgence as did not much forward his studies, and particularly some strong ale, too delicious to be resisted. He eat and drank till he found himself plethorick; and then, resolving to ease himself by evacuation, he wrote to an apothecary in the neighbourhood a prescription of a purge so forcible, that the apothecary thought it his duty to delay it till he had given notice of its

cipal of Brasenose College, was decoyed into a promise of doing justice to his friend's memory, and was detained in a chamber in the Principal's Lodge, with the lock turned upon him for three days, at the end of which he produced the poem.' *Biog. Brit.* 1760, p. 3354.

[1] He attacks Blackmore, who had censured Philips for his ruggedness:—

'Yet not like thee the heavy critic soars,
But paints in fustian, or in turn deplores;
For far-fetch'd rhymes makes puzzled angels strain,
And in low prose dull Lucifer complain.' *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 113.

[2] *Ante*, SMITH, 24.

[3] *Ante*, SMITH, 25, 26.

[4] *Ante*, SMITH, 24.

[5] *Post*, POPE, 122, 153. Duckett was a Commissioner of the Excise. He died on Oct. 6, 1732. *Gent. Mag.* 1732, p. 1030.

[6] Gartham in the *Lives*. Hartham is near Chippenham.

danger. Smith, not pleased with the contradiction of a shopman, and boastful of his own knowledge, treated the notice with rude contempt, and swallowed his own medicine, which, in July 1710, brought him to the grave. He was buried at Hartham.

57 Many years afterwards, Ducket communicated to Oldmixon the historian an account, pretended to have been received from Smith, that Clarendon's *History* was, in its publication, corrupted by Aldrich, Smalridge, and Atterbury, and that Smith was employed to forge and insert the alterations [1].

58 This story was published triumphantly by Oldmixon, and may be supposed to have been eagerly received; but its progress was soon checked, for finding its way into the *Journal of Trevoux* [2] it fell under the eye of Atterbury, then an exile in France, who immediately denied the charge, with this remarkable particular, that he never in his whole life had once spoken to Smith [3]; his company being, as must be inferred, not accepted by those who attended to their characters.

59 The charge was afterwards very diligently refuted by Dr. Burton of Eaton [4], a man eminent for literature, and, though not of the same party with Aldrich and Atterbury [5], too studious of truth to leave them burthened with a false charge. The testimonies which he has collected have convinced mankind that either Smith or Ducket was guilty of wilful and malicious falsehood [6].

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] Atterbury, in his *Vindication*, says:—'An Holland-Journal gave me the first notice.' It was entitled *Bibliothèque Raisonnée des Ouvrages des Sçavans de l'Europe*, Amsterdam, 1730, p. 154. Burton's *Genuineness*, &c., pp. 125, 131. See also *Atterbury Corres.* i. 273.

[3] 'Atterbury learned in the ninthyear of his banishment, that he had been accused by Oldmixon, as dishonest and malignant a scribbler as any that has been saved from oblivion by *The Dunciad* [ii. 283], of having, in concert with other Christ-Church men, garbled Clarendon's *History*. . . . He published a short vindication of himself, which is a model in its kind, luminous, temperate, and dignified.' MACAULAY, *Misc. Writings*, 1871, p. 351.

The *Vindication* is reprinted in Burton's *Genuineness*, &c., p. 121, and in *Atterbury Corres.* 1783, i. 278. Oldmixon, in 1732, published a *Reply*. [Three years later he virtually abandoned the charge, though in a disingenuous manner. *Hist. of Eng.* 1735, Pref. p. 4.]

'In 1704 Atterbury wrote:—'*The Tale of a Tub* comes from Christ Church. . . . The authors are now supposed generally at Oxford to be one Smith and one Philips, the first a Student, the second a Commoner of Christ Church.' *Corres.* iii. 203, 214.

[4] *Ante*, SMITH, 2. His work was published in 1744, but we learn from the preface that part of it had appeared about twelve years earlier in the *Weekly Miscellany*. To this Oldmixon published a Reply, reprinted in Burton's *Genuineness*, &c., p. 141.

[5] Burton shows on pp. 103, 113 that he was a Whig.

[6] Oldmixon, in Duckett's lifetime,

This controversy brought into view those parts of Smith's life 60
which with more honour to his name might have been concealed.

Of Smith I can yet say a little more. He was a man of such 61
estimation among his companions that the casual censures or praises which he dropped in conversation were considered, like those of Scaliger, as worthy of preservation.

He had great readiness and exactness of criticism, and by a 62
cursory glance over a new composition would exactly tell all its faults and beauties.

He was remarkable for the power of reading with great 63
rapidity[1], and of retaining with great fidelity what he so easily collected.

He therefore always knew what the present question required; 64
and when his friends expressed their wonder at his acquisitions, made in a state of apparent negligence and drunkenness, he never discovered his hours of reading or method of study, but involved himself in affected silence, and fed his own vanity with their admiration and conjectures.

One practice he had, which was easily observed: if any thought 65
or image was presented to his mind that he could use or improve, he did not suffer it to be lost; but, amidst the jollity of a tavern or in the warmth of conversation, very diligently committed it to paper.

Thus it was that he had gathered two quires of hints for his 66
new tragedy; of which Rowe, when they were put into his hands, could make, as he says, very little use, but which the collector considered as a valuable stock of materials[2].

had published a letter, purporting to be written by him, in which it was stated that Smith had informed him of the interpolation. *Genuineness*, &c., p. 122. Burton remarks on this: —'We are not told of any death-bed repentance and confession [on Duckett's part]; but he has been thoroughly convicted of the falsehood of this report, which he dared not to defend, and was ashamed to retract.' *Ib.* p. 45.

[1] Baker records an anecdote showing the rapidity with which he composed. 'Mrs. Barry, who acted Phaedra, complaining to him at the rehearsal that she thought her exit in the third act too tame, he told her he would add something to it. While taking two or three turns across the stage he made the six following lines:—

"Now wider still my growing horrors spread,
My fame, my virtue, nay my frenzy's fled.
Then view thy wretched blood, imperial Jove.
If crimes enrage you, or misfortunes move,
On me your flames, on me your bolts employ,
Me, if your anger spares, your pity should destroy."'

*Biog. Dram.* iii. 141.

[2] *Ante*, SMITH, 24; *post*, ROWE, 16.

67 When he came to London his way of life connected him with the licentious and dissolute, and he affected the airs and gaiety of a man of pleasure; but his dress was always deficient[1]; scholastick cloudiness still hung about him; and his merriment was sure to produce the scorn of his companions.

68 With all his carelessness and all his vices he was one of the murmurers at Fortune; and wondered why he was suffered to be poor when Addison was caressed and preferred; nor would a very little have contented him, for he estimated his wants at six hundred pounds a year[2].

69 In his course of reading it was particular that he had diligently perused and accurately remembered the old romances of knight errantry.

70 He had a high opinion of his own merit, and something contemptuous in his treatment of those whom he considered as not qualified to oppose or contradict him. He had many frailties; yet it cannot but be supposed that he had great merit, who could obtain to the same play a prologue from Addison and an epilogue from Prior[3], and who could have at once the patronage of Halifax and the praise of Oldisworth.

71 For the power of communicating these minute memorials I am indebted to my conversation with Gilbert Walmsley, late register of the ecclesiastical court of Litchfield[4], who was acquainted both with Smith and Ducket; and declared that, if the tale concerning Clarendon were forged, he should suspect Ducket of the falsehood; 'for Rag was a man of great veracity.'

72 Of Gilbert Walmsley, thus presented to my mind, let me indulge myself in the remembrance. I knew him very early; he was one of the first friends that literature procured me, and I hope that at least my gratitude made me worthy of his notice.

73 He was of an advanced age, and I was only not a boy; yet he

[1] 'Dr Jortin told me that Smith thus saved the hire of a dress at a masquerade. To a grey stuff-damask man's night-gown [dressing-gown] he stuck as many ballads printed on slips as would cover it. The company followed him up and down, reading the songs that stuck to his back, till one of them pulled one off. The example was followed, and in a short time Smith was deplumed.' HAWKINS, Johnson's *Works*, 1787, ii. 471.

For Savage's scarlet cloak and 'naked toes peeping through his shoes' see *post*, SAVAGE, 229 *n*.

[2] Here too he was like Savage, who 'appeared to think himself born to be supported by others, and dispensed from all necessity of providing for himself.' *Post*, SAVAGE, 336.

[3] *Ante*, SMITH, 46.

[4] Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 81, 102.

never received my notions with contempt. He was a Whig, with all the virulence and malevolence of his party; yet difference of opinion did not keep us apart. I honoured him, and he endured me.

He had mingled with the gay world without exemption from 74
its vices or its follies, but had never neglected the cultivation of his mind; his belief of Revelation was unshaken; his learning preserved his principles: he grew first regular, and then pious.

His studies had been so various that I am not able to name a 75
man of equal knowledge. His acquaintance with books was great; and what he did not immediately know he could at least tell where to find. Such was his amplitude of learning and such his copiousness of communication that it may be doubted whether a day now passes in which I have not some advantage from his friendship.

At this man's table I enjoyed many chearful and instructive 76
hours, with companions such as are not often found: with one who has lengthened and one who has gladdened life; with Dr. James, whose skill in physick will be long remembered [1]; and with David Garrick, whom I hoped to have gratified with this character of our common friend: but what are the hopes of man! I am disappointed by that stroke of death, which has eclipsed the gaiety of nations and impoverished the publick stock of harmless pleasure [2].

In the Library at Oxford is the following ludicrous Analysis 77
of *Pocockius* [3]:

'EX AUTOGRAPHO.

[Sent by the Author to Mr. Urry [4].]

'OPUSCULUM hoc, Halberdarie [5] amplissime, in lucem pro-

[1] Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 159. The inventor of Dr. James's Powder. *Ib.* iii. 4.

[2] 'I presumed to animadvert on his eulogy on Garrick, in his *Lives of the Poets*. "You say, Sir, his death eclipsed the gaiety of nations." JOHNSON. "I could not have said more nor less. It is the truth; *eclipsed*, not *extinguished*; and his death *did* eclipse; it was like a storm." BOSWELL. "But why nations? Did his gaiety extend farther than his own nation?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, some exaggeration must be allowed. Besides, nations may be said—if we allow the Scotch to be a nation, and to have gaiety,—which they have not."' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 387.

[3] *Ante*, SMITH, 14, 30.

[4] Hearne (*Remains*, i. 314) records on March 19, 1714–15, the death of 'my great and good friend, Mr. John Urry, student of Christ Church. He bore arms against Monmouth in the rebellion called Monmouth's rebellion, as several other Oxford scholars did. He was a stout, lusty man, and of admirable principles. His integrity and honesty and loyalty gained him great honour and respect. He refused the oaths, and died a nonjuror.'

[5] This, I suppose, means that Urry had been a halberdier.

ferre hactenus distuli, judicii tui acumen subveritus magis quam bipennis. Tandem aliquando Oden hanc ad te mitto sublimem, teneram, flebilem, suavem, qualem demum divinus (si Musis vacaret) scripsisset Gastrellus; adeo scilicet sublimem ut inter legendum dormire, adeo flebilem ut ridere velis. Cujus elegantiam ut melius inspicias, versuum ordinem et materiam breviter referam. 1^mus versus de duobus præliis decantatis. 2^dus et 3^us de Lotharingio, cuniculis subterraneis, saxis, ponto, hostibus, et Asia. 4^tus et 5^tus de catenis, sudibus, uncis, draconibus, tigribus et crocodilis. 6^us, 7^us, 8^us, 9^us, de Gomorrha, de Babylone, Babele, et quodam domi suæ peregrino. 10^us, aliquid de quodam Pocockio. 11^us, 12^us, de Syriâ, Solymâ. 13^us, 14^us, de Hoseâ, et quercu, et de juvene quodam valde sene. 15^us, 16^us, de Ætnâ et quomodo Ætna Pocockio sit valde similis. 17^us, 18^us, de tubâ, astro, umbrâ, flammis, rotis, Pocockio non neglecto. Cætera de Christianis, Ottomanis, Babyloniis, Arabibus, et gravissimâ agrorum melancholiâ; de Cæsare, *Flacco* [1], Nestore, et miserando juvenis cujusdam florentissimi fato, anno ætatis suæ centesimo præmaturè abrepti. Quæ omnia cum accuratè expenderis, necesse est ut Oden hanc meam admirandâ planè varietate constare fatearis. Subito ad Batavos proficiscor lauro ab illis donandus. Prius vero Pembrochienses voco ad certamen Poeticum [2]. Vale.

'Illustrissima tua deosculor crura.

'E. SMITH.'

## APPENDIX A (PAGE 18)

According to Oldmixon (*Hist. of Eng.* 1730, p. 227) Smith, on his death-bed, confessed the forgery, with great remorse, 'to the gentleman in whose house he died.' He mentioned, in particular, as his insertion, the passage where Hampden is compared to Cinna (Clarendon's *Hist.* 1826, iv. 94).

'The authenticity of Clarendon's *History*, though printed with the sanction of one of the first universities in the world, had not an unexpected manuscript been happily discovered, would, with the help of factious credulity, have been brought into question by the two lowest of all human beings, a scribbler for a party and a Commissioner of Excise.' JOHNSON, *The Idler*, No. 65.

[The first edition of Clarendon's *History*, published 1702–4, was not printed from the originals, but from a transcript. The editors (the Earl of Rochester, assisted by Dr. Aldrich and Bishop Sprat), 'in accordance with the discretion given them by Clarendon's will, softened

[1] 'Pro *Flacco*, animo paulo attentiore, scripsissem *Marone*.' SMITH.

[2] Pembroke College, one of the smallest of the Oxford Colleges, stands over against the great gate of Christ Church. It was not yet known as 'a nest of singing birds.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 75.

and altered a few expressions, but made no material changes in the text.' FIRTH, *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxviii. 387. The actual MS. of the *History* seems to have reached the Bodleian from the hands of Dean Aldrich some time between 1711 and 1743. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*, 1890, p. 225 *n.* In 1826 the Clarendon Press published an edition of the *History* 'carefully collated with the original MSS. now in the Bodleian Library.' Preface, p. 5. See also the preface to W. D. Macray's edition of the *History* (Clarendon Press, 1888).]

For Oldmixon see *post*, ADDISON, 83. Aldrich, Atterbury, and Smalridge were successively Deans of Smith's College, Christ Church. For Aldrich see *ante*, J. PHILIPS, 3; for Atterbury, *post*, POPE, 131; for Smalridge, *post*, SWIFT, 27. Atterbury is the Dean of *The Tatler*, No. 66, who 'never attempts your passions till he has convinced your reason. . . . When he thinks he has your head he very soon wins your heart.' Smalridge is Favonius of Nos. 72, 114, who 'abounds with that sort of virtue and knowledge which makes religion beautiful.' See the Preface to vol. iv of *The Tatler*.

[For many references to Atterbury, Smalridge, and Francis Gastrell, one of the Christ Church canons (alluded to as 'Gastrellus' in Smith's Latin letter on p. 22), see Canon Stratford's letters to Edward Lord Harley published in the *Portland MSS.* vol. vii *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1901. For Gastrell's character see also Hearne's *Remains*, ii. 239.]

[George Duckett of Hartham (not Gartham, as Johnson gives it) was an intimate friend and regular correspondent of Gilbert Walmesley, to whose early kindness Johnson pays such graceful tribute (SMITH, 71–6). Some unpublished letters written by Walmesley to Duckett between 1711–15, which the kindness of Mr. C. E. Doble has permitted me to examine, very much bear out Johnson's remarks on Walmesley's character (SMITH, 73, 74). On Jan. 1, 1715, he writes:—'I see Capt[n] Ragg's (SMITH, 44) *Works* are printed together . . ., with a hasty imperfect account of the author wrote by Oldisworth' (SMITH, 2).]

# DUKE[1]

1 OF Mr. RICHARD DUKE I can find few memorials. He was bred at Westminster and Cambridge[2]; and Jacob[3] relates that he was some time tutor to the duke of Richmond.

2 He appears from his writings to have been not ill qualified for poetical compositions; and being conscious of his powers, when he left the university he enlisted himself among the wits[4]. He was the familiar friend of Otway[5]; and was engaged, among other popular names, in the translations of Ovid and Juvenal[6]. In his *Review*, though unfinished, are some vigorous lines[7]. His poems are not below mediocrity; nor have I found much in them to be praised.

3 With the wit he seems to have shared the dissoluteness of the times; for some of his compositions are such as he must have reviewed with detestation in his later days, when he published those Sermons which Felton has commended[8].

4 Perhaps, like some other foolish young men, he rather talked than lived viciously, in an age when he that would be thought a wit was afraid to say his prayers; and whatever might have

[1] Duke is not included in Campbell's *British Poets*.

[2] He was born about 1659, entered Westminster School in 1670, was elected to a scholarship in Trinity College in 1675 and took his M.A. degree in 1682. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* According to a statement in *N. & Q.* 3 S. xii. 21 he was born on June 13, 1658; but see *ib.* p. 69.

[3] *Poetical Register*, ii. 50. The Duke was the son of Charles II and the Duchess of Portsmouth. Evelyn wrote on Oct. 24, 1684:—'What the Dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's will prove their youth does not yet discover; they are very pretty boys.' *Diary*, ii. 209.

[4] He contributed to vol. i. of Dryden's *Misc.*

[5] Otway addressed to him a poem beginning:—

'My much loved friend, when thou
art from my eyes,
How do I loathe the day, and light
despise.' *Eng. Poets*, xv. 209.

He replied in two Epistles, one in English, the other in Latin. *Ib.* xxv. 229, 231.

[6] *Ib.* xxv. 144, 214; *ante*, DRYDEN, 107, 140.

[7] It is an attack on the first Earl of Clarendon, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Duke of Buckingham, and a laudation of the Duke of York. *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 133.

[8] *Fifteen Sermons preach'd on Several Occasions*, 1714. His preaching had been commended by Felton in 1710 in his *Dissertation on the Classics*, ed. 1753, p. 181.

been bad in the first part of his life, was surely condemned and reformed by his better judgement.

In 1683, being then master of arts, and fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, he wrote a poem on the marriage of the Lady Anne with George Prince of Denmark [1]. 5

He took orders; and being made prebendary of Gloucester [2], became a proctor in convocation for that church, and chaplain to Queen Anne. 6

In 1710 he was presented by the bishop of Winchester to the wealthy living of Witney in Oxfordshire [3], which he enjoyed but a few months. On February 10, 1710–11, having returned from an entertainment, he was found dead the next morning. His death is mentioned in Swift's *Journal* [4]. 7

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 166.

[2] He took orders before the accession of James II. In 1687 he became Rector of Blaby in Leicestershire, and in 1688 Prebendary of Gloucester. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[3] Luttrell (vi. 332) recorded on July 29, 1708, that 'the liveing of Whitney, of 700*l.* per ann. is given to Dr. Richard Duke.' In recording his death (*ib.* p. 690) he makes it worth 500*l.* per ann.

[4] 'Feb. 14, 1710–11. Dr. Duke died suddenly two or three nights ago; he was one of the wits when we were children, but turned parson, and left it, and never writ farther than a prologue or recommendatory copy of verses. He had a fine living given him by the Bishop of Winchester about three months ago; he got his living suddenly, and he got his dying so too. . .

'Feb. 16. Atterbury and Prior went to bury poor Dr. Duke.' SWIFT, *Works*, ed. 1824, ii. 180, 182.

# KING

1 WILLIAM KING was born in London in 1663, the son of Ezekiel King, a gentleman. He was allied to the family of Clarendon [2].

2 From Westminster-school, where he was a scholar on the foundation under the care of Dr. Busby [3], he was at eighteen elected to Christ-church, in 1681; where he is said to have prosecuted his studies with so much intenseness and activity that, before he was eight years standing, he had read over and made remarks upon twenty-two thousand odd hundred books and manuscripts [4]. The books were certainly not very long, the manuscripts not very difficult, nor the remarks very large; for the calculator will find that he dispatched seven a day, for every day of his eight years, with a remnant that more than satisfies most other students [5]. He took his degree in the most expensive manner, as a *grand compounder*; whence it is inferred that he inherited a considerable fortune [6].

3 In 1688, the same year in which he was made master of arts [7], he published a confutation of Varillas's account of Wicliffe [8]; and,

[1] Johnson's chief authorities are Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* (iv. 666), [*Biographia Britannica*], and *The Remains of Dr. William King*, 1732. [In 1776 appeared King's *Works* with historical notes and memoirs by John Nichols.]

There are two other men of the same name mentioned in the *Lives* —the Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford (*ante*, DRYDEN, 187), and the Archbishop of Dublin (*post*, PARNELL, 7; SWIFT, 64).

King is not included in Campbell's *British Poets*.

[2] King's *Remains*, 1732, p. 8. He was related also to the Harcourts. He writes of 'my cousin Harcourt's fine pieces of Paolo Veronese.' King's *Works*, 1776, i. 261.

[3] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 4.

[4] According to the editor of King's *Remains*, p. 16, 'this appears from his loose papers, which he terms *Adversaria*,' a specimen of which is given.

[5] 'A thousand stories which the ignorant tell and believe die away at once when the computist takes them in his gripe.' *John. Letters*, ii. 321. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 171, 204.

[6] 'Candidates for all degrees who possess certain property must go out, as it is termed, *Grand Compounder*.' In general the property had to be 'to the extent of £300 a year.' *Oxford Calendar*, 1833, p. 96. They paid higher fees. They were abolished in 1853.

[7] King's *Remains*, p. 2.

[8] *Reflections upon Mr. Varillas's History of Heresy*, &c. It was asserted that 'above 4,000 errors had

engaging in the study of the Civil Law, became doctor in 1692, and was admitted advocate at Doctors' Commons.

He had already made some translations from the French, and 4
written some humorous and satirical pieces; when, in 1694, Molesworth[1] published his *Account of Denmark*, in which he treats the Danes and their monarch with great contempt; and takes the opportunity of insinuating those wild principles, by which he supposes liberty to be established, and by which his adversaries suspect that all subordination and government is endangered[2].

This book offended prince George[3]; and the Danish minister 5
presented a memorial against it. The principles of its author did not please Dr. King, and therefore he undertook to confute part, and laugh at the rest[4]. The controversy is now forgotten; and books of this kind seldom live long, when interest and resentment have ceased.

In 1697 he mingled in the controversy between Boyle and 6
Bentley[5]; and was one of those who tried what Wit could perform in opposition to Learning, on a question which Learning only could decide[6].

In 1699 was published by him *A Journey to London*, after the 7
method of Dr. Martin Lister, who had published *A Journey to Paris*[7]. And in 1700 he satirised the Royal Society, at least

been discovered in Varillas's book.' For the correction of the statement that 'two Stephens succeeded the sons of William the Conqueror,' Varillas is referred to 'the man who shows the kings at Westminster.' King's *Works*, i. 5, 13. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 124.

[1] Robert Molesworth, afterwards first Viscount Molesworth.

[2] Steele praised the book in *The Plebeian*, No. 1. Addison's *Works*, v. 245; *post*, ADDISON, 95. Swift addressed to Molesworth the fifth *Drapier Letter*. In it he says:—'I have buried at the bottom of a strong chest your Lordship's writings, under a heap of others that treat of liberty, and spread over a layer or two of Hobbes, Filmer, Bodin, and many more authors of that stamp.' *Works*, vi. 484. Gibbon, in his *Memoirs*, p. 17, quotes one of Molesworth's speeches to 'show the temper, or rather the intemperance, of the House of Commons.'

[3] The husband of Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne.

[4] In *Animadversions on a Pretended Account of Denmark*, King's *Works*, i. 35. 'King became Secretary to the Princess Anne in Jan. 1694.' *Ath. Oxon.* iv. 666.

[5] *Post*, SWIFT, 28; Monk's *Bentley*, i. 99, 130, 137, 264; Macaulay's *Atterbury, Misc. Writings*, 1871, p. 344.

[6] King published *Dialogues of the Dead, relating to the present Controversy concerning the Epistles of Phalaris*. *Works*, i. 133.

[7] Lister was a physician and naturalist; he contributed largely to the *Phil. Trans.* of the Royal Society. *Ib.* i. 189. King, in his travesty, which he pretended to be a translation from Sorbière (*post*, SPRAT, 6), constantly quotes Lister's words, putting them within quotation marks,

Sir Hans Sloane their president, in two dialogues, intituled *The Transactioneer* [1].

8 Though he was a regular advocate in the courts of civil and canon law he did not love his profession, nor indeed any kind of business which interrupted his voluptuary dreams or forced him to rouse from that indulgence in which only he could find delight. His reputation as a civilian was yet maintained by his judgements in the courts of Delegates [2], and raised very high by the address and knowledge which he discovered in 1700, when he defended the earl of Anglesea against his lady, afterwards dutchess of Buckinghamshire [3], who sued for a divorce, and obtained it [4].

9 The expence of his pleasures and neglect of business had now lessened his revenues; and he was willing to accept of a settlement in Ireland, where, about 1702, he was made judge of the admiralty, commissioner of the prizes [5], keeper of the records in Birmingham's tower, and vicar-general to Dr. Marsh the primate [6].

10 But it is vain to put wealth within the reach of him who will not stretch out his hand to take it. King soon found a friend as idle and thoughtless as himself in Upton, one of the judges, who had a pleasant house called Mountown, near Dublin, to which

as in the following passage:—'"The cellar windows of most houses are grated with strong bars of iron," to keep thieves *out*; and Newgate is grated up to the top, to keep thieves *in*. "Which must be a vast expense."' King's *Works*, i. 192.

[1] *Ib.* ii. 1. Horace Walpole wrote on Feb. 14, 1753:—'Sir Hans Sloane is dead, and has made me one of the trustees to his museum, which is to be offered for £20,000 to the King, the Parliament,' &c. *Letters*, ii. 320. With money raised by lottery 'the Crown purchased the collection and Harleian MSS., together with Montagu House. Such was the commencement of the British Museum.' *Ib. n.*

[2] 'All appeals from the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts are determined by a Court of Delegates, consisting of three Common Law Judges and five Civilians. Dr. King made an excellent judge as often as he was called to that Bench.' King's *Works*, Preface, p. 14; *Remains*, p. 15. See also Blackstone's *Comm.* iii. 66.

[3] *Post*, SHEFFIELD, 1 *n.*

[4] *Post*, SHEFFIELD, 20. The Earl was the grandson of the Earl mentioned *ante*, MILTON, 143. See Collins's *Peerage*, 1756, ii. 403.

[5] 'Sole Commissary of the Prizes.' King's *Remains*, p. 13.

[6] King's *Works*, Pref. p. 17. The salary of the keeper was only £10 a year. *Ib.* p. 18. For King's successor, Addison, it was raised to £300. *Post*, ADDISON, 29.

Swift wrote of the primate:—'That which relishes best with Marsh is mixed liquor and mixed company; and he is seldom unprovided with very bad of both.' Swift's *Works*, ix. 269. See also *ib.* viii. 283, where Swift speaks of 'very signal and lasting acts of public charity' done by the primate.

King frequently retired; delighting to neglect his interest, forget his cares, and desert his duty[1].

Here he wrote *Mully of Mountown*, a poem; by which, though 11
fanciful readers in the pride of sagacity have given it a political interpretation, was meant originally no more than it expressed, as it was dictated only by the author's delight in the quiet of Mountown[2].

In 1708, when Lord Wharton was sent to govern Ireland[3], 12
King returned to London with his poverty, his idleness, and his wit; and published some essays called *Useful Transactions*[4]. His *Voyage to the Island of Cajamai* is particularly commended[5]. He then wrote the *Art of Love*[6], a poem remarkable, notwithstanding its title, for purity of sentiment; and in 1709 imitated Horace in an *Art of Cookery*, which he published, with some letters to Dr. Lister[7].

In 1710 he appeared, as a lover of the Church, on the side of 13
Sacheverell[8]; and was supposed to have concurred at least in the projection of *The Examiner*[9]. His eyes were open to all

[1] King's *Remains*, p. 13. King and Savage had much in common. *Post*, SAVAGE, 335.

[2] *Works*, i. 211; iii. 203. 'He made it upon the happiness of being buried alive with Mully, the red cow that gave him milk; which the critics would have imposed upon the world for a political allegory.' King's *Remains*, p. 14.

[3] *Post*, ADDISON, 29.

[4] *Useful Transactions in Philosophy and other sorts of Learning. Works*, ii. 57. In *The Present State of Wit* (1711), attributed to Gay, the writer, referring to the *Transactions*, says:—'Though Dr. King has a world of wit, yet, as it lies in one particular way of raillery, the town soon grew weary of his writings; though I cannot but think that their author deserves a much better fate than to languish out the small remainder of his life in the Fleet Prison.' Swift's *Works*, vi. 154.

[5] King's *Works*, ii. 132. 'It is a burlesque upon Hans Sloane's *Voyage to Jamaica*.' *Gent. Mag.* 1779, p. 595.

[6] King's *Works*, iii. 103.

[7] *Ib.* iii. 41.

[8] *A Vindication of Dr. Sacheverell*, &c., King's *Works*, ii. 179.

'Sacheverell was a clergyman of narrow intellects and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among High Churchmen, and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the Dissenters.' For two sermons he was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords by the Commons. 'His trial lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended. The Queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming "God bless your Majesty and the Church. We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." The mob destroyed several meeting-houses, and plundered the dwelling-houses of eminent Dissenters. They even proposed to attack the Bank. The train-bands of Westminster continued in arms during the whole trial. Being found guilty he was prohibited from preaching for three years, and his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the common hangman.' Smollett's *Hist. of Eng.* ii. 174-82. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 109; *post*, SPRAT, 17; HALIFAX, 9; ADDISON, 14; YALDEN, 3; SWIFT, 27.

[9] It was a weekly paper, published 'to defend the measures' of the Tory ministry. Among its early contributors were St. John, Atterbury, and

the operations of Whiggism; and he bestowed some strictures upon Dr. Kennet's adulatory sermon at the funeral of the duke of Devonshire [1].

14 The *History of the Heathen Gods*, a book composed for schools, was written by him in 1711 [2]. The work is useful; but might have been produced without the powers of King. The same year he published *Rufinus*, an historical essay [3], and a poem [4], intended to dispose the nation to think as he thought of the duke of Marlborough and his adherents.

15 In 1711 competence, if not plenty, was again put into his power. He was, without the trouble of attendance or the mortification of a request, made gazetteer. Swift, Freind, Prior, and other men of the same party brought him the key of the gazetteer's office [5]. He was now again placed in a profitable employment, and again threw the benefit away. An Act of Insolvency made his business at that time particularly troublesome [6]; and he

Prior. King is thought to have written Nos. 11 and 12. Swift wrote every number from 13 to 45. Swift's *Works*, iii. 185, 251-509; King's *Works*, Preface, p. 21; *post*, PRIOR, 22; SWIFT, 39.

[1] The Duke died in 1707. The adulation mainly lay in Kennet's praise of the Duke as a patriot. Measured by the standard of the day the sermon was not adulatory. Kennet, writes Hearne, 'had published a History full of whiggism, trifling Grub Street matter, and base reflections out of his way.' Hearne's *Remains*, i. 114. In his *Ecclesiastical Synods*, &c., 'he had,' says Burnet, 'laid Atterbury open in a thread of ignorance that run through his whole book' on Convocation. *Hist. of my own Time*, iii. 310. In 1718 he was rewarded with the Bishopric of Peterborough. For his description of Swift at court see *post*, POPE, 107.

Some years after Kennet's death Pope, to insult the third Duke of Devonshire, renewed the attack:—

'When servile chaplains cry, that birth and place
Indue a peer with honour, truth and grace,
Look in that breast, most dirty D * * * [Duke]! be fair,
Say, can you find out one such lodger there?
Yet still not heeding what your heart can teach,
You go to church to hear these flatt'rers preach.'

*Imit. Hor. Epis.* ii. 2. 220.

It was this third Duke whom Johnson praised for his 'dogged veracity.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 186, 378.

[2] *An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes.* 1710.

[3] *Rufinus, or an Historical Essay on the Favourite Ministry*, *Works*, ii. 280.

[4] *Rufinus, or The Favourite. Imitated from Claudian*, *ib.* iii. 218.

[5] King's *Remains*, p. 161. Swift wrote on Jan. 8, 1711-12:—'I have got poor Dr. King to be Gazetteer, which will be worth £250 per annum to him, if he be diligent and sober, for which I am engaged.' *Works*, xv. 487. See also *ib.* ii. 444.

'The Gazetteer is one of the low appendices to the Secretary of State's office; and his business is to write the Government's newspaper, published by authority.' WARBURTON, Pope's *Works*, iv. 302. Warburton quotes Steele, who had held the post, as saying that 'the rule observed by all ministers was to keep the paper very innocent and very insipid.'

[6] Barber, the printer of the Gazette, 'obliged him to sit up till three or four in the morning of those days it

would not wait till hurry should be at an end, but impatiently resigned it, and returned to his wonted indigence[1] and amusements.

One of his amusements at Lambeth, where he resided, was to 16
mortify Dr. Tennison, the archbishop, by a publick festivity, on the surrender of Dunkirk to Hill[2]; an event with which Tennison's political bigotry did not suffer him to be delighted. King was resolved to counteract his sullenness, and at the expence of a few barrels of ale filled the neighbourhood with honest merriment[3].

In the Autumn of 1712 his health declined; he grew weaker 17
by degrees, and died on Christmas-day. Though his life had not been without irregularity[4] his principles were pure and orthodox, and his death was pious[5].

After this relation it will be naturally supposed that his poems 18
were rather the amusements of idleness than efforts of study; that he endeavoured rather to divert than astonish; that his thoughts seldom aspired to sublimity; and that, if his verse was easy and his images familiar, he attained what he desired. His purpose is to be merry; but perhaps, to enjoy his mirth, it may be sometimes necessary to think well of his opinions[6].

was published to correct the errors of the press. The Act [10 Anne, c. 20] discharged many thousand prisoners. There were single advertisements that contained 700 names, every one of which paid one shilling at least.' King's *Remains*, p. 162. By the Act of 1737 each debtor had to give notice in the *Gazette* of his intention to take the benefit of the Act, 'for which he shall pay one penny to the printer.' *Gent. Mag.* 1737, p. 367. In 1748, 'at the Quarterly Sessions for Surrey alone 460 prisoners were discharged by the late Insolvent Act.' *Ib.* 1748, p. 330. For these Acts see Blackstone's *Comm.* ii. 484.

[1] 'Patrick is gone to the burial of an Irish footman, who was Dr. King's servant; he died of a consumption, a fit death for a poor starving wit's footman. The Irish servants always club to bury a countryman.' SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 434.

[2] John Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, the Queen's favourite. On the news 'that Mr. Hill had taken possession of Dunkirk a universal joy spread over the kingdom; this event being looked on as the certain forerunner of a peace.' SWIFT. *Ib.* v. 196. In this joy Tenison, as a Whig, did not share.

[3] 'King, hearing the Archbishop had ordered his gates to be shut, gave the watermen and others of Lambeth two or three barrels of beer in Three Cony Walk.' King's *Remains*, p. 164.

[4] 'I remember,' writes Pope, 'Dr. King would write verses in a tavern three hours after he could not speak.' Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), x. 207.

[5] King's *Remains*, p. 166.

[6] Hearne recorded a few days after King's death:—'He was a man of excellent natural parts, which he employed in writing little trivial things to his dying day, insomuch that though he had a good estate, was student of Christ Church formerly, and a few years since Judge Advocate in Ireland, yet he was so addicted to the buffooning way, that he neglected his proper business, grew very poor, and so died in a sort of contemptible manner.' Hearne's *Remains*, i. 271.

# SPRAT[1]

1 THOMAS SPRAT was born in 1636, at Tallaton in Devonshire, the son of a clergyman[2]; and having been educated, as he tells of himself, not at Westminster or Eaton, but at a little school by the churchyard side[3], became a commoner of Wadham College in Oxford in 1651, and, being chosen scholar next year, proceeded through the usual academical course, and in 1657 became master of arts. He obtained a fellowship[4], and commenced poet.

2 In 1659 his poem on the death of Oliver was published, with those of Dryden and Waller[5]. In his dedication to Dr. Wilkins he appears a very willing and liberal encomiast, both of the living and the dead. He implores his patron's excuse of his verses, both as falling 'so infinitely below the full and sublime [lofty] genius of that excellent poet[6] who made this way of writing free of our nation,' and being 'so little proportioned and equal to the renown of the [that] prince on whom they were written; such great actions and lives deserving to be the subject [subjects] of the noblest pens and most divine phansies.' He proceeds: 'Having so long experienced your care and indulgence, and been formed, as it were, by your own hands[7], not to entitle you to

[1] Sprat is not included in Campbell's *British Poets*.

[2] 'He was born in 1635 at Beaminster in Dorset, son of Thomas Sprat, minister of the parish.' *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liii. 419. See also *N. & Q.* 1 S. x. 84.

[3] 'Sprat in his last will and testament gives God thanks that he, who had been bred neither at Eton nor Westminster, but at a little country school by the church-yard side, should at last come to be a Bishop.' WARBURTON, Pope's *Works*, iv. 157. Sprat's words are:—'From an obscure birth and education in a far distant country, where I was the son of a private minister, God brought me to stand before Princes.' *Some Account of the Life of Thomas Sprat*, 1715, p. 8.

[4] In 1657. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liii. 419.

[5] *Ante*, WALLER, 67; DRYDEN, 7; *Eng. Poets*, xxvi. 213. He ends his poem by comparing Oliver Cromwell to Moses and Richard Cromwell to Joshua. In his *History of the Royal Society*, p. 152, speaking of Charles I's 'suffering virtues' he says:—'In them he was only exceeded by the divine example of our Saviour.'

[6] Cowley. The poem is an imitation of his '*Pindarique Odes*.' *Ante*, COWLEY, 124.

[7] In the original:—'Having been a long time the object of your care and indulgence towards the advan-

any thing which my meanness produces, would be not only injustice but sacrilege.'

He published the same year a poem on the *Plague of Athens*[1]; 3
a subject of which it is not easy to say what could recommend it. To these he added afterwards a poem on Mr. Cowley's death[2].

After the Restoration he took orders, and by Cowley's 4
recommendation was made chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham[3], whom he is said to have helped in writing *The Rehearsal*[4]. He was likewise chaplain to the king[5].

As he was the favourite of Wilkins, at whose house began those 5
philosophical conferences and enquiries, which in time produced the Royal Society, he was consequently engaged in the same studies, and became one of the fellows; and when, after their incorporation, something seemed necessary to reconcile the publick to the new institution, he undertook to write its history, which he published in 1667. This is one of the few books which selection of sentiment and elegance of diction have been able to preserve, though written upon a subject flux and transitory. *The History of the Royal Society* is now read, not with the wish to know what they were then doing, but how their transactions are exhibited by Sprat[6].

In the next year he published *Observations on Sorbière's* 6
*Voyage into England, in a Letter to Mr.* [*Dr.*] *Wren.* This is a work not ill performed; but perhaps rewarded with at least its full proportion of praise[7].

In 1668 he published Cowley's Latin poems, and prefixed in 7
Latin the Life of the Author; which he afterwards amplified, and placed before Cowley's English works, which were by will committed to his care[8].

Ecclesiastical benefices now fell fast upon him. In 1668 he 8
became a prebendary of Westminster[9], and had afterwards the

tage of my studies and fortune, having been moulded, as it were, by your own hands, and formed under your own government,' &c. *Eng. Poets*, xxvi. 212.

[1] *Ib.* p. 229.

[2] For his poem *Upon the Poems of Mr. Cowley* see *ib.* p. 264. There is not one on his death.

[3] Hurd's *Cowley*, i. 18; *The Rehearsal*, p. 9.

'Some keep Chaplains, not out of any concern for religion, but as it is a piece of grandeur something above keeping a coach.' SOUTH, *Sermons*, iv. 136.

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 94.

[5] In 1676. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 74.

[6] See Appendix B.

[7] See Appendix C.

[8] *Ante*, COWLEY, 1; Hurd's *Cowley*, i. 1.

[9] In Feb. 1668–9 he became Canon

church of St. Margaret, adjoining to the Abbey [1]. He was in 1680 made canon of Windsor [2], in 1683 dean of Westminster, and in 1684 bishop of Rochester.

9 The court having thus a claim to his diligence and gratitude, he was required to write the History of the Ryehouse Plot, and in 1685 published *A true Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy against the late King, his present Majesty, and the present Government* [3]; a performance which he thought convenient, after the Revolution, to extenuate and excuse [4].

10 The same year, being clerk of the closet [5] to the king, he was made dean of the chapel-royal [6]; and the year afterwards received the last proof of his master's confidence, by being appointed one of the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs [7]. On the critical day, when the *Declaration* distinguished the true sons of the church of England, he stood neuter, and permitted it to be read at Westminster [8], but pressed none to violate his conscience [9];

of Westminster. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liii. 421.

[1] In 1679. *Ib.* 'Nov. 23, 1679. I went to St. Paul's to hear that great wit, Dr. Sprat, now newly succeeding Dr. Outram in the cure of St. Margaret's. His talent was a great memory, never making use of notes, a readiness of expression in a most pure and plain style of words, full of matter, easily delivered.' EVELYN, *Diary*, ii. 145.

[2] In Jan. 1680-1. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liii. 421.

[3] In the original 'against the Government.'

[4] In one passage (p. 121) he slanders Tillotson, who was afterwards his archbishop, and Burnet, who was afterwards his brother bishop. Speaking of the paper Lord Russell left at his death he writes:—'It was such as rather became the subtlety, artifice and equivocation of some crafty hypocritical confessor, or Presbyterian casuist, than the noble plainness and simplicity of a gentleman.' Tillotson and Burnet, who had attended Russell on the scaffold, were called before the Council about his dying speech. Burnet's *Hist.* ii. 178. See also Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 1752, p. 121. Sprat, in his *Second Letter to the Earl of Dorset*, dated March 26, 1689, says he had written the *Account* 'at the request, or rather the command, of King Charles II,' and that he was 'over persuaded.' He continues:—'I lamented my Lord Russell's fall, after I was fully convinced by discourse with the Dean of Canterbury [Tillotson] of that noble gentleman's great probity.' *Two Letters to the Earl of Dorset*, 1711, pp. 11-13.

[5] Sprat's *Relation*, &c., p. 53.

[6] According to Macaulay (*History*, ii. 350) Crewe, Bishop of Durham, was made Dean.

[7] For the new Court of High Commission see *post*, SHEFFIELD, 13; Burnet's *Hist.* ii. 298; Macaulay's *Hist.* ii. 348, iii. 11.

[8] 'The critical day' was May 20, 1688, when the clergy of London were ordered to read aloud in their churches the King's Declaration of Indulgence. 'Sprat officiated in the Abbey as Dean. As soon as he began to read the Declaration murmurs and the noise of people crowding out of the choir drowned his voice. He trembled so violently that men saw the paper shake in his hand.' MACAULAY, *Hist. of Eng.* iii. 79. 90.

[9] *Two Letters*, &c., p. 18.

and when the bishop of London was brought before them, gave his voice in his favour[1].

Thus far he suffered interest or obedience to carry him; but 11
further he refused to go. When he found that the powers of the ecclesiastical commission were to be exercised against those who had refused the Declaration, he wrote to the lords and other commissioners a formal profession of his unwillingness to exercise that authority any longer, and withdrew himself from them. After they had read his letter they adjourned for six months, and scarcely ever met afterwards[2].

When king James was frighted away and a new government 12
was to be settled, Sprat was one of those who considered in a conference the great question whether the crown was vacant, and manfully spoke in favour of his old master[3].

He complied, however, with the new establishment[4], and was 13
left unmolested; but in 1692 a strange attack was made upon him by one Robert Young and Stephen Blackhead, both men convicted of infamous crimes, and both, when the scheme was laid, prisoners in Newgate. These men drew up an Association, in which they whose names were subscribed declared their resolution to restore king James; to seize the princess of Orange, dead or alive; and to be ready with thirty thousand men to meet king James when he should land. To this they put the names of Sancroft, Sprat, Marlborough, Salisbury, and others[5]. The copy of Dr. Sprat's name was obtained by a fictitious request, to which an answer 'in

[1] *Two Letters, &c.*, p. 5. The Bishop was brought before them in the summer of 1686, for refusing to suspend a clergyman on the order of the Secretary of State. Macaulay's *Hist.* ii. 347, 352.

[2] He thus ends his letter, dated Aug. 15, 1688:—'I earnestly request your Lordships to . . . assure his Majesty that I am still ready to sacrifice whatever I have to his service but my conscience and religion.' *Two Letters*, &c., p. 17.

'Immediately upon the receipt of my letter wherein I renounced them they adjourned in confusion for six months, and scarce ever met afterwards.' *Ib.* p. 8.

'A government must be indeed in danger when men like Sprat addressed it in the language of Hampden.' MACAULAY, *History*, iii. 158. See also Sprat's *Relation*, p. 20.

[3] The only authority I have found for Johnson's statement is the vote given by Sprat on Feb. 6, 1688-9, against the motion for declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen. Rapin's *England*, 1743-7, iv. Suppl. p. 162.

[4] 'By his skilful hand had been added to the Form of Prayer used on the fifth of November those sentences in which the Church expresses her gratitude for the second great deliverance wrought on that day.' MACAULAY, *History*, vi. 258. He had drawn up the form of prayer for the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1688. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liii. 422.

[5] Sprat's *Relation*, &c., p. 66.

his own hand' was desired[1]. His hand was copied so well, that he confessed it might have deceived himself[2]. Blackhead, who had carried the letter, being sent again with a plausible message, was very curious to see the house, and particularly importunate to be let into the study, where, as is supposed, he designed to leave the Association. This however was denied him, and he dropt it in a flower-pot in the parlour[3].

14 Young now laid an information before the Privy Council; and May 7, 1692, the bishop was arrested, and kept at a messenger's under a strict guard eleven days[4]. His house was searched, and directions were given that the flower-pots should be inspected. The messengers, however, missed the room in which the paper was left. Blackhead went therefore a third time; and finding his paper where he had left it, brought it away[5].

15 The bishop, having been enlarged[6], was, on June the 10th and 13th, examined again before the Privy Council, and confronted with his accusers[7]. Young persisted with the most obdurate impudence against the strongest evidence[8]; but the resolution of Blackhead by degrees gave way[9]. There remained at last no doubt of the bishop's innocence, who, with great prudence and diligence, traced the progress and detected the characters of the two informers, and published an account of his own examination and deliverance[10]; which made such an impression upon him that he commemorated it through life by an yearly day of thanksgiving[11].

[1] Sprat's *Relation*, p. 56.

[2] *Ib.* p. 67.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 47, 61, 65, 69, 160. Horace Walpole wrote on Aug. 5, 1752 (*Letters*, ii. 296):—'While they were changing our horses at Bromley we went to see the Bishop of Rochester's palace; not for the sake of anything there was to be seen, but because there was a chimney, in which had stood a flower-pot, in which was put the counterfeit plot against Bishop Sprat.'

[4] 'It was on Saturday, the seventh of May of this present year 1692, in the evening, as I was walking in the orchard at Bromley, meditating on something I designed to preach the next day, that I saw a coach and four horses stop at the outer gate, out of which two persons alighted.' They were the Clerk of the Council and a King's Messenger who came to search the house and arrest the Bishop. Sprat's *Relation*, p. 8.

[5] *Ib.* p. 70.

[6] *Ib.* p. 23.

[7] *Ib.* pp. 26, 51.

[8] *Ib.* pp. 42, 68.

[9] *Ib.* pp. 42, 61.

[10] *A Relation of the Late Wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young against the Lives of Several Persons by Forging an Association under their Hands.* Written by the Bishop of Rochester. Second ed. 1693.

[11] He ends his *Relation* with the following words:—'I do most solemnly oblige myself and all mine to keep the grateful remembrance of my deliverance perpetual and sacred.'

With what hope or what interest the villains had contrived an accusation which they must know themselves utterly unable to prove, was never discovered [1]. 16

After this he passed his days in the quiet exercise of his function. When the cause of Sacheverell put the publick in commotion he honestly appeared among the friends of the church [2]. He lived to his seventy-ninth year, and died May 20, 1713. 17

Burnet is not very favourable to his memory [3]; but he and Burnet were old rivals. On some publick occasion they both preached before the house of commons. There prevailed in those days an indecent custom: when the preacher touched any favourite topick in a manner that delighted his audience their approbation was expressed by a loud *hum*, continued in proportion to their zeal or pleasure [4]. When Burnet preached, part of his congregation *hummed* so loudly and so long that he sat down to enjoy it, and rubbed his face with his handkerchief. When Sprat preached, he likewise was honoured with the like animating *hum*; but he stretched out his hand to the congregation, and cried 'Peace, peace, I pray you, peace.' 18

This I was told in my youth by my father, an old man, who had been no careless observer of the passages of those times [5]. 19

Burnet's sermon, says Salmon, was remarkable for sedition, and Sprat's for loyalty [6]. Burnet had the thanks of the house; Sprat had no thanks, but a good living from the king; which, he said, was of as much value as the thanks of the Commons. 20

[1] Sprat thus describes 'the consternation both in town and country' when the plot was sprung:—'The English fleet was scarce yet out of the river; the Dutch for the most part at home; the French in the mouth of the Channel, and only kept back by contrary winds; a terrible invasion hourly expected from France; the army beyond sea that should have defended us; a real plot and confederacy by many whispered about, by the common people believed; many persons of great quality imprisoned upon that suspicion; all men's minds prepared to hear of some sudden rising or discovery.' *Relation*, p. 162. See also Macaulay's *Hist.* vi. 252-63.

[2] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 109; KING, 13; *post*, HALIFAX, 9.

[3] 'His parts were very bright in his youth, and gave great hopes; but these were blasted by a lazy libertine course of life, to which his temper and good nature carried him, without considering the duties, or even the decencies of his profession: he was justly esteemed a great master of our language, and one of our correctest writers.' BURNET, *History*, iv. 333.

[4] In a notice of this passage in *Gent. Mag.* 1779, p. 453, it is said that 'the custom of *humming applause* is less indecent than that which prevails in one of our University Churches of *scraping dislike*.'

[5] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 109.

[6] [*An Impartial Exam. of Bishop Burnet's Hist.*, 1724, by Thos. Salmon, ii. 852. The sermons were preached on Dec. 22, 1680.]

21 The works of Sprat, besides his few poems, are *The History of the Royal Society*, *The Life of Cowley*, *The Answer to Sorbière*, *The History of the Ryehouse Plot*, *The Relation of his own Examination*, and a volume of Sermons. I have heard it observed with great justness that every book is of a different kind, and that each has its distinct and characteristical excellence[1].

22 My business is only with his poems. He considered Cowley as a model, and supposed that as he was imitated perfection was approached. Nothing therefore but Pindarick liberty was to be expected[2]. There is in his few productions no want of such conceits as he thought excellent; and of those our judgement may be settled by the first that appears in his praise of Cromwell, where he says that Cromwell's 'fame, like man, will grow white as it grows old[3].'

## APPENDIX B (PAGE 33)

For the Royal Society see *ante*, COWLEY, 31; BUTLER, 20. 'It was some space after the end of the Civil Wars at Oxford, in Doctor Wilkins his lodgings, in Wadham College, that the first meetings were made which laid the foundation of all this that followed. Their first purpose was no more than only the satisfaction of breathing a freer air, and of conversing in quiet one with another, without being engaged in the passions and madness of that dismal age. . . . The founders have attempted to free the knowledge of nature from the artifice and humours and passions of sects; to render it an instrument whereby mankind

[1] 'This observation was made to Dr. Johnson by the Right Hon. Wm. Gerard Hamilton, as he told me at Tunbridge, August, 1792.' MALONE, Johnson's *Works*, vii. 392 *n.*

'Unhappily for his fame it has been usual to print his verses in collections of the British poets. . . . Those who are acquainted with his prose writings will form a very different estimate of his powers. He was, indeed, a great master of our language.' MACAULAY, *History*, ii. 351.

[2] He was 'known to some by the name of Pindaric Sprat.' *Ath. Oxon.* iv. 727; *ante*, COWLEY, 143.

Gray, in his sketch of the division of a proposed *History of English Poetry*, says that 'a third Italian school, full of conceit, began in Queen Elizabeth's reign, continued under James and Charles I by Donne, Crashaw, Cleveland; carried to its height by Cowley, and ending perhaps in Sprat.' Mitford, *Gray's Works*, Preface, p. 112.

[3] 'Tis true, great name, thou art
secure
From the forgetfulness and rage
Of death, or envy, or devouring
age;
Thou canst the force and teeth of
time endure:
Thy fame, like men, the elder it
doth grow,
Will of itself turn whiter too,
Without what needless art can do.'
*Eng. Poets*, xxvi. 213.

may obtain a dominion over things, and not only over one another's judgments.' SPRAT, *History of the Royal Society*, pp. 53, 62. He adds that 'the substance and direction' of what he wrote came from either Wilkins or Oldenburgh. *Ib.* p. 94. Cowley complimented Sprat in his *Ode to the Royal Society* (*Eng. Poets*, vii. 269):—

'And ne'er did fortune better yet
Th' historian to the story fit.
. . . . . .
His candid style, like a clear stream, does slide,
And his bright fancy all the way
Does, like the sunshine, in it play.'

Lord Keeper North, who died in 1685, refused to join the Society, because 'he esteemed it a species of vanity for one, as he was, of a grave profession to list himself of a Society which, at that time, was made very free with by the ridiculers of the town.' *Lives of the Norths*, 1826, ii. 179.

The Fellows 'seem to be in a confederacy against men of polite genius, noble thought and diffusive learning, and choose into their assemblies such as have no pretence to wisdom but want of wit, or to natural knowledge but ignorance of everything else.' *The Tatler*, No. 236. See also No. 221.

Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 10, under the class of men 'who live in the world without having anything to do in it,' comprehends 'all contemplative tradesmen, titular physicians, Fellows of the Royal Society,' &c. Pope ridicules the Society in *The Dunciad*, iv. 441–58, 565–70. When, in 1747, Horace Walpole was elected a Fellow, Gray wrote to him:—'This is only a beginning; I reckon next week we shall hear you are a Free-Mason, or a Gormogon at least.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 157.

Johnson improved 'the method of arranging the materials in the *Transactions*.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 40.

## APPENDIX C (PAGE 33)

*Relation d'un Voyage en Angleterre*, par Samuel Sorbière, 12mo, Paris, 1664. Sprat in his reply (p. 3) calls Sorbière 'a pragmatical reviler' of England, and says that he was punished by Lewis XIV for the book. According to *Biog. Brit.* p. 3815, the French king suppressed it by an 'arrest of his Council.' Pepys records on Oct. 13, 1664:—'Sorbière says that it is reported that Cromwell did, in his life-time, transpose many of the bodies of the Kings of England from one grave to another, and that by that means it is not known certainly whether the head that is now set up upon a post be that of Cromwell, or of one of the Kings.' *Diary*, ii. 387. The book is insignificant. The most curious part is the spelling—Chipsey for Cheapside; Rue de Biscop-Getrstriidt for Bishopsgate Street, and Mylord Piter Borrogh for Lord Peterborough.

To Pope Clement IX, who had conferred on Sorbière some dis-

tinctions, he wrote :—' Saint père, vous envoyez des manchettes à celui qui n'a point de chemise.' Goldsmith borrowed this when, on being appointed by the King Professor of Ancient History in the Royal Academy, he wrote :—' Honours to one in my situation are something like ruffles to one that wants a shirt.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 67 *n.*

Sprat was helped in his work by Evelyn. Evelyn's *Diary*, iii. 144. Addison, in *The Freeholder*, No. 30, describes his *Observations* as 'a book full of just satire and ingenuity.'

Wren was Sir Christopher Wren.

The book deserves a reprint.

# HALIFAX[1]

THE life of the Earl of Halifax was properly that of an 1
artful and active statesman, employed in balancing parties, contriving expedients, and combating opposition, and exposed to the vicissitudes of advancement and degradation: but in this collection poetical merit is the claim to attention; and the account which is here to be expected may properly be proportioned not to his influence in the state, but to his rank among the writers of verse.

Charles Montague was born April 16, 1661, at Horton in 2
Northamptonshire[2], the son of Mr. George Montague, a younger son of the earl of Manchester[3]. He was educated first in the country, and then removed to Westminster; where in 1677 he was chosen a king's scholar, and recommended himself to Busby[4] by his felicity in extemporary epigrams[5]. He contracted a very intimate friendship with Mr. Stepney; and in 1682, when Stepney was elected to Cambridge, the election of Montague being not to proceed till the year following, he was afraid lest by being placed at Oxford he might be separated from his companion, and therefore solicited to be removed to Cambridge, without waiting for the advantages of another year[6].

It seems indeed time to wish for a removal; for he was already 3
a school-boy of one and twenty.

His relation Dr. Montague was then master of the college[7] 4

[1] Halifax is not included in Campbell's *British Poets*.

His *Works and Life* in one volume 8vo were published in 1715. As Curll was the publisher little confidence can be placed in the *Life*.

[2] He was baptized at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on May 12, 1661. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 81.

[3] The first Earl, father of the second Earl the parliamentary general.

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 4.

[5] 'He was always applauded for his extempore epigrams, made upon theses appointed for the King's Scholars at the time of election.' *Life of Halifax*, p. 4.

'To-morrow I go to the election at Westminster School, where lads are chosen for the university; they say 'tis a sight, and a great trial of wits.' SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 243. See *ante*, SMITH, 4.

[6] Stepney entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1682. *Ante*, STEPNEY, 1. Montagu, who was two years older, had entered in 1679. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[7] In *The Life of Halifax*, p. 5,

in which he was placed a fellow commoner[1], and took him under his particular care. Here he commenced an acquaintance with the great Newton, which continued through his life, and was at last attested by a legacy[2].

5 In 1685 his verses *On the death of king Charles*[3] made such impression on the earl of Dorset, that he was invited to town, and introduced by that universal patron[4] to the other wits. In 1687 he joined with Prior in *The City Mouse and Country Mouse*, a burlesque of Dryden's *Hind and Panther*[5]. He signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange, and sat in the convention[6]. He about the same time married the countess dowager of Manchester, and intended to have taken orders; but afterwards altering his purpose, he purchased for 1,500*l.* the place of one of the clerks of the council[7].

6 After he had written his epistle on the victory of the Boyne[8],

Montagu is described as 'a very polite Tutor (now Dean of Durham).' He became Master of Trinity College about April 1683.

[1] 'So called from having the privilege of dining at the Fellows' table, being thus "commoners with the Fellows." At Oxford the existence of a higher grade of undergraduates (in some colleges called "fellow-commoners," in the majority "Gentlemen-commoners") is still recognized by the University Statutes, but the only house that has fellow-commoners on its books is Worcester College. At Cambridge there were formerly fellow-commoners at most colleges, but the status is now nearly obsolete.' *New Eng. Dict.* See *ante*, MILTON, 7 *n.*; WALSH, 1.

[2] A legacy of £100, 'as a mark of the great honour and esteem I have for so great a man.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 3157. For an examination of the connexion between Halifax and Newton's niece, Catherine Barton, see *N. & Q.* 2 S. ii. 161, 265, 390; iii. 41, 250.

[3] He composed this poem for 'a book of condolence and congratulation to be presented to King James II by the University.' It contains such fulsome lines as the following:—

'In Charles, so good a man and King, we see
A double Image of the Deity.
Oh! had he more resembled it! Oh! why
Was He not still more like, and could not die?'

*Works*, p. 8; *Life*, p. 6; *Eng. Poets*, xxvi. 283.

[4] *Ante*, DORSET, 13. Johnson also calls the Earl's son, the Duke of Dorset, 'the universal patron.' *Post*, A. PHILIPS, 3.

[5] *The Hind and the Panther Transvers'd to the Story of the Country-Mouse and the City-Mouse*, Halifax's *Works*, 1715, p. 31. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 127, 288; *post*, PRIOR, 5. '"Did not Lord Halifax write *The Country Mouse* with Mr. Prior?" "Yes, just as if I was in a chaise with Mr. Cheselden here, drawn by his fine horse, and should say:—'Lord, how finely we draw this chaise!'"' LORD PETERBOROUGH, Spence's *Anec.* p. 136. William Cheselden was an eminent surgeon.

[6] *Life*, p. 16. He sat for Malden. *Parl. Hist.* v. 29. The member for Durham in James II's parliament was Charles Montagu. *Ib.* iv. 1345.

[7] *Life*, p. 65; *post*, WEST, 4.

[8] *An Epistle to Charles Earl of Dorset occasioned by His Majesty's Victory in Ireland*, *Eng. Poets*, xxvi. 297. It appeared anonymously in 1690.

Addison praises 'an excellent stroke' in this poem, 'where Mr.

his patron Dorset introduced him to king William with this expression: 'Sir, I have brought a Mouse to wait on your Majesty.' To which the king is said to have replied, 'You do well to put me in the way of making a Man of him[1]'; and ordered him a pension of five hundred pounds. This story, however current, seems to have been made after the event. The king's answer implies a greater acquaintance with our proverbial and familiar diction than king William could possibly have attained.

In 1691, being member in the house of commons, he argued warmly in favour of a law to grant the assistance of counsel in trials for high treason; and in the midst of his speech, falling into some confusion, was for a while silent; but, recovering himself, observed, 'how reasonable it was to allow counsel to men called as criminals before a court of justice, when it appeared how much the presence of that assembly could disconcert one of their own body[2].'

Montagu tells us how the King of France would have been celebrated by his subjects, if he had ever gained such an honourable wound as King William's at the fight of the Boyne:—

"His bleeding arm had furnished all
their rooms,
And *run* for ever *purple* in the
looms."' Addison's *Works*, i. 148.

Montagu wrote:—

'The wounded arm would furnish all
their rooms,
And bleed for ever scarlet in the
looms.' *Eng. Poets*, xxvi. 303.

Pope parodied the *Epistle* in *The Dunciad*, ii. 155-6, and in a note gives Addison's version.

[1] 'He introduced him to the King with, "May it please your Majesty, I have brought a Mouse to have the honour of kissing your hand"; at which the King replied with an air of gaiety, "You will do well to put me in a way of making a Man of him.' *Life*, p. 17.

'The first thing he was cried up for was something from whence he was called *Mouse Montagu*.' DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, *Corres.* 1838, ii. 144.

[2] If Johnson quotes the *Life*, p. 30, he paraphrases the report of Montagu's speech. It ends:—'since he, who was one of their own members, was so dashed when he was to speak before that wise and illustrious assembly.'

[It is to the third Earl of Shaftesbury (author of the *Characteristics*) that this incident should be ascribed. The scene was the House of Commons; the date November, 1695. Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) had that May in his twenty-fifth year been returned to Parliament for the borough of Poole. A bill for regulating Trials in cases of High Treason was before the House. *Gen. Dict. Hist. and Crit.* ix. 179. The bill passed the Commons on Dec. 18, 1695. The life of Shaftesbury in the *Gen. Dict.* was not only extracted from a MS. life, written by the fourth Earl, now among the *Shaftesbury Papers* in the Record Office, but was also revised by him. Fowler's *Shaftesbury and Hutcheson*, p. 1. He adds:—'If we may judge from internal evidence the story is far more appropriate to Ashley, a retiring man new to Parliament, than to a practised speaker and debater like Montagu who had sat in the House of Commons from the Convention of 1688-9 onwards' (*ib.* p. 9). Horace Walpole tells the story of the Earl of Shaftesbury, *Works*, i. 429; as does Mac-

8 After this he rose fast into honours and employments, being made one of the commissioners of the treasury[1], and called to the privy council. In 1694 he became chancellor of the Exchequer[2]; and the next year engaged in the great attempt of the recoinage[3], which was in two years happily compleated. In 1696 he projected 'the general fund[4],' and raised the credit of the Exchequer; and, after enquiry concerning a grant of Irish crown-lands, it was determined by a vote of the commons, that Charles Montague, esquire, 'had deserved his Majesty's favour[5].' In 1698, being advanced to the first commission of the treasury[6], he was appointed one of the regency in the king's absence[7]: the next year he was made auditor of the Exchequer[8], and the year after created baron Halifax[9]. He was however impeached by the commons; but the articles were dismissed by the lords[10].

9 At the accession of queen Anne he was dismissed from the council[11]; and in the first parliament of her reign was again

aulay, *Hist. of Eng.* vii. 274. See also *Parl. Hist.* v. 966, which gives *Gen. Dict. Hist. and Crit.* as the authority. The fact that Curll is the publisher of the *Life of Halifax* (1715) wherein the statement occurs, which is Johnson's authority for ascribing the incident to him, is of itself sufficient to discredit it.]

In 1714, in the proceedings against Steele, Lord Finch, rising to defend him in the House of Commons, at once 'sat down in visible confusion, saying, "It is strange I can't speak for this man though I could readily fight for him." A sudden burst from all parts of the House, "Hear him! hear him!" brought him again on his legs,' and he spoke well. *The Monitor*, No. 2, April 24, 1774, quoted in *Parl. Hist.* vi. 1272.

[1] In March 1691–2. Macaulay's *Hist.* vi. 191. Lady M. W. Montagu wrote in 1714:—'No modest man ever did, or ever will, make his fortune. Your friend, Lord Halifax, R. Walpole, and all other remarkable instances of quick advancement, have been remarkably impudent.' *Letters*, i. 218.

[2] Macaulay's *Hist.* vii. 129.

[3] *Ib.* vii. 249–74.

[4] For the 'general fund' or 'general mortgage' see *ib.* vii. 364; *The Wealth of Nations*, bk. v. ch. 3; *Parl. Hist.* v. 1156.

[5] On Feb. 16, 1698. Macaulay's *Hist.* viii. 38; *Life*, p. 52.

[6] In 1697. Macaulay's *Hist.* vii. 412.

[7] *Ib.* viii. 117.

[8] This office, which was held for life, and was worth at the lowest £4,000 a year, he sought as 'a harbour from the storms which seemed to be gathering.' *Ib.* viii. 157, 237. For the storm which it brought on him see *ib.* p. 159.

[9] On Dec. 4, 1700. Collins's *Peerage*, iii. 456; *Life*, p. 61.

[10] The resolution for his impeachment was carried on April 14, 1701. 'The articles were dismissed' on June 24. *Parl. Hist.* v. 1246, 1321. The impeachment was supported by Prior. *Post*, PRIOR, 16.

[11] 'On April 21, 1702, the Queen caused the names of several persons firmly attached to the Revolution principles (particularly the Lords Somers and Halifax) to be left out of the list of her Privy Council.' Boyer's *Reign of Queen Anne*, 1735, p. 14. According to the *Life*, p. 75, she was 'over-persuaded' to dismiss Halifax.

attacked by the commons, and again escaped by the protection of the lords [1]. In 1704 he wrote an answer to Bromley's speech against occasional conformity [2]. He headed the Enquiry into the danger of the Church [3]. In 1706 he proposed and negotiated the Union with Scotland [4]; and when the elector of Hanover received the garter, after the act had passed for securing the Protestant Succession, he was appointed to carry the ensigns of the order to the electoral court [5]. He sat as one of the judges of Sacheverell; but voted for a mild sentence [6]. Being now no longer in favour, he contrived to obtain a writ for summoning the electoral prince to parliament as duke of Cambridge [7].

At the queen's death he was appointed one of the regents [8]; and at the accession of George the First was made earl of Halifax, knight of the garter [9], and first commissioner of the treasury, with a grant to his nephew of the reversion of the auditorship of the Exchequer [10]. More was not to be had, and this he kept

[1] On Jan. 19, 1702–3, he was accused by the Commons of a breach of trust about public moneys. On Feb. 5 the Lords voted that he had not been guilty. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 127, 130.

[2] See Appendix D.

[3] On Dec. 6, 1705, 'he moved that a day might be appointed to inquire into those dangers about which so many tragical stories had been published.' BURNET, *History*, iv. 110. It was carried by a large majority 'that whosoever goes about to suggest and insinuate that the Church is in danger under Her Majesty's administration is an enemy to the Queen, the Church and the Kingdom.' *Parl. Hist.* vi. 507.

[4] According to the *Life of Halifax*, p. 137, 'the Union was brought about wholly owing to the Lord Halifax, who first projected the *equivalent*, without which it had never been accomplished.' The 'equivalent' was the sum of £398,085 given to the Scotch, 'as an equal purchase of their revenue and customs, which were to be applied to the payment of the debts of England.' *Ib.* p. 140. Neither Burnet nor Smollett gives this prominence to Halifax.

[5] The Act was carried on Dec. 3, 1705. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 477. Halifax left for Hanover early in May, taking Addison with him. *Life of Halifax*, p. 141; *post*, ADDISON, 26.

[6] *Life*, p. 156. Sacheverell was impeached on Jan. 12, 1709–10, and was tried before the Lords in March. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 809, 825. *Ante*, DRYDEN, 109; KING, 13; SPRAT, 17.

[7] Afterwards George II. Schutz, the Elector's envoy, was prompted to ask for this at a meeting of Whig Lords at Halifax's house on April 10, 1714. The Chancellor issued the writ; but the Queen so strongly showed her displeasure in letters to the Court of Hanover that the Prince did not come. *Life*, p. 223; *Parl. Hist.* vi. 1341.

[8] His name was contained in one of 'the three instruments in which the Elector had nominated the persons to be added as Lords Justices to the seven great officers of the realm.' SMOLLETT, *Hist. of Eng.* ii. 296.

[9] For Rowe's verses to him on this occasion see *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 221.

[10] *Life of Halifax*, p. 258. Johnson probably meant to distinguish the Queen's death on Aug. 1, when

but a little while; for on the 19th of May, 1715, he died of an inflammation of the lungs.

11 Of him, who from a poet became a patron of poets, it will be readily believed that the works would not miss of celebration. Addison began to praise him early [1], and was followed or accompanied by other poets [2]; perhaps by almost all, except Swift and Pope; who forbore to flatter him in his life, and after his death spoke of him, Swift with slight censure [3], and Pope in the character of Bufo with acrimonious contempt [4].

Halifax's appointment to the regency took effect, from the King's arrival in England on Sept. 18. On Oct. 5 Halifax was made first commissioner of the treasury, on Oct. 16 K.G., and on Oct. 19 Earl.

[1] In 1694, in *An Account of the Greatest English Poets*, among whom Shakespeare is conspicuous by his absence and Halifax by his presence; a second time, in 1697, in the Dedication of *Pax*, &c.; and a third time, in 1701, in *A Letter from Italy*. *Post*, ADDISON, 14, 18, 21.

[2] Among others by Stepney, *Eng. Poets*, xvii. 181; Smith, *ib.* xxv. 3; Rowe, *ib.* xxviii. 221; Hughes, *ib.* xxxi. 23; Congreve, *ib.* xxxiv. 146; *Works*, 1788, i. 75; Tickell, *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 219; Somervile, *ib.* xl. 237. Steele dedicated to him the fourth volume of *The Tatler* and the second volume of *The Spectator*. Gay describes him as having,

'The surest judgment, and the brightest wit,
Himself a Maecenas and a Flaccus too.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 296.

Addison begins his Dedication to him:—'Quum tanta auribus tuis obstrepat vatum nequissimorum turba.' *Works*, i. 232. In this 'turba' was Durfey, whose Dedication of his *Don Quixote* is ridiculed by Collier in his *Short View*, 3rd ed. p. 207.

In the *Threnodia* of the University of Cambridge on the death of Prince George are three sets of verses by Bentley—'the first to the widowed Queen, the second to the Tomb, and the third to Halifax.' Monk's *Bentley*, i. 187. Dennis dedicated to him his *Letters upon Several Occasions*. Le Clerc asked leave to dedicate to him his *Livy*. Swift's *Works*, xv. 317. Kuster dedicated to him his *Aristophanes*. Hearne's *Remains*, i. 171.

He has one claim to the gratitude of scholars. He induced the House of Lords to have the public records put into better order, and he tried to get a public library established. Burnet's *Hist.* iv. 117.

[3] 'Thus Congreve spent in writing plays,
And one poor office, half his days;
While Montague, who claimed the station
To be Maecenas of the nation,
For poets open table kept,
But ne'er consider'd where they slept;
Himself as rich as fifty Jews
Was easy though they wanted shoes.' SWIFT, *Works*, xiv. 388.

'His encouragements of learned men were only good words and good dinners.' *Ib.* xii. 226. Swift wrote in 1735:—'Of the letters from my Lord Halifax I burnt all but one; which I keep as a most admirable original of Court promises and professions.' *Ib.* xviii. 295. See also *ib.* ii. 30. For Swift's flattery of him in 1709 see his two letters to him in Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 201.

[4] 'Proud as Apollo on his forked hill
Sate full-blown Bufo puff'd by ev'ry quill;
Fed with soft dedication all day [long,
Horace and he went hand in hand in song.' *Prol. Sat.* l. 231.

By Bufo Pope had at first meant Bubb Dodington; 'he added four lines which pointed directly to Halifax.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 259. See *post*, POPE, 102.

He was, as Pope says, 'fed with dedications[1]'; for Tickell 12
affirms that no dedicator was unrewarded[2]. To charge all unmerited praise with the guilt of flattery, and to suppose that the encomiast always knows and feels the falsehood of his assertions, is surely to discover great ignorance of human nature and human life. In determinations depending not on rules, but on experience and comparison, judgement is always in some degree subject to affection. Very near to admiration is the wish to admire[3].

Every man willingly gives value to the praise which he receives, 13
and considers the sentence passed in his favour as the sentence of discernment. We admire in a friend that understanding that selected us for confidence; we admire more in a patron that judgement which, instead of scattering bounty indiscriminately, directed it to us; and, if the patron be an author, those performances which gratitude forbids us to blame, affection will easily dispose us to exalt.

To these prejudices, hardly culpable, interest adds a power 14
always operating, though not always, because not willingly, perceived. The modesty of praise wears gradually away; and perhaps the pride of patronage may be in time so increased that modest praise will no longer please.

Many a blandishment was practised upon Halifax which he 15
would never have known, had he had no other attractions than those of his poetry, of which a short time has withered the beauties. It would now be esteemed no honour, by a contributor to the monthly bundles of verses, to be told that, in strains either familiar or solemn, he sings like Montague[4].

[1] 'Fed with soft dedication.' *Ante*, p. 46, *n.* 4.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 219. In another passage Tickell, addressing Halifax, says that succeeding time 'Shall envy less thy garter than thy bays.' *Ib.* p. 181.

[3] *Post*, GRANVILLE, 24.

[4] 'The learned often bewail the loss of ancient writers whose characters have survived their works; but perhaps if we could now retrieve them, we should find them only the Granvilles, Montagues, Stepneys, and Sheffields of their time, and wonder by what infatuation or caprice they could be raised to notice.' *The Rambler*, No. 106.

Horace Walpole, having misquoted a line in Halifax, excused himself as 'happily not being very accurately read in so indifferent an author.' *Anec. of Painting*, iii. 194.

'It is a remarkable proof of Halifax's self-knowledge that, from the moment at which he began to distinguish himself in public life, he ceased to be a versifier.' MACAULAY, *History*, vii. 79.

## APPENDIX D (PAGE 45)

By the Test Act passed in 1673 and not repealed till 1828, all office-holders had to publicly receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Many Nonconformists complied once, and never went to church again. By the bill of 1702 against Occasional Conformity all such persons 'were to be disabled from holding their employments,' and were exposed to ruinous fines. It was rejected by the Lords, but was renewed in 1703 and 1704. It was carried in 1711, with the omission of the fines. Macaulay's *Hist.* i. 231; Burnet's *Hist.* iii. 371, iv. 25, 71, 281; *Parl. Hist.* vi. 59, 154, 359, 1045. Mere nonconformity was by law a crime. Blackstone's *Com.* iv. 50, 54.

In *The Spectator* for Jan. 8, 1711–12, No. 269, Addison tells how 'Sir Roger believed the late Act already began to take effect; for that a rigid dissenter, who chanced to dine at his house on Christmas Day, had been observed to eat very plentifully of his plum-porridge.'

William Bromley, on Nov. 28, 1704, spoke in favour of tacking the bill on to the Land Tax Bill. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 359. Parliament was dissolved on April 5, 1705. *Ib.* p. 439. 'The Church in danger' was the Tory cry during the elections. Burnet's *Hist.* iv. 99. 'A pamphlet, said to be Mr. Bromley's speech, soon saw the light.' Halifax replied to it in *An Answer to Mr. B—'s Speech, in a Letter to a Friend*, 'which had such an influence on the elections that the major part of them were in favour of the Low Church Men.' *Life of Halifax*, pp. 113, 130. See *post*, GRANVILLE, 18.

# PARNELL

THE Life of Dr. Parnell is a task which I should very willingly decline, since it has been lately written by Goldsmith[1], a man of such variety of powers and such felicity of performance that he always seemed to do best that which he was doing[2]; a man who had the art of being minute without tediousness, and general without confusion; whose language was copious without exuberance, exact without constraint, and easy without weakness. 1

What such an author has told, who would tell again? I have made an abstract from his larger narrative; and have this gratification from my attempt that it gives me an opportunity of paying due tribute to the memory of Goldsmith. 2

Τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων[3].

THOMAS PARNELL was the son of a commonwealthsman of the same name, who at the Restoration left Congleton in Cheshire, where the family had been established for several centuries, and, settling in Ireland, purchased an estate, which, with his lands in Cheshire, descended to the poet[4], who was born at Dublin in 1679; and, after the usual education at a grammar school, was at the age of thirteen admitted into the College[5], where in 1700 3

[1] In 1770. Forster's *Goldsmith*, 1871, ii. 223; Goldsmith's *Works*, iv. 129.

'Goldsmith's *Life of Parnell* is poor; not that it is poorly written, but that he had poor materials.' JOHNSON, Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 166. Goldsmith's father and uncle had known Parnell. In apologizing for the absence of facts in the narrative of his youth he writes:—'A poet, while living, is seldom an object sufficiently great to attract much attention. . . . When his fame is increased by time it is then too late to investigate the peculiarities of his disposition; the dews of the morning are past, and we vainly try to continue the chase by the meridian splendour.' Goldsmith's *Works*, iv. 130.

[2] Johnson said of Goldsmith:—'Whether we take him as a poet, as a comic writer, or as an historian, he stands in the first class.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 236. In his epitaph he describes him as one 'qui nullum fere scribendi genus non tetigit, nullum quod tetigit non ornavit.' *Ib.* iii. 82.

Mr. G. A. Aitken, in the Preface to Parnell's *Poems*, 1894, has brought together the facts known about the poet.

[3] *Odyssey*, xxiv. 190.

[4] Charles Stewart Parnell was descended from the poet's younger brother. *Post*, SWIFT, 77 *n.*

[5] 'He was admitted much sooner than usual, as they are a great deal stricter in their examination for

he became master of arts; and was the same year ordained a deacon, though under the canonical age, by a dispensation from the Bishop of Derry [1].

4 About three years afterwards he was made a priest; and in 1705 Dr. Ashe, the bishop of Clogher, conferred upon him the archdeaconry of Clogher [2]. About the same time he married Mrs. Anne Minchin [3], an amiable lady, by whom he had two sons who died young, and a daughter who long survived him.

5 At the ejection of the Whigs, in the end of queen Anne's reign [4], Parnell was persuaded to change his party, not without much censure from those whom he forsook [5], and was received by the new ministry as a valuable reinforcement. When the earl of Oxford was told that Dr. Parnell waited among the crowd in the outer room, he went, by the persuasion of Swift, with his treasurer's staff in his hand, to enquire for him, and to bid him welcome [6]; and, as may be inferred from Pope's dedication, admitted him as a favourite companion to his convivial hours [7], but, as it seems often to have happened

entrance than either at Oxford or Cambridge.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 129.

[1] The canonical age is twenty-three. He was twenty-one. He was ordained by the Bishop [King, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin], but the dispensation was from the Primate. *Ib.* p. 130.

[2] On Feb. 9, 1705-6. Aitken's *Parnell*, Preface, p. 10. For Ashe see *post*, SWIFT, 70.

[3] Johnson uses 'Mrs.' according to its earlier usage. Goldsmith calls her 'Miss.'

[4] Swift wrote on Sept. 9, 1710:—'The Whigs were ravished to see me, and would lay hold on me as a twig while they are drowning.... Every Whig in great office will, to a man, be infallibly put out.' *Works*, ii. 9. See *post*, GARTH, 12; SHEFFIELD, 19; PRIOR, 21; CONGREVE, 28; GRANVILLE, 16.

[5] 'Having been the son of a Commonwealth's man, his Tory connections on this side of the water gave his friends in Ireland great offence.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 131.

[6] 'Jan. 31, 1712-13. I contrived it so that Lord Treasurer came to me, and asked (I had Parnell by me) whether that was Dr. Parnell, and came up and spoke to him with great kindness, and invited him to his house. I value myself upon making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell, and not Parnell with the ministry.' SWIFT, *Works*, iii. 102. See also *ib.* p. 81.

Johnson follows Delany, who, in his *Observations*, &c., p. 28, heightens the story: 'Swift made Lord Oxford, in the height of his glory, walk with his treasurer's staff from room to room through his own levy, inquiring which was Dr. Parnell.' See also *post*, SWIFT, 134 *n.*

[7] 'For him thou oft hast bid the world attend,
Fond to forget the statesman in the friend;
For Swift and him despised the farce of state,
The sober follies of the wise and great;
Dexterous the craving, fawning crowd to quit,
And pleased to 'scape from flattery to wit.'
POPE, *Epistle to Robert, Earl of Oxford*, l. 6.

in those times to the favourites of the great, without attention to his fortune [1], which however was in no great need of improvement [2].

Parnell, who did not want ambition or vanity, was desirous to 6
make himself conspicuous, and to shew how worthy he was of high preferment. As he thought himself qualified to become a popular preacher he displayed his elocution with great success in the pulpits of London; but the queen's death putting an end to his expectations abated his diligence: and Pope represents him as falling from that time into intemperance of wine [3]. That in his latter life he was too much a lover of the bottle is not denied; but I have heard it imputed to a cause more likely to obtain forgiveness from mankind, the untimely death of a darling son [4]; or, as others tell, the loss of his wife, who died (1712) in the midst of his expectations [5].

He was now to derive every future addition to his preferments 7
from his personal interest with his private friends, and he was not long unregarded. He was warmly recommended by Swift to archbishop King, who gave him a prebend in 1713 [6], and in May 1716 presented him to the vicarage of Finglas in the diocese of Dublin, worth four hundred pounds a year [7]. Such notice from such a man [8] inclines me to believe that the vice of which he has been accused was not gross, or not notorious.

But his prosperity did not last long. His end, whatever was 8
its cause, was now approaching. He enjoyed his preferment little more than a year; for in July 1717, in his thirty-eighth year, he died at Chester [9], on his way to Ireland.

[1] *Post*, POPE, 75, 91.

[2] 'His fortune (for a poet) was very considerable, and it may easily be supposed he lived to the very extent of it.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 136.

[3] See Appendix E.

[4] He had two sons who died young, and one daughter who long survived him. *Ib.* p. 130.

[5] 'Those helps that sorrow first called for assistance habit soon rendered necessary, and he died before his fortieth year, in some measure a martyr to conjugal fidelity.' *Ib.* p. 140.

His wife died in 1711. Swift wrote on Aug. 24, 1711:—'I am heartily sorry for poor Mrs. Parnell's death; she seemed to be an excellent good-natured young woman, and I believe the poor lad is much afflicted; they appeared to live perfectly well together.' *Works*, ii. 327. 'July 1, 1712. It seems he has been ill for grief of his wife's death.' *Ib.* iii. 35.

[6] *Ib.* xvi. 36.

[7] Swift, in 1730, said it was 'worth about £100 a year.' *Ib.* vii. 293.

[8] *Post*, SWIFT, 64. The Duke of Grafton, the Lord-Lieutenant, described him as 'charitable, hospitable, a despiser of riches, and an excellent bishop.' Coxe's *Walpole*, 1798, ii. 357.

[9] In the register of Trinity Church, Chester, is the following entry:—

9 He seems to have been one of those poets who take delight in writing. He contributed to the papers of that time, and probably published more than he owned[1]. He left many compositions behind him, of which Pope selected those which he thought best, and dedicated them to the earl of Oxford[2]. Of these Goldsmith has given an opinion[3], and his criticism it is seldom safe to contradict. He bestows just praise upon *The Rise of Woman*[4], the *Fairy Tale*[5], and the *Pervigilium Veneris*[6]; but has very properly remarked that in *The Battle of Mice and Frogs* the Greek names have not in English their original effect[7].

10 He tells us that *The Bookworm* is borrowed from Beza[8]; but he should have added with modern applications, and when he discovers that *Gay Bacchus* is translated from Augurellus[9], he

'Burialls, 1718. ArchDeacon Tho: Parnell, DD. October 24.' Aitken's *Parnell*, Preface, p. 48.

Boswell (iv. 54) has preserved the following epitaph by Johnson:—

'Hic requiescit THOMAS PARNELL, S.T.P.
Qui sacerdos pariter et poeta,
Utrasque partes ita implevit,
Ut neque sacerdoti suavitas poetae,
Nec poetae sacerdotis sanctitas,
deesset.'

According to Miss Reynolds Johnson produced it extempore.' *John. Misc.* ii. 293.

For Goldsmith's epitaph on Parnell see his *Works*, i. 111. It is strange that the grave of a poet for whom Johnson and Goldsmith each wrote an epitaph should remain unmscribed.

[1] Steele in *The Spectator*, No. 555, includes him among the contributors. In the preface entitled 'The Publisher to the Reader' prefixed to *The Guardian* Steele writes:—'Mr. Parnell will, I hope, forgive me that, without his leave, I mention that I have seen his hand' among the contributors.

[2] Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 189; *post*, POPE, 124. Pope, at the end of his notes on the *Iliad*, speaks of 'those beautiful pieces of poetry, the publication of which Dr. Parnell left to my charge, almost with his dying breath.' In Dec. 1718, Pope wrote:—'What he gave me to publish was but a small part of what he left behind him; but it was the best, and I will not make it worse by enlarging it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 28.

'In the list of papers ordered to be burnt [by Pope, after his death] were several copies of verses by Parnell. I interceded in vain for them.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 290.

[3] Goldsmith's *Works*, iv. 142.

[4] *Eng. Poets*, xxvii. 5.

[5] *Ib.* p. 21. [6] *Ib.* p. 29.

[7] *Ib.* p. 35; Goldsmith's *Works*, iv. 142. Parnell uses the Greek names, giving at the beginning of the poem the translation of each.

[8] *Ib.* p. 143. Beza's poem is entitled *Ad Musas, Iocus*. His lines

'Pene tu mihi passerem Catulli,
Pene tu mihi Lesbiam abstulisti

are thus translated and expanded by Parnell:—

'By thee my Ovid wounded lies,
By thee my Lesbia's sparrow dies;
Thy rabid teeth have half destroy'd
The work of love in Biddy Floyd,
They rent Belinda's locks away,
And spoil'd the Blouzelind of Gay.'

Bezae *Poemata*, 1569, p. 138; *Eng. Poets*, xxvii. 66.

[9] 'It is a translation of a Latin poem by Aurelius Augurellus, an Italian poet [ob. 1524], beginning with:—

"Invitat olim Bacchus ad coenam
suos

ought to have remarked that the latter part is purely Parnell's. Another poem, *When Spring comes on*, is, he says, taken from the French [1]. I would add, that the description of Barrenness, in his verses to Pope [2], was borrowed from Secundus; but lately searching for the passage which I had formerly read I could not find it [3]. The *Night-picce on Death* is indirectly preferred by Goldsmith to Gray's *Church-yard* [4], but, in my opinion, Gray has the advantage in dignity, variety, and originality of sentiment [5]. He observes that the story of *The Hermit* is in More's *Dialogues* and Howell's *Letters*, and supposes it to have been originally Arabian [6].

Goldsmith has not taken any notice of the *Elegy to the old* 11
*Beauty*, which is perhaps the meanest [7]; nor of the *Allegory on Man*, the happiest of Parnell's performances [8]. The hint of the

Comum [Comon], Iocum, Cupidinem."'
GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 142.

For the poem, entitled *Gratiarum Convivium*, see Pope's *Selecta Poemata Italorum*, 1740, ii. 69.

Parnell's version begins (*Eng. Poets*, xxvii. 19):—

'Gay Bacchus, liking Estcourt's* wine,
A noble meal bespoke us;
And for the guests that were to dine
Brought Comus, Love and Jocus.'

[1] *Ib.* p. 16. 'It is taken from a French poet whose name I forget.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 142.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xxvii. 56.

[3] Johnson refers to the following lines in the *Epistolae*, i. 1, of Ioannes Secundus (John Everard), *Opera*, 1631, p. 142:—

'Me retinet salsis infausta Valachria terris,
Oceanus tumidis quam vagus ambit aquis.
Nulla ubi vox avium, pelagi strepit undique murmur,
Caelum etiam larga desuper urget aqua.
Flat Boreas, dubiusque Notus, flat frigidus Eurus:
Felices Zephyri nil ubi iuris habent.
Proque tuis ubi carminibus, philomela canora,
Turpis in obscoena rana coaxat aqua.'

Parnell wrote:—

'For fortune placed me in unfertile ground;
Far from the joys that with my soul agree,
From wit, from learning,—far, O far, from thee!
Here moss-grown trees expand the smallest leaf,
Here half an acre's corn is half a sheaf;
Here hills with naked heads the tempest meet,
Rocks at their side, and torrents at their feet;
Or lazy lakes, unconscious of a flood,
Whose dull brown Naiads ever sleep in mud.' *Eng. Poets*, xxvii. 56.

For Fenton's translation of two of Secundus's *Basia* see *ib.* xxxv. 347–8.

[4] *Ib.* p. 75. '*The Night Piece on Death* deserves every praise, and I should suppose, with very little amendment, might be made to surpass all those night pieces and church-yard scenes that have since appeared.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 143.

[5] *Post*, GRAY, 51.

[6] See Appendix F.

[7] *Eng. Poets*, xxvii. 64. It contains the line:—

'We call it only pretty Fanny's way.'

[8] *Ib.* p. 70. An allusion in one of Johnson's *Letters* (ii. 73) is explained

* 'A celebrated comedian and tavern-keeper.'

*Hymn to Contentment* I suspect to have been borrowed from Cleiveland [1].

12 The general character of Parnell is not great extent of comprehension or fertility of mind. Of the little that appears still less is his own. His praise must be derived from the easy sweetness of his diction [2]: in his verses there is 'more happiness than pains [3]'; he is spritely without effort, and always delights though he never ravishes; every thing is proper, yet every thing seems casual. If there is some appearance of elaboration in *The Hermit* the narrative, as it is less airy, is less pleasing. Of his other compositions it is impossible to say whether they are the productions of Nature, so excellent as not to want the help of Art, or of Art so refined as to resemble Nature [4].

13 This criticism relates only to the pieces published by Pope. Of the large appendages which I find in the last edition I can only say that I know not whence they came, nor have ever enquired whither they are going. They stand upon the faith of the compilers [5].

by the following couplet in this poem :—

'Jove talked of breeding him on high,
An under-something of the sky.'

Johnson wrote :—'Young Desmoulins is taken in *an under-something* of Drury Lane.'

[1] See Appendix G.

[2] Goldsmith speaks of 'that ease and sweetness for which his poetry is so much admired.' *Works*, iv. 139. In his epitaph on him he writes :—

'What heart but feels his sweetly moral lay,
That leads to truth through pleasure's flowery way!'

[3] 'Led by some rule that guides, but not constrains,
And finish'd more through happiness than pains.'

POPE, *Epistle to Mr. Jervas*, l. 67.

[4] Hume, contrasting simplicity with wit in poetry, says :—'It is sufficient to run over Cowley once; but Parnell, after the fiftieth reading, is as fresh as at the first.' *Essays*, 1770, i. 244.

Campbell praises his 'correct and equable sweetness, . . . the select choice of his expression, the clearness and keeping of his imagery, and the pensive dignity of his moral feeling.' *British Poets*, Preface, p. 86.

[5] In the *Gent. Mag.* 1758, p. 282, Parnell's *Posthumous Works*, just published, are treated as forgeries: 'The volume consists of 286 pages, 202 of which contain the history of the *Old Testament*, in doggrel, scarce less contemptible than the bell-man's. The rest consists of enthusiasm and indecency, that are not less disgusting than despicable.'

'Some of his poems have been made public with very little credit to his reputation.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iv. 142.

'Gray, writing of the volume to Mason, said :—"Parnell is the dunghill of Irish Grub Street."' Gosse's *Gray*, ii. 372; see also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 28.

## APPENDIX E (PAGE 51)

Johnson's authority for Pope's statement about Parnell's drinking is Ruffhead (*Life of Pope*, p. 492), who says that this account came to him through Warburton from Pope. 'Parnell,' Ruffhead writes, 'had talents for popular preaching, and began to be distinguished in the mob-places of Southwark and London. The Queen's sudden death broke his spirits; he took to drinking, became a sot, and soon finished his course.'

'Parnell is a great follower of drams; and strangely open and scandalous in his debaucheries.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 139 *n.*

Bishop Barnard, 'who had it from Dr. Delany,' told Boswell that 'Parnell could not refrain from drinking even the morning that Swift introduced him to Lord Oxford,' and that the Treasurer noticed his state. 'Swift said:—"He is troubled with a great shaking." "I am sorry," said the Earl, "that he should have such a distemper, but especially that it should attack him in the morning."' *Boswelliana*, p. 297. The 'shaking' perhaps was not due to drink. Swift wrote of him a little later:—'His head is out of order like mine, but more constant, poor boy.' *Works*, iii. 122. See also *ib.* p. 130. According to Hearne he was killed by 'immoderate drinking of mild ale.' *Remains*, iii. 139.

'Dr. Johnson maintained that "If a man is to write *A Panegyrick*, he may keep vices out of sight; but if he professes to write *A Life*, he must represent it really as it was": and when I objected to the danger of telling that Parnell drank to excess, he said that "it would produce an instructive caution to avoid drinking, when it was seen that even the learning and genius of Parnell could be debased by it."' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 155.

'I have heard Dr. Johnson say how Parnell could not get through a sermon without turning his head, even in the pulpit, to drink a dram.' MRS. PIOZZI, *Auto.* ii. 145.

## APPENDIX F (PAGE 53)

*Eng. Poets*, xxvii. 81. Goldsmith's account is a strange confusion. He writes:—'Pope, speaking of *The Hermit* in those MS. anecdotes already quoted, says "that the poem is very good. The story," continues he, "was written originally in Spanish, whence probably Howel had translated it into prose, and inserted it in one of his letters." Addison liked the scheme, and was not disinclined to come into it. However this may be, Dr. Henry More, in his *Dialogues*, has the very same story; and I have been informed by some that it is originally of Arabian invention.' *Works*, iv. 143; ed. 1801, iv. 25.

The 'MS. anecdotes' are Spence's. In their printed form what Pope says ends with 'his letters.' p. 139. The sentence about Addison has been dragged in from an account of the Scriblerus Club. p. 10. For the origin of the story see T. Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, 1840, i. Preface,

pp. 141, 158, 160, ii. 394 *n.*, and Mitford's *Parnell*, p. 61, where the reference is given to H. More's *Divine Dialogues*, 1743, p. 256. For Howell see his *Letters*, 1892, p. 559. A somewhat similar story is in *The Spectator*, No. 237, by Addison. For Johnson's explanation of a passage in *The Hermit* see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 220, and for the moral of the poem see *John. Misc.* ii. 255.

Blake, alluding to the poem or the story, said :—'Who shall say that God thinks evil? That is a wise tale of the Mahometans, of the angel of the Lord that murdered the infant. Is not every infant that dies of disease murdered by an angel?' H. C. Robinson's *Diary*, ii. 307.

## APPENDIX G (PAGE 54)

'Fair stranger! winged maid, where dost thou rest
Thy snowy locks at noon? Or on what breast
Of spices slumber o'er the sullen night?
Or waking, whither dost thou take thy flight?'
CLEVELAND, *Content*, *Works*, 1661, p. 145.

'Whither, O whither art thou fled,
To lay thy meek contented head;
What happy region dost thou please
To make the seat of calms and ease?'
PARNELL, *Eng. Poets*, xxvii. 79.

Mitford quotes from Bishop J. Jebb's *Sermons*, 1824, p. 94, 'an Ode from the *Divina Psalmodia* of Cardinal Bona, on which Parnell formed his *Hymn*.' Mitford's *Parnell*, p. 77.

Lamb, writing of one of his own Sonnets in which occur the lines :—

'My lov'd companion dropp'd a tear and fled,
And hid in deepest shades her awful head,'

continues :—'Since writing it, I have found in a poem by Hamilton of Bangor [Bangour] these two lines to "Happiness" :—

"Nun, sober and devout, where art thou fled
To hide in shades thy meek, contented head?"

Lines eminently beautiful. . . . Parnell has two lines (which probably suggested the above) to "Contentment" :—

"Whither, ah! whither art thou fled,
To hide thy meek, contented head?"'
Lamb's *Letters*, i. 5.

# GARTH[1]

SAMUEL GARTH was of a good family in Yorkshire, and 1
from some school in his own country became a student at Peter-house in Cambridge, where he resided till he commenced doctor of physick on July the 7th, 1691[2]. He was examined before the College at London on March the 12th, 1691–2, and admitted fellow July 26th, 1692[3]. He was soon so much distinguished by his conversation and accomplishments as to obtain very extensive practice; and, if a pamphlet of those times may be credited, had the favour and confidence of one party, as Ratcliffe had of the other[4].

He is always mentioned as a man of benevolence; and it is 2
just to suppose that his desire of helping the helpless disposed him to so much zeal for the *Dispensary*; an undertaking of which some account, however short, is proper to be given.

Whether what Temple says be true, that physicians have 3
had more learning than the other faculties[5], I will not stay to enquire; but I believe every man has found in physicians great liberality and dignity of sentiment, very prompt effusion of beneficence, and willingness to exert a lucrative art where there is no hope of lucre[6]. Agreeably to this character the College

[1] Johnson's chief authority is *Biog. Brit.* p. 2129.

[2] He was the eldest son of William Garth, of Bowland Forest, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was born in 1661, and sent to school at Ingleton. He entered Peterhouse in 1676. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* In 1687 'he was entered on the physic line at Leyden.' Munk's *Roll of Coll. of Physicians*, i. 498. For his father's will see *N. & Q.* 1 S. xi. 373.

[3] In June 26, 1693. Munk's *Roll*, &c., i. 498.

[4] Radcliffe prescribed for Swift and Lord-Treasurer Oxford, of whom Swift wrote:—'I doubt he cannot persuade the Queen to take Dr. Radcliffe.' Swift's *Works*, ii. 170, 303. He was charged with refusing to attend her on her death-bed. *Ib.* xvi. 169. He was a great benefactor to the University of Oxford; one of his foundations is the Library which bears his name. 'Sir Samuel Garth,' wrote Pope, 'says that for Radcliffe to leave a library was as if an eunuch should found a seraglio.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 275. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 293; *John. Misc.* ii. 377.

[5] 'The divines seem to have had the most honour, the lawyers the most money, and the physicians the most learning.' TEMPLE, *Works*, 1757, iii. 285.

[6] According to Mrs. Piozzi 'Johnson used to challenge his friends, when they lamented the exorbitancy of physicians' fees, to produce him one

of Physicians, in July 1687, published an edict, requiring all the fellows, candidates, and licentiates to give gratuitous advice to the neighbouring poor [1].

4 This edict was sent to the Court of Aldermen; and a question being made to whom the appellation of the 'poor' should be extended, the College answered that it should be sufficient to bring a testimonial from a clergyman officiating in the parish where the patient resided.

5 After a year's experience the physicians found their charity frustrated by some malignant opposition, and made to a great degree vain by the high price of physick; they therefore voted, in August 1688, that the laboratory of the College should be accommodated to the preparation of medicines, and another room prepared for their reception, and that the contributors to the expence should manage the charity.

6 It was now expected that the Apothecaries would have undertaken the care of providing medicines; but they took another course [2]. Thinking the whole design pernicious to their interest they endeavoured to raise a faction against it in the College, and found some physicians mean enough to solicit their patronage, by betraying to them the counsels of the College. The greater part, however, enforced by a new edict in 1694 the former order of 1687, and sent it to the mayor and aldermen, who appointed

instance of an estate raised by physic in England.' *John. Misc.* i. 223. Radcliffe left a large fortune.

Hannah More (*Memoirs*, ii. 433) wrote in 1795 that she had consulted all the eminent physicians, not one of whom would take a fee from her.

[1] For the edict see *Biog. Brit.* p. 2130; see also *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 8. 'The neighbouring poor' were those 'within the City of London, or seven miles round.'

P. Cunningham, in a note to Campbell's *Brit. Poets*, p. 335, says that the physicians, incensed by the apothecaries, who soon after the Restoration had begun to prescribe, 'advertised that they would give advice gratis to the poor, and establish a dispensary of their own, for the sale of medicines at their intrinsic value.' They gained a conviction of an apothecary for attending a butcher, but the decision was reversed by the House of Lords in 1703. See also Blackstone's *Com.* iv. 197, and Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, l. 108.

There are fourteen pamphlets on the question, published between 1697 and 1723, in the Brit. Mus.

'A wealthy doctor, who can help a poor man, and will not without a fee, has less sense of humanity than a poor ruffian who kills a rich man to supply his necessities.' *The Tatler*, No. 78. In the same paper Garth is probably described under the name of Hippocrates, 'who shows as much liberality in his practice as he does wit in his conversation and skill in his profession.'

[2] 'Garth, generous as his muse, prescribes and gives;
The shopman sells, and by destruction lives.'
DRYDEN, *Epistle to John Driden*, l. 107.

a committee to treat with the College, and settle the mode of administering the charity.

It was desired by the aldermen that the testimonials of church- 7
wardens and overseers should be admitted, and that all hired servants and all apprentices to handicraftsmen should be considered as 'poor.' This likewise was granted by the College.

It was then considered who should distribute the medicines, 8
and who should settle their prices. The physicians procured some apothecaries to undertake the dispensation, and offered that the warden and company of the apothecaries should adjust the price. This offer was rejected; and the apothecaries who had engaged to assist the charity were considered as traytors to the company, threatened with the imposition of troublesome offices, and deterred from the performance of their engagements. The apothecaries ventured upon publick opposition, and presented a kind of remonstrance against the design to the committee of the city, which the physicians condescended to confute: and at last the traders seem to have prevailed among the sons of trade; for the proposal of the college having been considered a paper of approbation was drawn up, but postponed and forgotten.

The physicians still persisted; and in 1696 a subscription was 9
raised by themselves, according to an agreement prefixed to *The Dispensary*[1]. The poor were for a time supplied with medicines; for how long a time I know not. The medicinal charity, like others, began with ardour, but soon remitted, and at last died gradually away[2].

About the time of the subscription begins the action of *The* 10
*Dispensary*[1]. The Poem, as its subject was present and popular, co-operated with passions and prejudices then prevalent, and, with such auxiliaries to its intrinsick merit, was universally and

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 10.

[2] 'The charity seems to have continued its benevolent work down to 1724.' Munk's *Roll*, &c., i. 501. In Dodsley's *London*, v. 193, published in 1761, it is stated that in the College 'there is a hall in which the physicians sit to give advice to the poor gratis.'

[3] Garth thus explains his motives in the poem:—'Finding the animosities among the Members of the College increasing daily, I was persuaded to endeavour to railly (*sic*) some of our disaffected Members into a sense of their duty, who have hitherto most obstinately opposed all manner of union.' *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 7. He laments how the healing art:—
'. . once a science is become a trade.'
*Ib.* p. 88.

'It was finely said of Garth that no physician knew his art more nor his trade less.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 380.

liberally applauded [1]. It was on the side of charity against the intrigues of interest, and of regular learning against licentious usurpation of medical authority [2], and was therefore naturally favoured by those who read and can judge of poetry [3].

11 In 1697 Garth spoke that which is now called the *Harveian Oration* [4]; which the authors of the *Biographia* [5] mention with more praise than the passage quoted in their notes will fully justify. Garth, speaking of the mischief done by quacks, has these expressions:

'Non tamen telis vulnerat ista agyrtarum colluvies, sed theriacâ [6] quâdam magis perniciosâ, non pyrio, sed pulvere nescio quo exotico certat, non globulis plumbeis, sed pilulis æque lethalibus interficit [7].'

This was certainly thought fine by the author, and is still admired by his biographer. In October 1702 he became one of the censors of the College [8].

12 Garth, being an active and zealous Whig, was a member of the

[1] It appeared in 1699. 'It bore in a few months three impressions.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 2129.

[2] It was not on the side of learning in the controversy about *Phalaris*. Garth, who was related to the Boyles, 'pronounced his judgment upon the merits of the two combatants in this simile:—

"So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle," [Canto v. l. 77]

a couplet which is perhaps more frequently quoted than any other in the poem, and always to the disparagement of the author's judgment.' MONK, *Life of Bentley*, i. 112.

[3] Pope, in the *Essay on Criticism*, l. 618, speaking of a critic says:—

'With him most authors steal their works, or buy;
Garth did not write his own *Dispensary*.'

In a note he adds:—'A common slander at that time in prejudice of that deserving author.'

[4] 'Harvey endowed the College with his estate, assigning a part of it for an anniversary oration in commemoration of their benefactors, and to promote a spirit of emulation in succeeding generations.' Dodsley's *London*, v. 192.

[5] *Biog. Brit.* pp. 2131–2; *ante*, MILTON, 143, *n.* 4.

[6] *Ante*, WALLER, 113.

[7] Thus translated in the *Biog. Brit.* p. 2132:—'Yet not with weapons do these swarms of mountebanks inflict wounds, but with some nostrum more dangerous than any weapon; not with plain gunpowder, but with some strange foreign dust they charge their packets; not with leaden bullets, but with pills as mortal they do their business.' The quack dentist is described:—'Hic circumforaneus in plateis equo insidens dentes evellit.' 'Here an operator, mounted on his pyed horse, draws teeth in the streets.' In Italy may still be seen the dentist mounted on the box-seat of a coach and four, drawing teeth while a band plays on the back seat.

[8] 'The four Censors have by charter authority to survey, correct, and govern all physicians, or others that shall practise within their jurisdiction, and to fine and imprison for causes as they shall see cause.' Dodsley's *London*, v. 191.

Kit-cat club[1], and by consequence familiarly known to all the great men of that denomination. In 1710, when the government fell into other hands[2], he writt to lord Godolphin, on his dismission, a short poem[3], which was criticised in *The Examiner*[4], and so successfully either defended or excused by Mr. Addison[5] that, for the sake of the vindication, it ought to be preserved.

At the accession of the present Family his merits were acknow- 13
ledged and rewarded. He was knighted with the sword of his hero, Marlborough[6], and was made physician in ordinary to the king and physician-general to the army.

He then undertook an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, trans- 14
lated by several hands[7]; which he recommended by a Preface,

[1] 'Our modern celebrated clubs are founded upon eating and drinking, which are points wherein most men agree, and in which the learned and illiterate, the dull and the airy, the philosopher and the buffoon can all of them bear a part. The Kit-Cat itself is said to have taken its original from a mutton-pie.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 9.

'The master of the house where the Club met was Christopher Katt. Jacob Tonson was Secretary, 'who has his own and all the members' pictures by Kneller.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 337. These pictures, being uniform in size, have given their name to all portraits of that size—28 inches by 36.

For Pope's epigram on the Club see his *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 446, and for Garth's *Verses written for the Toasting-Glasses* see *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 113. See also *post*, BLACKMORE, 21; Hearne's *Remains*, i. 74. Horace Walpole describes the Club as 'generally mentioned as a set of wits, in reality the patriots that saved Britain.' *Anecdotes of Painting*, iii. 205.

[2] *Ante*, PARNELL, 5.

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 109.

[4] For Sept. 7, 1710. It was written by Prior. *Post*, PRIOR, 22.

[5] In *The Whig Examiner*, No. 1, Addison's *Works*, iv. 370. Addison thus ends:—'The same who has endeavoured here to prove that he who wrote *The Dispensary* was no poet, will very suddenly undertake to show that he who gained the Battle of Blenheim is no general.'

[6] *Biog. Brit.* p. 2133, which refers to *Chronological Diary*, 1714-15, p. 12. Of this work I can learn nothing in the British Museum. Garth was knighted on Oct. 11, 1714. *Chron. Hist. of Gt. Brit.* 1716, p. 784. In a note in *The Tatler*, 1789, ii. 273, it is stated that Steele was knighted with the same sword. Lord Berkeley of Stratton wrote on Jan. 9, 1713:—'The Duchess of Marlborough hath given great presents at her taking leave of her friends, several fine diamond rings and other jewels of great value, to Dr. Garth for one.' *Wentworth Papers*, p. 313.

[7] It was published in 1717 by Jacob Tonson. In a ballad entitled *Sandys's Ghost* (for Sandys see *ante*, COWLEY, 197), attributed to Swift (*Works*, xiii. 292) and Pope (*Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 486), the writer says:—

'I hear the beat of Jacob's drums,
Poor Ovid finds no quarter!
See first the merry P—[? Pembroke] comes
In haste, without his garter.
Then lords and lordlings, 'squires and knights,
Wits, witlings, prigs and peers!
Garth at St. James's, and at White's,
Beats up for volunteers.'

This edition is composed of versions by Addison, Congreve, Dryden, Gay, Garth, Pope and Rowe, and eleven other poets.

written with more ostentation than ability: his notions are half-formed, and his materials immethodically confused[1]. This was his last work. He died Jan. 18, 1717–18, and was buried at Harrow-on-the-Hill[2].

His personal character seems to have been social and liberal[3]. He communicated himself through a very wide extent of acquaintance; and though firm in a party, at a time when firmness included virulence, yet he imparted his kindness to those who were not supposed to favour his principles. He was an early encourager of Pope[4], and was at once the friend of Addison[5] and of Granville[6]. He is accused of voluptuousness and irreligion[7];

[1] Johnson, after describing how 'stock-jobbers affect dress, gaiety and elegance, and mathematicians labour to be wits,' continues:—'That absurdity of pride could proceed only from ignorance of themselves, by which Garth attempted criticism, and Congreve waived his title to dramatic reputation, and desired to be considered only as a gentleman [*post*, CONGREVE, 31].' *The Rambler*, No. 24. For Garth's strange criticisms see J. Warton's *Essay on Pope*, ii. 89.

[2] Barber wrote to Swift:—'You may remember Mr. Garth said he was glad when he was dying, for he was weary of having his shoes pulled off and on.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 273.

'A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over.' BACON, *Essays*, No. ii. According to an account in Spence's *Anec.* p. 114, Garth took means to hasten on his death, on being told that he might linger in ill health for years.

[3] Bolingbroke (*Works*, iv. 90) describes him as 'the best-natured ingenious wild man I ever knew.' Lady M. W. Montagu wrote about 1712 (*Letters*, i. 242):—'The Duke of Grafton and Dr. Garth ran a foot-match in the Mall of 200 yards, and the latter, to his immortal glory, beat.'

[4] Pope dedicated to him his *Second Pastoral*. In *Prol. Sat.* l. 137 he writes:—

'Well-natur'd Garth inflam'd with early praise;
And Congreve lov'd, and Swift endur'd my lays.'

[5] He wrote the Epilogue to Addison's *Cato*. *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 120; Addison's *Works*, i. 226. 'It was severely and not unreasonably censured as ignoble and out of place.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, iv. 227. It was praised by Steele. 'Dr. Garth has very agreeably rallied the mercenary traffic between men and women of this age in the Epilogue.' *The Guardian*, No. 33.

[6] Granville wrote verses *To My Friend Dr. Garth in his Sickness*. *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 38. He was as strong a Tory as Addison was a Whig. *Post*, GRANVILLE, 16, 18.

[7] According to Atterbury, in an epitaph for St. Evremond's tomb in the Abbey, 'he commended him for his indifference to all religion.' *Atterbury Corres.* iii. 199. 'The offensive passage,' writes the editor, 'is not in the epitaph.' See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 153 *n.*

In Berkeley's *Memoirs*, 1784, p. 30, it is stated that Garth, in his last illness, urged by Addison to prepare for death, replied:—'Surely, Addison, I have good reason not to believe those trifles, since Dr. Halley, who has dealt so much in demonstration, has assured me that the doctrines of Christianity are incomprehensible, and the religion itself an imposture.' Berkeley, hearing of this from Addison, wrote *The Analyst, or a Discourse addressed to an Infidel Mathematician*, 1734.

and Pope, who says that 'if ever there was a good Christian without knowing himself to be so, it was Dr. Garth,' seems not able to deny what he is angry to hear and loth to confess [1].

Pope afterwards declared himself convinced that Garth died 16
in the communion of the Church of Rome, having been privately reconciled [2]. It is observed by Lowth [3], that there is less distance than is thought between scepticism and popery, and that a mind wearied with perpetual doubt willingly seeks repose in the bosom of an infallible church [4].

His poetry has been praised at least equally to its merit [5]. In 17
*The Dispensary* there is a strain of smooth and free versification; but few lines are eminently elegant. No passages fall below mediocrity, and few rise much above it [6]. The plan seems formed without just proportion to the subject; the means and end have no necessary connection. Resnel, in his Preface to Pope's *Essay*, remarks that Garth exhibits no discrimination of characters, and that what any one says might with equal propriety have been

[1] Pope wrote this to Jervas in 1718. *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), (viii. 28). Three years earlier he had written:—

'Farewell, Arbuthnot's raillery
On every learned sot;
And Garth, the best good Christian he,
Although he knows it not.'

*Farewell to London*, *ib.* iv. 482.

In 1712 Swift wrote of Garth sarcastically:—'Yet I will be bold to say in his defence, that I believe he is as good a Christian as he is a poet.' *Works*, v. 418.

'Garth, being questioned by Addison upon his creed, is said to have replied that he was of the religion of wise men; and being urged to explain himself further, he added that wise men kept their own secrets.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 115 *n.*

[2] 'He died a Papist, as I was assured by Mr. Blount, who carried the Father to him in his last hours.' *Ib.* p. 2. For the same absurd assertion about Milton see *ante*, MILTON, 165 *n.*

[3] Johnson may refer to William Lowth, a theological writer, father of Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, Warburton's adversary.

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 118; Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 289. This paragraph is not in the first edition.

[5] 'On y trouve beaucoup plus d'imagination, de variété, de naiveté que dans le *Lutrin*.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxxiv. 263.

'Is not it extraordinary that two of our very best poets, Garth and Darwin, should have been physicians?' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, ix. 372.

'Our approbation of *The Dispensary* at present is cooler, for it owed part of its fame to party.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 437. See also *ib.* p. 432. For Garth's imitation of Denham see *ante*, DENHAM, 28.

[6] The finest lines are perhaps the following:—

'To die is landing on some silent shore,
Where billows never break nor tempests roar;
Ere well we feel the friendly stroke 'tis o'er.' *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 45.

Cowper borrows the second line in his *My Mother's Picture*, *Works*, x. 68:—

'So thou, with sails how swift! hast reach'd the shore
"Where tempests never beat nor billows roar."'

said by another[1]. The general design is perhaps open to criticism; but the composition can seldom be charged with inaccuracy or negligence. The author never slumbers in self-indulgence; his full vigour is always exerted; scarce a line is left unfinished, nor is it easy to find an expression used by constraint, or a thought imperfectly expressed. It was remarked by Pope that *The Dispensary* had been corrected in every edition, and that every change was an improvement[2]. It appears, however, to want something of poetical ardour, and something of general delectation; and therefore, since it has been no longer supported by accidental and extrinsick popularity, it has been scarcely able to support itself.

[1] Johnson refers, I think, to Du Resnel's criticism, not in his Preface, but in a note on p. 219 of *Les Principes de la Morale*, &c., 1737, where he writes the poet's name first Garth and then Oarth. He thus begins a quotation from *The Spectator*, No. 419:—'Inglish are naturally fancifuls.' *Ib.* Preface, p. 29. See also *post*, POPE, 43, 181.

[2] 'Mr. Pope told me himself that "there was hardly an alteration of the innumerable ones through every edition that was not for the better."' J. RICHARDSON, JUN., *Richardsoniana*, 1776, p. 195. For the versification see *ante*, BUTLER, 50 *n.* 2.

'Too much handling of verses is apt to wear off the natural gloss, as I could give many instances in Garth and Prior.' FENTON, Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 132.

# ROWE[1]

NICHOLAS ROWE was born at Little Beckford[2] in Bedfordshire in 1673. His family had long possessed a considerable estate with a good house at Lambertoun[3] in Devonshire. The ancestor from whom he descended in a direct line received the arms borne by his descendants for his bravery in the Holy War. His father John Rowe, who was the first that quitted his paternal acres to practise any art of profit, professed the law, and published Benlow's and Dallison's Reports in the reign of James the Second, when, in opposition to the notions then diligently propagated, of dispensing power[4], he ventured to remark how low his authors rated the prerogative[5]. He was made a serjeant, 1

[1] 'This *Life*,' wrote Nichols, 'is a very remarkable instance of the uncommon strength of Dr. Johnson's memory. When I received from him the MS. he complacently observed that the criticism was tolerably well done, considering that he had not read one of Rowe's plays for thirty years.' Johnson's *Letters*, ii. 132 *n*.

Johnson wrote to Nichols:—'In reading Rowe in your edition, which is very impudently called mine, I observed a little piece unnaturally and odiously obscene. I was offended, but was still more offended when I could not find it in Rowe's genuine volumes. To admit it had been wrong; to interpolate it is surely worse. If I had known of such a piece in the whole collection, I should have been angry. What can be done?' In a note, Mr. Nichols says that this piece 'has not only appeared in the *Works* of Rowe, but has been transplanted by Pope into the *Miscellanies* he published in his own name and that of Dean Swift.' *Ib.* ii. 158. For these *Miscellanies* see *post*, POPE, 141.

Johnson's chief authority is a brief account by James Welwood, M.D., prefixed to Rowe's *Lucan's Pharsalia*, 1720, p. 36.

[2] Berkford. *Ib.* The name is Little Barford. He was baptized there on June 30, 1674. *N. & Q.* 7 S. xi. 105.

[3] In the *Villare*, Lamerton. JOHNSON. Johnson refers to the *Villare Anglicanum, or a View of the Cities, Towns and Villages in England*, by Sir Henry Spelman, London, 1656, 4to.

[4] The power by which the King, by remitting penalties, was 'competent to annul virtually a penal statute.' Macaulay's *Hist.* i. 32, 230, ii. 335; *ante*, MILTON, 4 *n*.

[5] 'He durst do this in the late King James's reign, at a time when a dispensing power was set up as inherent in the Crown.' Rowe's *Lucan*, Preface, p. 37. It was in 1689, in the reign of William and Mary, that he published *Les Reports de Gulielme Benloe*, &c., and *Les Reports . . . colligées par Gulielme Dallison*. In the Preface he writes:—'Some resolutions are here reported, the like whereof are to be found nowhere so exactly (as I could ever observe) which relate to the Crown and Royal Prerogative, which do show what moderate notions were enter-

and died April 30, 1692. He was buried in the Temple Church.

2 Nicholas was first sent to a private school at Highgate[1]; and, being afterwards removed to Westminster, was at twelve years[2] chosen one of the King's scholars. His master was Busby[3], who suffered none of his scholars to let their powers lie useless; and his exercises in several languages are said to have been written with uncommon degrees of excellence, and yet to have cost him very little labour.

3 At sixteen he had in his father's opinion made advances in learning sufficient to qualify him for the study of law, and was entered a student of the Middle Temple, where for some time he read statutes and reports with proficiency proportionate to the force of his mind, which was already such that he endeavoured to comprehend law, not as a series of precedents or collection of positive precepts, but as a system of rational government and impartial justice[4].

4 When he was nineteen he was by the death of his father left more to his own direction, and probably from that time suffered law gradually to give way to poetry. At twenty-five he produced *The Ambitious Step-mother*, which was received with so much favour[5] that he devoted himself from that time wholly to elegant literature[6].

5 His next tragedy (1702) was *Tamerlane*, in which, under the name of Tamerlane, he intended to characterise king William[7], and Lewis the Fourteenth under that of Bajazet. The virtues of

tained by the Judges concerning those matters in a very critical time.' [Dalison was a judge of the Queen's Bench from about 1556-9. His *Reports*, in conjunction with Sergeant Bendlowes', which come down to 16 Eliz., are 'a valuable record of the cases of the time.' Foss's *Biog. Jurid.* p. 210.]

[1] 'The free-school built by Sir Roger Cholmondely.' HAWKINS, Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 28.

[2] 'He was not elected till 1688.' NICHOLS, Johnson's *Works*, 1825, vii. 407 *n.*

[3] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 4.

[4] This is Johnson's paraphrase of the following passage by Welwood, in Rowe's *Lucan*, Preface, p. 38:— 'He was not content, as he told me, to know the law as a collection of statutes or customs only, but as a system founded upon right reason, and calculated for the good of mankind.'

[5] *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 61.

[6] In the first edition, 'to the more elegant parts of writing.'

[7] In 1742 Johnson described William as 'arbitrary, insolent, gloomy, rapacious and brutal. . . . He had neither in great things nor in small the manners of a gentleman.' *Works*, vi. 6. In 1775 he called him 'one of the most worthless scoundrels that ever existed.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 342. See *post*, ADDISON, 17; PRIOR, 13.

Tamerlane seem to have been arbitrarily assigned him by poet, for I know not that history gives any other qualities than those which make a conqueror[1]. The fashion, however, of the time was to accumulate upon Lewis all that can raise horror and detestation; and whatever good was withheld from him, that it might not be thrown away, was bestowed upon king William.

This was the tragedy which Rowe valued most, and that which 6
probably, by the help of political auxiliaries, excited most applause; but occasional poetry must often content itself with occasional praise. *Tamerlane* has for a long time been acted only once a year, on the night when king William landed[2]. Our quarrel with Lewis has been long over, and it now gratifies neither zeal nor malice to see him painted with aggravated features, like a Saracen upon a sign.

*The Fair Penitent*, his next production (1703), is one of the 7
most pleasing tragedies on the stage, where it still keeps its turns of appearing; and probably will long keep them, for there is scarcely any work of any poet at once so interesting by the fable and so delightful by the language. The story is domestick, and therefore easily received by the imagination, and assimilated to common life; the diction is exquisitely harmonious, and soft or spritely as occasion requires[3].

The character of Lothario seems to have been expanded by 8
Richardson into Lovelace[4], but he has excelled his original in the moral effect of the fiction. Lothario, with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be despised, retains too much of the spectator's kindness. It was in the power of Richardson alone to teach us at once esteem and detestation; to make virtuous resentment overpower all the benevolence which wit, elegance, and courage naturally excite, and to lose at last the hero in the villain[5].

[1] Garth, in a *Prologue designed for Tamerlane*, says of William:—

'To valour much he owes, to virtue more;
He fights to save, and conquers to restore;
He strains no text, nor makes dragoons persuade;
He likes religion, but he hates the trade.' *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 115.

[2] See Appendix H.

[3] Hannah More (*Memoirs*, i. 251), wrote in 1782:—'You would have enjoyed seeing Johnson take me by the hand in the middle of dinner, and repeat, with no small enthusiasm, many passages from *The Fair Penitent*, &c.'

[4] In *Clarissa*.

[5] For Johnson's high opinion of Richardson see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 49, 174.

.ıe fifth act is not equal to the former: the events of the drama are exhausted, and little remains but to talk of what is past[1]. It has been observed that the title of the play does not sufficiently correspond with the behaviour of Calista, who at last shews no evident signs of repentance, but may be reasonably suspected of feeling pain from detection rather than from guilt, and expresses more shame than sorrow, and more rage than shame.

10 His next (1706) was *Ulysses*[2]; which, with the common fate of mythological stories[3], is now generally neglected. We have been too early acquainted with the poetical heroes to expect any pleasure from their revival: to shew them as they have already been shewn is to disgust by repetition; to give them new qualities or new adventures is to offend by violating received notions.

11 *The Royal Convert* (1708) seems to have a better claim to longevity. The fable is drawn from an obscure and barbarous age, to which fictions are most easily and properly adapted; for when objects are imperfectly seen they easily take forms from imagination. The scene lies among our ancestors in our own country, and therefore very easily catches attention. Rhodogune is a personage truly tragical, of high spirit and violent passions, great with tempestuous dignity, and wicked with a soul that would have been heroic if it had been virtuous[4]. The motto[5] seems to tell that this play was not successful.

12 Rowe does not always remember what his characters require. In *Tamerlane* there is some ridiculous mention of the God of Love; and Rhodogune, a savage Saxon, talks of Venus, and the eagle that bears the thunder of Jupiter.

13 This play discovers its own date by a prediction of the Union,

[1] 'It is a very good play for three acts; but failing in the two last answered not the Company's expectation.' *Roscius Ang.* p. 62. For a ludicrous accident that one night brought the play to an end 'with immoderate fits of laughter' see *Biog. Dram.* ii. 213.

[2] 'This play, being all new cloathed and excellently performed, had a successful run.' *Roscius Ang.* p. 65. Addison wrote to A. Philips in a letter conjecturally, but wrongly, dated 1710:—'Mr. Rowe has on the stocks a tragedy on Penelope's Lovers, where Ulysses is to be the hero.' *Works*, v. 381.

[3] *Ante*, BUTLER, 41.

[4] 'Procopius may have suggested to Mr. Rowe the character and situation of Rodogune in the tragedy of *The Royal Convert*.' GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall*, iv. 158 *n.*

[5] 'Laudatur et alget' (Is praised and starves). JUVENAL, *Sat.* i. 74.

'It was produced on Nov. 25, 1707, and acted seven times.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 108.

in imitation of Cranmer's prophetick promises to Henry Eighth [1]. The anticipated blessings of union are not very naturally introduced, nor very happily expressed.

He once (1706 [2]) tried to change his hand. He ventured 14
on a comedy, and produced *The Biter* [3], with which, though it was unfavourably treated by the audience [4], he was himself delighted; for he is said to have sat in the house, laughing with great vehemence whenever he had in his own opinion produced a jest. But finding that he and the publick had no sympathy of mirth he tried at lighter scenes no more.

After *The Royal Convert* (1714) appeared *Jane Shore*, written, 15
as its author professes, 'in imitation of Shakespeare's style [5].' In what he thought himself an imitator of Shakespeare it is not easy to conceive. The numbers, the diction, the sentiments, and the conduct, every thing in which imitation can consist, are remote in the utmost degree from the manner of Shakespeare; whose dramas it resembles only as it is an English story, and as some of the persons have their names in history. This play, consisting chiefly of domestick scenes and private distress, lays hold upon the heart [6]. The wife is forgiven because she repents, and the

[1] *Henry VIII*, v. 5.

[2] It was published in 1705. *Biog. Dram.* ii. 59. Addison wrote in the letter quoted *ante*, ROWE, 10 *n.* 2:—'Mr. Rowe has promised the town a farce this winter, but it does not yet appear.' *Works*, v. 381.

[3] 'There is an ingenious tribe of men sprung up of late years who are for making April fools every day in the year. These gentlemen are commonly distinguished by the name of Biters; a race of men that are perpetually employed in laughing at those mistakes which are of their own production.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 47.

[4] *Post*, ROWE, 30. 'It had a six days' run; the six days running it out of breath, it sickened and expired.' *Roscius Ang.* p. 62. Congreve wrote on Dec. 9, 1704:—'Rowe writ a foolish farce called *The Biter*, which was damned.' G. M. Berkeley's *Lit. Relics*, p. 342. It was printed in 1705.

[5] It was produced on Feb. 2, 1713-4, and was acted nineteen times. Genest's *Hist. of the Stage*, ii. 524.

The title is *The Tragedy of Jane Shore. Written in Imitation of Shakespeare's Style.*

'I have seen a play professedly writ in the style of Shakespeare, wherein the resemblance lay in one single line—

"And so good morrow t'ye, good master lieutenant."'

Swift's *Works*, xiii. 53.

[The line is in *Lady Jane Grey*, v. 1: 'And so good morning, good,' &c.]

'It was mighty simple in Rowe to write a play now, professedly in Shakespeare's style, that is, professedly in the style of a bad age.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 174.

[6] *Post*, ROWE, 32. 'Of the pathetic in poetry,' writes Mrs. Piozzi, 'Johnson never liked to speak, and the only passage I ever heard him applaud as particularly tender in any common book was Jane Shore's exclamation in the last act—

'Forgive me! *but* forgive me."'

*John. Misc.* i. 283.

'These few words,' wrote Dr. Warton, 'far exceed the most pompous

and is honoured because he forgives. This therefore is one of those pieces which we still welcome on the stage [1].

16 His last tragedy (1715) was *Lady Jane Grey*. This subject had been chosen by Mr. Smith, whose papers were put into Rowe's hands such as he describes them in his Preface [2]. This play likewise has sunk into oblivion. From this time he gave nothing more to the stage [3].

17 Being by a competent fortune [4] exempted from any necessity of combating his inclination he never wrote in distress, and therefore does not appear to have ever written in haste. His works were finished to his own approbation, and bear few marks of negligence or hurry. It is remarkable that his prologues and epilogues are all his own [5], though he sometimes supplied others [6]: he afforded help, but did not solicit it.

18 As his studies necessarily made him acquainted with Shakespeare, and acquaintance produced veneration, he undertook (1709) an edition of his works, from which he neither received much praise nor seems to have expected it [7]; yet, I believe, those who

declamations of *Cato*.' *Essay on Pope*, i. 274.

'Dr. Johnson told me he hated to hear people whine about metaphysical distresses, when there was so much want and hunger in the world. I told him I supposed then he never wept at any tragedy but *Jane Shore*, who had died for want of a loaf of bread. He called me a saucy girl, but did not deny the inference.' HANNAH MORE, *Memoirs*, i. 249.

Macready, in his *Reminiscences*, ii. 443, speaking of 'the physical pain of the stage,' says:—'In its coarsest display there will always be a large portion of the audience upon whom it will tell. Even in Paris . . . I recollect when Miss Smithson, as Jane Shore, uttered the line, "I have not tasted food these three long days," a deep murmur ran through the house—"Oh, mon Dieu!"'

[1] Macready brought it out at Drury Lane in 1842-3. *Ib.* ii. 208.

[2] *Ante*, SMITH, 24, 54, 66. 'One scene there was, and one only, that seemed pretty near perfect. . . . I could not take above five and twenty, or thirty lines at the most, and even in those I was obliged to make some alteration.' Preface to *Lady Jane Grey*, 1715, p. 9.

[3] 'In Lintot's account-book are the following entries under the name of Rowe:—

"Dec. 12, 1713. *Jane Shore*, 50*l.* 15*s.*

April 27, 1715. *Jane Gray*, 75*l.* 5*s.*"' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 109.

[4] He had about £300 a year and his chambers in the Temple. Spence's *Anec.* p. 257.

[5] Pope wrote an *Epilogue to Jane Shore. Designed for Mrs. Oldfield.* Rowe rejected it, perhaps on account of its indecency.

[6] *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 194-202.

[7] 'At last an edition was undertaken by Rowe; not because a poet was to be published by a poet, for Rowe seems to have thought very little on correction or explanation, but that our author's works might appear like those of his fraternity with the appendages of a life and recommendatory preface.' JOHNSON, *Shakespeare*, Preface, p. 47. Rowe was paid for it £36 10*s.* *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 76.

compare it with former copies will find that he has done more than he promised, and that, without the pomp of notes or boasts of criticism, many passages are happily restored. He prefixed a life of the author, such as tradition, then almost expiring, could supply, and a preface which cannot be said to discover much profundity or penetration[1]. He at least contributed to the popularity of his author[2].

He was willing enough to improve his fortune by other arts 19
than poetry. He was under-secretary for three years when the duke of Queensberry was secretary of state[3], and afterwards applied to the earl of Oxford for some publick employment[4]. Oxford enjoined him to study Spanish; and when, some time afterwards, he came again, and said that he had mastered it, dismissed him with this congratulation, 'Then, Sir, I envy you the pleasure of reading *Don Quixote* in the original.'

This story is sufficiently attested; but why Oxford, who 20
desired to be thought a favourer of literature, should thus insult a man of acknowledged merit, or how Rowe, who was so keen a Whig[5] that he did not willingly converse with men of the

[1] The Life and Preface, which are in one, are in Johnson's *Shakespeare*, Preface, p. 145. Johnson, in a note to the *Dramatis Personae* of *Twelfth Night*, says:—'The Persons of the Drama were first enumerated, with all the cant of the modern Stage, by Mr. Rowe.' *Ib.* ii. 352.

['He improved the text by some happy guesses, while from overhaste and negligence he left it still deformed by many palpable errors. The best part of the work is that with which his experience of the stage as a dramatic poet had made him familiar.' *Cambridge Shakespeare*, vol. i, Preface, 28. 'The first attempt really to *edit* Shakespeare's Plays was made by Rowe, 1709, who published a second and much improved edition in 1714.' *Merchant of Venice*, edited by W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright, Clarendon Press, Introd. p. 7.]

[2] Johnson says that Pope, by his edition, 'drew the public attention upon Shakespeare's works, which though often mentioned, had been little read.' *Post*, POPE, 128.

[3] The second Duke became third Secretary of State in Feb. 1708–9. He died on July 6, 1711. Collins's *Peerage*, i. 484; *post*, ROWE, 25. According to Peter Wentworth, 'the Duke of Somerset stickled hard for Rowe to be in the Duke of Q—'s office; so much that he had like to have quarrelled with the Duke, who had a mind to have shuffled him off.' *Wentworth Papers*, p. 140.

[4] Johnson gives Spence (*Anec.* p. 178) as his authority, who had the anecdote from Pope. It is not there stated that Rowe had first applied to the Earl for employment. See also Cibber's *Lives*, iii. 280. In the first Auction Catalogue of his Library in the British Museum the only Spanish work is a Dictionary. His *Don Quixote* was in French.

[5] 'Prior turned from a strong Whig (which he had been when most with Lord Halifax) to a violent Tory; and did not care to converse with any Whigs after, any more than Rowe did with Tories.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 3. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 108.

opposite party, could ask preferment from Oxford[1], it is not now possible to discover. Pope, who told the story, did not say on what occasion the advice was given; and though he owned Rowe's disappointment, doubted whether any injury was intended him, but thought it rather lord Oxford's 'odd way[2].'

21 It is likely that he lived on discontented through the rest of queen Anne's reign; but the time came at last when he found kinder friends. At the accession of king George he was made poet laureat[3]: I am afraid by the ejection of poor Nahum Tate, who (1716) died in the Mint, where he was forced to seek shelter by extreme poverty[4]. He was made likewise one of the land-surveyors[5] of the customs of the port of London. The prince of Wales chose him clerk of his council; and the lord chancellor Parker, as soon as he received the seals, appointed him, unasked, secretary of the presentations[6]. Such an accumulation of employments undoubtedly produced a very considerable revenue.

[1] Swift wrote on Dec. 27, 1712:—'Rowe I have recommended, and got a promise of a place.' *Works*, iii. 80. See also *ib.* xvi. 341; *post*, SWIFT, 51.

[2] 'Was not that cruel?' asked Spence. 'I don't believe it was meant so,' answered Pope; 'it was more like his odd way.' Pope had begun by saying that 'Lord Oxford was huddled in his thoughts, and obscure in his manner of delivering them.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 178. See *post*, BLACKMORE, 4, for Sydenham's advice about *Don Quixote*.

[3] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 26. Hearne wrote on Aug. 26, 1715 (*Remains*, ii. 16):—'Mr. Nic. Rowe is made poet-laureate in the room of Mr. Tate, deceased. This Rowe is a great Whig, and but a mean poet.' Gray wrote in 1757:—'Rowe was, I think, the last man of character that had the office.' *Letters*, i. 373. For his Odes as laureate see *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 235-47.

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 116 *n.*, 273. Tate died on July 22, 1715, and Rowe was appointed on Aug. 1. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 111.

'The Mint is opposite the west end of St. George's Church, Southwark. It was for many years an asylum for debtors, who fled thither with their effects in order to defraud their creditors, till Parliament took away the privilege of sanctuary, in order to destroy this nest of spoilers.' Dodsley's *London*, iv. 352. This was done in 1723. Smollett's *Hist.* ii. 430.

In *The Beggar's Opera*, Act iii, the brothel-house keeper says:—'To be sure, of late years I have been a great sufferer by the parliament. Three thousand pounds would hardly make me amends. The act for destroying the Mint was a severe cut upon our business—till then, if a customer stept out of the way we knew where to have her.' See also Pope's *Prol. Sat.* l. 13, and *post*, POPE, 269.

[5] [There were nine land-surveyors at a salary of £200 each. Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1718, pt. 2, p. 59. Later they appear as 'landing-surveyors.' *Royal Kalendar*, 1795, p. 186.]

[6] Rowe's *Lucan*, Preface, p. 48. 'His office was Clerk of the Presentations.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 111. The Secretary was the higher. [For Rowe's offices see *Hist. Reg.* 1718, pt. 2, p. 46. His tenure of the Clerkship was brief, as Parker had only received the seals in the May preceding Rowe's death on Dec. 6, 1718.]

Having already translated some parts of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 22
which had been published in the *Miscellanies*, and doubtless received many praises [1], he undertook a version of the whole work, which he lived to finish, but not to publish [2]. It seems to have been printed under the care of Dr. Welwood, who prefixed the author's life, in which is contained the following character [3]:

'As to his person, it was graceful and well-made; his face 23
regular, and of a manly beauty [4]. As his soul was well lodged, so its rational and animal faculties excelled in a high degree. He had a quick and fruitful invention, a deep penetration, and a large compass of thought, with singular dexterity and easiness in making his thoughts to be understood. He was master of most parts of polite learning, especially the classical authors, both Greek and Latin; understood the French, Italian, and Spanish Languages, and spoke the first fluently, and the other two tolerably well.

'He had likewise read most of the Greek and Roman histories 24
in their original languages, and most that are wrote [writ] in English, French, Italian, and Spanish. He had a good taste in philosophy; and, having a firm impression of religion upon his mind, he took great delight in divinity and ecclesiastical history, in both which he made great advances in the times he retired into the country, which were frequent. He expressed on all occasions his full persuasion of the truth of Revealed Religion; and being a sincere member of the established church himself, he pitied, but condemned not, those that dissented from it. He abhorred the principles of persecuting men upon the account of their opinions in religion; and being strict in his own, he took it not upon him to censure those of another persuasion. His conversation was pleasant, witty, and learned, without the least tincture of affectation or pedantry; and his inimitable manner of diverting and enlivening the company made it impossible for any one to be out of humour when he was in it. Envy and detraction seemed to be entirely foreign to his constitution; and whatever provocations he met with at any time, he passed them over without the least thought of resentment or revenge. As Homer had a Zoilus, so Mr. Rowe had sometimes his; for there were not wanting malevolent people, and pretenders

[1] 'Mr. Rowe has given the world some admirable specimens of Lucan, and not only kept up the fire of the original, but delivered the sentiments with greater perspicuity, and in a finer turn of phrase and verse.' ADDISON, *The Freeholder*, No. 40.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 255; *post*, HUGHES, 11.

[3] Preface, p. 46.

[4] 'He was of a comely personage, and a very pretty sort of man.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 257.

'Many of our poets have been remarkably handsome; such were Spenser, Milton, Cowley, Rowe, Addison, Congreve, Garth and Gray.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 289.

to poetry too, that would now and then bark at his best performances; but he was so much conscious of his own genius, and had so much good-nature, as to forgive them; nor could he ever be tempted to return them an answer.

25 'The love of learning and poetry made him not the less fit for business, and nobody applied himself closer to it, when it required his attendance[1]. The late duke of Queensberry, when he was secretary of state, made him his secretary for publick affairs[2]; and when that truly great man came to know him well he was never so pleased as when Mr. Rowe was in his company. After the duke's death all avenues were stopped to his preferment; and during the rest of that reign he passed his time with the Muses and his books, and sometimes the conversation of his friends.

26 'When he had just got to be easy in his fortune, and was in a fair way to make it better, death swept him away, and in him deprived the world of one of the best men as well as one of the best geniuses of the age. He died like a Christian and a Philosopher, in charity with all mankind, and with an absolute resignation to the will of God. He kept up his good-humour to the last; and took leave of his wife and friends, immediately before his last agony, with the same tranquillity of mind and the same indifference for life, as though he had been upon taking but a short journey. He was twice married, first to a daughter of Mr. Parsons [Persons], one of the auditors of the revenue, and afterwards to a daughter of Mr. Devenish[3], of a good family in Dorsetshire. By the first he had a son, and by the second a daughter, married afterwards to Mr. Fane [both yet living]. He died the sixth of December, 1718, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried the nineteenth of the same month in Westminster-abbey, in the isle where many of our English poets are interred, over against Chaucer; his body being attended by a select number of his friends, and the dean and choir officiating at the funeral[4].'

27 To this character, which is apparently given with the fondness of a friend, may be added the testimony of Pope, who says in a letter to Blount[5]:

'Mr. Rowe accompanied me, and passed a week in the Forest.

[1] Dennis, writing to Rowe, described him as 'a gentleman who loved to lie in bed all day for his ease, and to sit up all night for his pleasure.' *Original Letters*, 1721, p. 20.

[2] *Ante*, ROWE, 19.

[3] *Post*, POPE, 408 *n.*

[4] For the epitaph 'intended for him' by Pope see *post*, POPE, 408, and for the epitaph as it now stands see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 385.

[5] The letter was really written to John Caryll, on Sept. 20, 1713. Pope, in publishing it among the letters which he falsified, changed the person to whom it was written to Edward Blount, and the date to Feb. 10, 1715–16. *Ib.* vi. 194; Warton, *Pope's Works*, viii. 12.

I need not tell you how much a man of his turn entertained me; but I must acquaint you there is a vivacity and gaiety of disposition, almost peculiar to him [1], which make it impossible to part from him without that uneasiness which generally succeeds all our pleasure.'

Pope has left behind him another mention of his companion, 28
less advantageous, which is thus reported by Dr. Warburton [2]:

'Rowe, in Mr. Pope's opinion, maintained a decent character, but had no heart. Mr. Addison was justly offended with some behaviour which arose from that want, and estranged himself from him; which Rowe felt very severely. Mr. Pope, their common friend, knowing this, took an opportunity, at some juncture of Mr. Addison's advancement, to tell him how poor Rowe was grieved at his displeasure, and what satisfaction he expressed at Mr. Addison's good fortune; which he expressed so naturally, that he (Mr. Pope) could not but think him sincere. Mr. Addison replied, "I do not suspect that he feigned; but the levity of his heart is such, that he is struck with any new adventure; and it would affect him just in the same manner if he heard I was going [to be hanged."—Mr. Pope said he could not deny but Mr. Addison understood Rowe well.'

This censure time has not left us the power of confirming 29
or refuting; but observation daily shews that much stress is not to be laid on hyperbolical accusations and pointed sentences, which even he that utters them desires to be applauded rather than credited. Addison can hardly be supposed to have meant all that he said. Few characters can bear the microscopick scrutiny of wit quickened by anger; and perhaps the best advice to authors would be that they should keep out of the way of one another.

Rowe is chiefly to be considered as a tragick writer and a 30
translator. In his attempt at comedy he failed so ignominiously that his *Biter* [3] is not inserted in his works; and his occasional poems and short compositions are rarely worthy of either praise or censure, for they seem the casual sports of a mind seeking rather to amuse its leisure than to exercise its powers.

In the construction of his dramas there is not much art; he is 31

[1] Pope, in *A Farewell to London*, l. 9 (Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 482), says:—
'To drink and droll be Rowe allowed,
Till the third watchman's toll.'
Pope told Spence that 'Rowe would laugh all day long; he would do nothing else but laugh.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 284.

[2] In Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 493.

[3] *Ante*, ROWE, 14.

not a nice observer of the Unities[1]. He extends time and varies place as his convenience requires. To vary the place is not, in my opinion, any violation of Nature, if the change be made between the acts, for it is no less easy for the spectator to suppose himself at Athens in the second act, than at Thebes in the first[2]; but to change the scene, as is done by Rowe in the middle of an act, is to add more acts to the play, since an act is so much of the business as is transacted without interruption[3]. Rowe, by this license, easily extricates himself from difficulties; as in *Jane Grey*, when we have been terrified with all the dreadful pomp of publick execution, and are wondering how the heroine or the poet will proceed, no sooner has Jane pronounced some prophetick rhymes, than—pass and be gone—the scene closes, and Pembroke and Gardiner are turned out upon the stage[4].

32 I know not that there can be found in his plays any deep search into nature, any accurate discriminations of kindred qualities, or nice display of passion in its progress; all is general and undefined. Nor does he much interest or affect the auditor, except in Jane Shore, who is always seen and heard with pity[5]. Alicia[6] is a character of empty noise, with no resemblance to real sorrow or to natural madness.

33 Whence, then, has Rowe his reputation? From the reasonableness and propriety of some of his scenes, from the elegance of his diction, and the suavity of his verse[7]. He seldom moves either pity or terror, but he often elevates the sentiments; he seldom pierces the breast, but he always delights the ear, and often improves the understanding[8].

[1] For Johnson's defence of Shakespeare for disregarding the unities see Johnson's *Works*, v. 118.

[2] 'He that can take the stage at one time for the palace of the Ptolemies may take it in half an hour for the promontory of Actium.' *Ib.* p. 120.

[3] 'Whenever the scene is shifted the act ceases.' *The Rambler*, No. 156.

[4] 'The scene draws and discovers a scaffold hung with black, executioner and guards.' After the 'prophetick rhymes' come to an end, 'Lady Jane goes up to the scaffold; the scene closes. Enter Pembroke.' He curses Gardiner's 'fatal arts.' Gardiner replies, Pembroke rejoins, and then 'Exeunt omnes.'

[5] *Ante*, ROWE, 15.

[6] [In *Jane Shore*.]

[7] Of Rowe's song *Despairing beside a clear stream* (*Colin's Complaint, Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 215) Goldsmith wrote:—'This is better than anything of the kind in our language.' *Works*, iii. 439. The Despairing Shepherd was said to be Addison. *Post*, ADDISON, 85. It was imitated by Shenstone (*post*, SHENSTONE, 25), and quoted thrice by Johnson in his *Letters*, ii. 32, 136, 139.

[8] 'Shakespeare has speeches, perhaps sometimes scenes, which have all the delicacy of Rowe without his effeminacy.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 133. Gray wrote to Horace Walpole:—

His translations of the *Golden Verses*[1] and of the first book of 34
Quillet's Poem[2] have nothing in them remarkable. The *Golden Verses* are tedious.

The version of Lucan is one of the greatest productions of 35
English poetry[3]; for there is perhaps none that so completely exhibits the genius and spirit of the original. Lucan is distinguished by a kind of dictatorial or philosophic dignity, rather, as Quintilian observes, declamatory than poetical[4]; full of ambitious morality and pointed sentences, comprised in vigorous and animated lines. This character Rowe has very diligently and successfully preserved. His versification, which is such as his contemporaries practised without any attempt at innovation or improvement, seldom wants either melody or force. His author's sense is sometimes a little diluted by additional infusions, and sometimes weakened by too much expansion. But such faults are to be expected in all translations, from the constraint of measures and dissimilitude of languages. The *Pharsalia* of Rowe[5] deserves more notice than it obtains, and as it is more read will be more esteemed.

'Do you remember "Approchez-vous, Néron"? Who would not rather have thought of that half line than all Mr. Rowe's flowers of eloquence?' (The line is the first in Racine's *Britannicus*, iv. 2.) Gray's *Letters*, i. 154.

Dr. Warton quotes a passage from Walpole's Preface to *The Mysterious Mother*, where, describing the progress of 'theatric genius,' he says that 'it maintained a placid pleasing kind of dignity in Rowe, and even shone in his *Jane Shore*.' Warton, *Pope's Works*, iv. 198.

'Mrs. Oldfield [the actress] used to say the best school she had ever known was only hearing Rowe read her part in his tragedies.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 380.

'Rowe was only outdone by Shakespeare and Otway as a tragic writer; he has fewer absurdities than either, and is perhaps as pathetic as they; but his flights are not so bold, nor his characters so strongly marked.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 432.

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 165.

[2] '*Callipaedia*. . . . By the Abbot Quillet, &c. Now done into English verse. 1710.' It is not included in *Eng. Poets*, perhaps owing to its licentiousness.

[3] 'It is,' writes Dr. Warton, 'one of the few translations that is better than its original. I venture to say the same of three more translations, namely of Hampton's *Polybius* [*ante*, MILTON, 10], of Pitt's *Vida* [*post*, PITT, 5], and of Melmoth's *Pliny* [Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 422].' Pope's *Works*, 1822, vii. 139.

[4] 'Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus, sed, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.' *Inst.* x. 1. 90. See *ante*, MILTON, 225.

[5] 'In *Gent. Mag.* 1781, p. 358, is mentioned 'Bentley's harsh animadversion on Rowe's *Lucan* in *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, part iii.'

## APPENDIX H (PAGE 67)

In Horace Walpole's *Epilogue to Tamerlane on the Suppression of the Rebellion*, spoken by Mrs. Pritchard on Nov. 4, 1746, are the following lines :—

> 'Ev'n Tamerlane, whose sainted name appears
> Red-letter'd in the calendar of play'rs,
> Oft as these festal rites attend the morn
> Of liberty restor'd and William born,' &c.

In a note it is stated :—'*Tamerlane* is always acted on the 4th and 5th of November, the anniversaries of King William's birth and landing.' Walpole's *Works*, i. 26. See also his *Letters*, ii. 67.

In Dublin 'Nov. 4 was made a *Government Night*, when the Lord Lieutenant rendered the boxes free to such ladies as chose to come.' *Biog. Dram.* iii. 318.

Macready, in 1819, acted in the play at Covent Garden, brought out for one night early in November (no doubt the anniversary). 'It is,' he writes, 'a heavy declamatory production of the cast-iron school.' He adds that Mrs. Siddons once, acting the heroine at Drury Lane, 'gave such terrible reality to the few convulsive words she tried to utter, as she sank a lifeless heap, that the audience insisted on the manager's appearance to be assured that she was alive. They would not suffer the performance to be resumed.' Macready's *Reminiscences*, i. 202.

Rowe, in the Dedication, speaks of Tamerlane's 'piety, moderation, fatherly love of his people, and hate of tyranny and oppression.' Dr. Welwood describes 'his noble ardour to break the chains of enslaved nations.' Rowe's *Lucan*, Preface, p. 40. 'Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation.' GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, vii. 70 *n.*

# ADDISON[1]

JOSEPH ADDISON was born on the first of May, 1672[2], 1
at Milston, of which his father, Lancelot Addison, was then rector, near Ambrosbury in Wiltshire[3], and appearing weak and unlikely to live he was christened the same day. After the usual domestick education, which from the character of his father may be reasonably supposed to have given him strong impressions of piety[4], he was committed to the care of Mr. Naish at Ambrosbury, and afterwards of Mr. Taylor at Salisbury.

Not to name the school or the masters of men illustrious for 2
literature, is a kind of historical fraud, by which honest fame is injuriously diminished[5]: I would therefore trace him through the whole process of his education. In 1683, in the beginning of his twelfth year, his father, being made dean of Lichfield, naturally

[1] On April 11, 1780, Johnson wrote of the *Lives*:—'Mr. Nichols holds that Addison is the most *taking* of all that I have done.' *John. Letters*, ii. 138.

Macaulay, wishing to review Aikin's *Life of Addison*, wrote to the Editor of *The Edinburgh Review*:—'I look on that subject as peculiarly my own, for I know him almost by heart.' As Dante says:—

'Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore
Che m' han fatto cercar lo tuo volume.' *Inferno*, i. 83.

['May the long zeal avail me, and the great love, that made me search thy volume.' Carlyle's *Dante's Inferno*, p. 8.] *M. Napier Corres.* p. 426.

[2] He dates his poem *To Mr. Dryden*, 'Mag. Coll. Oxon. June 2, 1693. The Author's Age, 22.' *Works*, i. 2. According to this he was born in 1671. [But May 1, 1672, is the date of his birth in the Amesbury parish register, 'not the year before as Anthony Wood and others after him relate.' *Gen. Dict. Hist. and Crit.* i. 262.]

[3] Now Amesbury. Cobbett in 1822 described 'the valley that brings down a little river from Amesbury. It is a very beautiful valley. There is a chain of farm-houses and little churches all the way up it.' *Rural Rides*, 1893, i. 153. Sydney Smith's first curacy (1794) was at Nether Avon, three miles from Amesbury. S. J. Reid's *Sydney Smith*, 1884, p. 30.

[4] Wood describes Lancelot Addison's zeal for the Protestant religion when he was chaplain at Tangier, and his studious life at Milston. He gives a list of the books he wrote there. *Ath. Oxon.* iv. 518.

He is probably described in *The Tatler*, No. 235, as the only man the writer had known who 'lived with his children with equanimity and a good grace.' Nichols thinks this paper is by Addison. *The Tatler*, 1789, iv. 230. For Steele's account of 'the singular perfections' of his four children see Addison's *Works*, v. 151. 'Addison's sister,' wrote Swift (*Works*, ii. 57), 'is a sort of wit, very like him. I am not fond of her.' An inscription in Lichfield Cathedral (given in *Biog. Brit.* p. 30) shows that he married twice, but that his six children, two of whom died young, were by his first wife. [See also *N. & Q.* 5 S. vi. 350.]

[5] *Post*, HUGHES, 1. 'Ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur, fraudenturve laude sua.' Livy, xxvii. 10.

carried his family to his new residence, and, I believe, placed him for some time, probably not long, under Mr. Shaw, then master of the school at Lichfield, father of the late Dr. Peter Shaw[1]. Of this interval his biographers have given no account, and I know it only from a story of a *barring-out*, told me when I was a boy by Andrew Corbet[2] of Shropshire, who had heard it from Mr. Pigot his uncle.

3 The practice of *barring-out*[3] was a savage license, practised in many schools to the end of the last century, by which the boys, when the periodical vacation drew near, growing petulant at the approach of liberty, some days before the time of regular recess, took possession of the school, of which they barred the doors, and bade their master defiance from the windows. It is not easy to suppose that on such occasions the master would do more than laugh, yet, if tradition may be credited, he often struggled hard to force or surprise the garrison. The master, when Pigot was a school-boy, was *barred-out* at Lichfield, and the whole operation, as he said, was planned and conducted by Addison.

4 To judge better of the probability of this story, I have enquired when he was sent to the Chartreux[4]; but, as he was not one of those who enjoyed the Founder's benefaction, there is no account preserved of his admission. At the school of the Chartreux, to which he was removed either from that of Salisbury or Lichfield, he pursued his juvenile studies under the care of Dr. Ellis[5], and contracted that intimacy with Sir Richard Steele[6], which their joint labours have so effectually recorded[7].

[1] Robert Shaw was Master from 1680 to 1704; he was succeeded by John Hunter, Johnson's Master. Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 499. For Dr. Peter Shaw (1694–1763) see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* His daughter married Dr. Richard Warren, ancestor of Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G. Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 399 *n.*

[2] According to Hawkins, Johnson was at the school with Corbet's son. The two youths were together at Pembroke College. Hawkins's *Johnson*, p. 9; Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 58 *n.*

[3] 'Not schoolboys at a barring out
Raised ever such incessant rout.'
SWIFT, *Works*, xiv. 212.
Miss Edgeworth, about the beginning of last century, wrote a story called *Barring-Out*.

[4] Johnson generally calls the Charter-house 'the Chartreux.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 124; *John. Letters*, ii. 207, 213. Tickell does the same. Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 3. Evelyn (*Diary*, i. 337) in 1657 calls it the Charter-House, and so does Swift in 1710. *Works*, ii. 23.

[5] Dr. Welbore Ellis, afterwards successively Bishop of Kildare and Meath, was Steele's tutor at Oxford, not at the Charterhouse. Austin Dobson's *Selections from Steele*, 1896, Introd. p. xii.

[6] Steele, in the Preface to *The Tatler*, vol. iv, describes Addison as 'one with whom he has lived in an intimacy from childhood.'

[7] Steele wrote of him in *The Spectator*, No. 555:—'I remember when

Of this memorable friendship the greater praise must be given 5
to Steele. It is not hard to love those from whom nothing can be feared, and Addison never considered Steele as a rival; but Steele lived, as he confesses, under an habitual subjection to the predominating genius of Addison [1], whom he always mentioned with reverence and treated with obsequiousness [2].

Addison, who knew his own dignity, could not always forbear 6
to shew it by playing a little upon his admirer; but he was in no danger of retort: his jests were endured without resistance or resentment [3].

But the sneer of jocularity was not the worst. Steele, whose 7
imprudence of generosity or vanity of profusion kept him always incurably necessitous [4], upon some pressing exigence in an evil hour borrowed an hundred pounds of his friend, probably without much purpose of repayment [5]; but Addison, who seems to have had other notions of a hundred pounds, grew impatient of delay, and reclaimed his loan by an execution. Steele felt with great

I finished *The Tender Husband* I told him there was nothing I so ardently wished, as that we might, some time or other, publish a work written by us both, which should bear the name of *The Monument* in memory of our friendship.' [The *Tender Husband* was first acted in 1705; see *post*, ADDISON, 28.]

[1] 'I rejoiced in being excelled, and made those little talents, whatever they are which I have, give way and be subservient to the superior qualities of a friend whom I loved.' Addison's *Works*, v. 147.

'Under him
My Genius is rebuked.'
*Macbeth*, iii. 1. 55.

[2] In the Preface to vol. iv of *The Tatler*, he says that Addison's assistance was given 'with such force of genius, humour, wit and learning, that I fared like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid; I was undone by my auxiliary.'

Fielding, in *A Journey from this World to the Next*, ch. viii (*Works*, 1821, iv. 360), describes how 'a very merry spirit, one Dick Steele, embraced Addison, and told him he had been the greatest man upon earth; that he readily resigned up all the merit of his own works to him. Upon which Addison gave him a gracious smile, and, clapping him on the back, with much solemnity cried out, "Well said, Dick!"'

[3] Spence's *Anec.* p. 197.

[4] Whiston records that meeting Steele one day at Button's, he accosted him thus:—'"They say, Sir Richard, you have been making a speech in the House of Commons for the South Sea Directors." He replied, "They do say so." To which I answered, "How does this agree with your former writings against that scheme?" His rejoinder was this: "Mr. Whiston, you can walk on foot, and I cannot."' *Memoirs*, ed. 1749, p. 304. Steele, however, never hesitated to sacrifice office to duty.

[5] 'Dr. Johnson has now and then borrowed a shilling of me; and when I asked for it again, seemed to be rather out of humour. A droll little circumstance once occurred: as if he meant to reprimand my minute exactness as a creditor, he thus addressed me:—"Boswell, *lend* me sixpence—*not to be repaid*."' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 191.

sensibility the obduracy of his creditor; but with emotions of sorrow rather than of anger [1].

8 In 1687 he was entered into Queen's College in Oxford, where, in 1689, the accidental perusal of some Latin verses gained him the patronage of Dr. Lancaster, afterwards provost of Queen's College; by whose recommendation he was elected into Magdalen College as a Demy, a term by which that society denominates those which are elsewhere called Scholars; young men who partake of the founder's benefaction and succeed in their order to vacant fellowships [2].

9 Here he continued to cultivate poetry and criticism [3], and grew first eminent by his Latin compositions, which are indeed entitled to particular praise. He has not confined himself to the imitation of any ancient author, but has formed his style from the general language, such as a diligent perusal of the productions of different ages happened to supply.

10 His Latin compositions seem to have had much of his fondness; for he collected a second volume of the *Musæ Anglicanæ* [4], perhaps for a convenient receptacle, in which all his Latin pieces are inserted, and where his Poem on the Peace [5] has the first place. He afterwards presented the collection to Boileau, who from that time 'conceived,' says Tickell, 'an opinion of the English genius for poetry [6].' Nothing is better known of Boileau than that he had an injudicious and peevish contempt of modern Latin [7], and therefore his profession of regard was probably the effect of his civility rather than approbation.

11 Three of his Latin poems are upon subjects on which perhaps he would not have ventured to have written in his own language:

[1] See Appendix I.

[2] See Appendix J.

[3] Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 583, speaks of Homer, Virgil, and Horace as 'the greatest geniuses of all antiquity.'

[4] *Ante*, SMITH, 31.

[5] *Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europae Reddita*, 1697, *Works*, i. 233; *post*, ADDISON, 18.

[6] *Works*, Preface, p. 4. For Addison's account of his interview with Boileau see *ib.* v. 332. Voltaire could not have known of Addison's Latin poems, for at the end of his article on Perrault, who headed the moderns, he writes:—'N.B. Il est dit dans les *Anecdotes littéraires*, t. ii. page 27, qu'Addison, ayant fait présent de ses ouvrages à Despréaux [Boileau], celui-ci lui répondit qu'il n'aurait jamais écrit contre Perrault, s'il eût vu de si excellentes pièces d'un moderne. Comment peut-on imprimer un tel mensonge? Boileau ne savait pas un mot d'anglais, aucun Français n'étudiait alors cette langue.' *Œuvres*, xvii. 140.

[7] See his *Fragment d'un autre Dialogue*, where he ridicules the modern writers of Latin verse. *Œuvres*, ed. 1747, iii. 55.

*The Battle of the Pigmies and Cranes*[1], *The Barometer*[2], and *A Bowling-green*[3]. When the matter is low or scanty a dead language, in which nothing is mean because nothing is familiar, affords great conveniences; and by the sonorous magnificence of Roman syllables the writer conceals penury of thought and want of novelty, often from the reader, and often from himself.

In his twenty-second year he first shewed his power of English 12
poetry by some verses addressed to Dryden[4]; and soon afterwards published a translation of the greater part of the *Fourth Georgick upon Bees*[5]; after which, says Dryden, 'my latter swarm is hardly worth the hiving[6].'

About the same time he composed the arguments prefixed to 13
the several books of Dryden's *Virgil*[7]; and produced an *Essay on the Georgicks*[8], juvenile, superficial, and uninstructive, without much either of the scholar's learning or the critick's penetration.

His next paper of verses contained a character of the principal 14
English poets, inscribed to Henry Sacheverell, who was then, if not a poet, a writer of verses[9], as is shewn by his version of a small part of Virgil's *Georgicks* published in the *Miscellanies*[10],

[1] Πυγμαῖο-Γερανομάχία, *sive Proelium inter* Pygmaeos et Grues *commissum*, *Works*, i. 239.

[2] *Barometri Descriptio*, *ib.* i. 237.

[3] *Sphaeristerium*, *ib.* i. 246.

[4] *Ib.* i. 2. Dated 'Mag. Coll. Oxon. June 2, 1693. The Author's Age, 22' (see *ante*, ADDISON, 1 *n.* 2).

[5] *Ib.* i. 10. First printed in Dryden's *Fourth Miscellany*, 1694, p. 58. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 123. 'Not one of the six volumes of the *Miscellany* is without some pieces of Virgilian translation.' CONINGTON, *Misc. Writings*, i. 155.

[6] 'After his *Bees* my latter swarm is scarcely worth the hiving.' DRYDEN, *Works*, xv. 193.

[7] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 305.

[8] *Works*, i. 154. Virgil he speaks of as 'the greatest poet.' *Ib.* p. 161. This *Essay* is prefixed by Dryden to his *Georgicks*. *Works*, xiv. 12. Addison 'desired to have his name concealed' as the author. *Ib.* p. 229.

[9] '*An Account of the Greatest English Poets.* To Mr. H. S. Ap. 3, 1694,' *Dryden's Misc.* (1694), iv. 317; *Works*, i. 22; *ante*, HALIFAX, 11; *post*, ADDISON, 128. Sacheverell became a Demy in 1689. He is included in Jacob's *Poet. Reg.* ii. 171, where it is said 'he was chamber-fellow with Addison.'

[10] *Dryden's Third Misc.* 1693, p. 413. 'The first volume of the collection of poems known as *Dryden's Miscellanies* was published in 1684; the second, entitled *Sylvae, or the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies*, in 1685; the third, entitled *Examen Poeticum*, in 1693; and the fourth, called *The Annual Miscellany*, in 1694. The two remaining volumes were issued after Dryden's death—in 1703 [1704] and 1708 [1709]. In 1716 Jacob Tonson, the proprietor, published a new edition, which differs very much from the former collection.' Malone's *Dryden*, iii. 25. See *post*, POPE, 33.

'The *Miscellany* poems are horribly licentious. They are sometimes collections from antiquity, and often the worst parts of the worst poets.' JEREMY COLLIER, *A Short View*, &c., 3rd ed. p. 55.

Gay, in his *Epistle to Lintot*,

and a Latin encomium on queen Mary in the *Musæ Anglicanæ* [1]. These verses exhibit all the fondness of friendship; but on one side or the other friendship was afterwards [2] too weak for the malignity of faction [3].

15 In this poem is a very confident and discriminative character of Spenser, whose work he had then never read [4]. So little sometimes is criticism the effect of judgement. It is necessary to inform the reader that about this time he was introduced by Congreve to Montague, then Chancellor of the Exchequer [5]: Addison was then learning the trade of a courtier, and subjoined Montague as a poetical name to those of Cowley and of Dryden [6].

16 By the influence of Mr. Montague, concurring, according to Tickell, with his natural modesty, he was diverted from his original design of entering into holy orders [7]. Montague alleged

twice throws the accent in *Miscellanies* on the penultimate:—

'Wouldst thou for *Miscellanies* raise
thy fame?'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 219.

[See Christie's *Select Poems by Dryden*, Clarendon Press, 1901, Introd. p. 60, for bibliographical notice of the *Miscellany Poems*.]

[1] Ed. 1741, ii. 153. *Ante*, COWLEY, 143; *post*, PRIOR, 8; A. PHILIPS, 1.

[2] 'Afterwards' is not in the first edition.

[3] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 109. Sacheverell shows himself a strong Whig in his verses. Addressing William III he begins:—

'At tu lapsuri, Princeps, spes unica regni.'

In 1710, in *The Whig-Examiner*, No. 4, Addison describes him as having, 'in divinity, hit the sublime in nonsense.' *Works*, iv. 386.

[4] Johnson gives Spence (*Anec.* p. 50) as his authority, who reports Pope as saying:—'I have heard Mr. Addison say that he never read Spenser till fifteen years after he wrote it.' Of *The Faerie Queene* Addison writes:—

'But now the mystic tale that pleased
of yore
Can charm an understanding age
no more.' *Works*, i. 23.

In *The Spectator*, No. 183, he calls it 'that admirable work.' See also *post*, ADDISON, 128.

[5] Steele is the authority for this. Addison's *Works*, v. 150.

[6] *Ante*, HALIFAX, 11.

'I'm tired with rhyming and would
fain give o'er,
But justice still demands one labour
more:
The noble Montague remains unnamed.' *Works*, i. 26.

Shakespeare remained unnamed to the end among 'the greatest English poets.'

[7] He shows his design in the last lines of his poem:—

'I leave the arts of poetry and verse
To them that practise them with
more success.
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to
tell,
And so at once, dear friend and
muse, farewell.'

I know no poet of his eminence who would have made *verse* rhyme with *success*.

Steele, in his *Dedication to Congreve*, mentions 'the warm instances Lord Halifax made to the head of the College not to insist upon Mr. Addison's going into holy orders.' *Works*, v. 150.

In the Vice President's Register, Magdalen College, appears the following entry:—'Aug. 17, 1699, concessa est M^to. Addison ab iis quorum intererat dispensatio ne teneatur sacris ordinibus initiari.' According to Tickell 'he was strongly importuned

the corruption of men who engaged in civil employments without liberal education; and declared that, though he was represented as an enemy to the Church, he would never do it any injury but by withholding Addison from it.

Soon after (in 1695) he wrote a poem to king William, with 17
a rhyming introduction addressed to lord Somers[1]. King William had no regard to elegance or literature[2]: his study was only war; yet by a choice of ministers, whose disposition was very different from his own, he procured without intention a very liberal patronage to poetry. Addison was caressed both by Somers and Montague.

In 1697 appeared his Latin verses on the peace of Ryswick[3], 18
which he dedicated to Montague, and which was afterwards called by Smith 'the best Latin poem since the *Æneid*[4].' Praise must not be too rigorously examined; but the performance cannot be denied to be vigorous and elegant.

Having yet no publick employment he obtained (in 1699) a 19
pension of three hundred pounds a year[5], that he might be enabled to travel. He staid a year at Blois[6], probably to learn the

by his father' to enter into orders; but his remarkable seriousness and modesty represented the duties of the priesthood as too weighty for him.' *Works*, Preface, p. 4.

For Tickell's retaining his fellowship without taking orders, see *post*, TICKELL, 1.

[1] *A Poem to his Majesty. Presented to the Lord Keeper*, *Works*, i. 3. Addison drew a character of Somers in *The Freeholder*, May 4, 1716 (*Works*, v. 40), described by Horace Walpole as 'laboured, but diffuse and feeble, neither worthy of the author nor his subject.' Walpole's *Works*, i. 431. According to Tickell, Addison's poem 'occasioned a message from Lord Somers to the author to desire his acquaintance.' *Works*, Preface, p. 5.

[2] *Ante*, ROWE, 5; *post*, PRIOR, 9; BLACKMORE, 12; YALDEN, 4; SWIFT, 9.

'But kings in wit may want discerning spirit.
The hero William, and the martyr Charles,
One knighted Blackmore, and one pensioned Quarles.'
POPE, *Imit. Hor. Epis.* ii. 1. 385.

[3] *Ante*, ADDISON, 10.

[4] *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 3. For Johnson's praise of a Latin ode by Smith see *ante*, SMITH, 31.

[5] Through Somers's influence. *Works*, Preface, p. 5; v. 322. Addison, in his Memorial to George I, says that William III 'dying in the first year of his allowance, and the pension being discontinued, he pursued his travels upon his own expense for above three years.' *Ib.* vi. 634. The king died on March 8, 1702, when Addison should have enjoyed his pension over two years and a half. In a note (*ib.* vi. 636) it is stated that 'no official record is to be found of the pension'; but there is one of 'a grant by the King to Addison of £200, dated June 1, 1699.'

[6] Johnson gives Spence (*Anec.* p. 184) as his authority, where there is an interesting account of Addison at Blois, by the Abbé Philippeaux.

Warburton, in a note on Pope's line (*Imit. Hor. Epis.* ii. 2. 4), 'This lad, Sir, is of Blois,' writes:—'a town where the French tongue is spoken in great purity.'

French language; and then proceeded in his journey to Italy, which he surveyed with the eyes of a poet.

20 While he was travelling at leisure he was far from being idle; for he not only collected his observations on the country[1], but found time to write his *Dialogues on Medals*[2] and four Acts of *Cato*. Such at least is the relation of Tickell[3]. Perhaps he only collected his materials, and formed his plan.

21 Whatever were his other employments in Italy he there wrote the letter to lord Halifax, which is justly considered as the most elegant, if not the most sublime, of his poetical productions[4]. But in about two years he found it necessary to hasten home; being, as Swift informs us, distressed by indigence, and compelled to become the tutor of a travelling Squire, because his pension was not remitted[5].

22 At his return he published his Travels, with a dedication to lord Somers. As his stay in foreign countries was short[6] his

[1] *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, &c., 1705, *Works*, i. 356.

[2] *Ib.* i. 253; *ante*, DRYDEN, 27; *post*, ADDISON, 110.

[3] He collected the materials for the *Dialogues* in Italy, and began 'to cast the book into form at Vienna.' *Works*, Preface, p. 6. See also *ib.* v. 337: for *Cato* see *ib.* Preface, p. 9; *post*, ADDISON, 54.

Ficorini, the virtuoso, told Spence that 'Addison did not go any great depth in the study of medals; all the knowledge I believe he had from me. I did not give him above twenty lessons.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 93.

[4] *Works*, i. 29; *post*, ADDISON, 129. This 'rhyming epistle' he made, as he tells us, while crossing the Mont Cenis Pass in December, 1701. *Works*, v. 336.

'Had the harmony of this poem been equal to that of Pope's versification, it would be incontestably the finest poem in our language.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 436.

'In this letter,' writes Malone, 'he uses the phrase *classic ground*, which has since become so common. It was ridiculed by some of his contemporary writers as very quaint and affected.' Johnson's *Works*, vii. 424 *n.*

'Poetic fields encompass me around,
And still I seem to tread on classic ground.' *Works*, i. 29.

Pope alludes to it in *The Dunciad*, iii. 257:—

'Angel of Darkness, sent to scatter round [ground.'
Her magic charms o'er all unclassic

Algarotti praises 'la bella Epistola del Signor Addison, in cui si cantan le lodi d' Italia dall' Inglese chiamata *Classica Terra*.' *Lettere di Polianzio al Ermogene*, 1745, p. 32.

[5] 'Thus Addison by lords carest
Was left in foreign lands distrest;
Forgot at home, became for hire
A travelling tutor to a squire.'
SWIFT, *Works*, xiv. 389.

In June, 1703, the 'proud' Duke of Somerset tried to engage him to accompany his son, by the offer of all expenses paid, and 100 guineas at the year's end. Addison replied:—'I should not see my account in it.' *Works*, v. 341. The last six words of the paragraph are not in the first edition.

[6] His first published foreign letter is dated Paris, Sept. 1699, and his last Amsterdam, Sept. 1703. *Ib.* v. 322, 345. He left Marseilles for Genoa in Dec. 1700 (*ib.* pp. 332-4), and not in Dec. 1699, as he says 'in the first line of his Travels.' *Ib.* i. 358; Macaulay's *Essays*, iv. 183 *n.*

observations are such as might be supplied by a hasty view, and consist chiefly in comparisons of the present face of the country with the descriptions left us by the Roman poets, from whom he made preparatory collections, though he might have spared the trouble, had he known that such collections had been made twice before by Italian authors[1].

The most amusing passage of his book is his account of the 23
minute republick of San Marino[2]; of many parts it is not a very severe censure to say that they might have been written at home. His elegance of language and variegation of prose and verse, however, gain upon the reader; and the book, though a while neglected[3], became in time so much the favourite of the publick that before it was reprinted it rose to five times its price[4].

When he returned to England (in 1702[5]), with a meanness of 24
appearance which gave testimony of the difficulties to which he had been reduced[6], he found his old patrons out of power[7], and was therefore for a time at full leisure for the cultivation of his mind, and a mind so cultivated gives reason to believe that little time was lost.

But he remained not long neglected or useless. The victory at 25

[1] Horace Walpole wrote from Florence in 1740:—'Mr. Addison travelled through the poets, and not through Italy.' *Letters*, i. 60.

Fielding describes him as 'a commentator on the classics rather than as a writer of travels.' Fielding's *Works*, 1821, x. 188.

For 'the great Addison who wrote —galloping, with his satchel of school books . . . galling his beast's crupper at every stroke,' see *Tristram Shandy*, 1765, vii. 11.

Chesterfield says of Leandro Alberti's *Descrizione di tutta l' Italia* (1550):—'I am assured that Mr. Addison has taken most of his remarks and classical references from it.' *Letters to his Son*, ii. 351.

Gray wrote from Durham, whither he had posted from Cambridge:—'I cannot now enter into the particulars of my travels, because I have not yet gathered up my quotations from the classics, to intersperse like Mr. Addison.' *Letters*, i. 235.

[2] There is an Addisonian touch in the account of the Republic in the fifteenth century. 'This they represent as the flourishing time of the Commonwealth, when their dominions reached half-way up a neighbouring hill.' *Works*, i. 404.

[3] 'Jan. 12, 1705-6. Mr. Thwaites tells me that Mr. Addison's Book of Travels is not so contemptible as most would make it.' Hearne's *Remains*, i. 88.

[4] *Works*, Preface, p. 6. It was reprinted in 1718. Johnson called it 'a tedious book.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 310.

[5] Not before the autumn of 1703. *Ante*, ADDISON, 22 *n.* 7.

[6] Like Prior (*post*, PRIOR, 40) he had retained his College fellowship. He resigned it in 1711.

Pope took Harte 'to a house in the Haymarket where he would show him a curiosity. On being admitted by an old woman and going up three pair of stairs into a small room, "In this garret," said Pope, "Addison wrote his *Campaign*."' WARTON, *Pope's Works*, vii. 334.

[7] On the accession of Anne Halifax and Somers lost power. *Ante*, HALIFAX, 9.

Blenheim (1704) spread triumph and confidence over the nation; and lord Godolphin lamenting to lord Halifax that it had not been celebrated in a manner equal to the subject, desired him to propose it to some better poet [1]. Halifax told him that there was no encouragement for genius; that worthless men were unprofitably enriched with publick money, without any care to find or employ those whose appearance might do honour to their country. To this Godolphin replied that such abuses should in time be rectified, and that if a man could be found capable of the task then proposed he should not want an ample recompense. Halifax then named Addison, but required that the Treasurer should apply to him in his own person. Godolphin sent the message by Mr. Boyle, afterwards lord Carleton [2]; and Addison, having undertaken the work, communicated it to the Treasurer while it was yet advanced no further than the simile of the Angel [3], and was immediately rewarded by succeeding Mr. Locke in the place of Commissioner of Appeals [4].

26 In the following year he was at Hanover with lord Halifax [5]; and the year after was made under-secretary of state, first to Sir Charles Hedges, and in a few months more to the earl of Sunderland [6].

27 About this time the prevalent taste for Italian operas [7] inclined him to try what would be the effect of a musical Drama in our own language. He therefore wrote the opera of *Rosamond*, which,

[1] *Biog. Brit.* ed. 1778, i. 48.

'The Battle of Blenheim called forth all the versemen.' *Post*, ADDISON, 130; PRIOR, 17. See also *ante*, J. PHILIPS, 5.

For the coalition of Godolphin and Marlborough with the Whigs see Macaulay's *Essays*, iv. 190.

[2] 'Mr. Addison, who was at this time but indifferently lodged, was surprised with a visit from the Chancellor of the Exchequer [Boyle].' Budgell's *Memoirs of Orrery*, 1732, p. 152. Of Boyle Swift wrote:—'He had some very scurvy qualities, particularly avarice.' Swift's *Works*, xii. 234. See also *ib.* ii. 20.

[3] *Works*, i. 49; *post*, ADDISON, 132. The poem, entitled *The Campaign, A Poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough*, appeared in 1705

[4] Tickell says that 'the place was vacant by the removal of Mr. Locke to the Council of Trade.' *Works*, Preface, p. 7. Locke became Member of the Council in 1696, and retired from ill-health within the year. King's *Life of Locke*, 1858, pp. 245–8. The Commissionership of Appeals, almost a sinecure and worth £200 a year, Locke held till his death on Oct. 28, 1704. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxiv. 31.

[5] *Ante*, HALIFAX, 9. Addison went to Hanover in May, 1706, and had returned by Sept. 3. *Works*, v. 348–9.

[6] Addison was made Under-Secretary in the summer of 1706. The Whig Sunderland succeeded the Tory Hedges in the following December. *Ib.* v. 349, 353.

[7] *Post*, HUGHES, 6.

when exhibited on the stage, was either hissed or neglected [1]; but trusting that the readers would do him more justice he published it, with an inscription to the dutchess of Marlborough [2]; a woman without skill or pretensions to skill in poetry or literature [3]. His dedication was therefore an instance of servile absurdity, to be exceeded only by Joshua Barnes's dedication of a Greek *Anacreon* to the Duke [4].

His reputation had been somewhat advanced by *The Tender* 28
*Husband*, a comedy which Steele dedicated to him, with a confession that he owed to him several of the most successful scenes [5]. To this play Addison supplied a prologue [6].

When the marquis of Wharton was appointed lord lieutenant of 29
Ireland [7] Addison attended him as his secretary, and was made keeper of the records in Birmingham's Tower, with a salary of

[1] *Works*, i. 55; *post*, ADDISON, 135. It was produced on March 4, 1706-7. Genest's *Hist. of the Stage*, ii. 356.

'The music bore it down the third night. A writer who was present says that it is a confused chaos of music.' HAWKINS, *Hist. Mus.* v. 137. 'One of the airs is made to sing thus:—"O the pleasing, pleasing, pleasing, pleasing, pleasing anguish." Mr. Addison had no relish for music, and is never so much out of the way as when he talks about it.' HAWKINS, Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii 49.

It was brought out in 1707. 'About thirty years later it was again composed by Arne, and performed at Drury Lane.' *Biog. Dram.* iii. 224.

[2] [Cunningham states that he had seen what he thinks is the presentation copy. The dedication runs:—'Rosamond, an opera humbly inscribed to Her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough by Her Grace's most obedient and most devoted humble servant, Joseph Addison.' In other copies the inscription is brief—'Inscribed to Her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 128.]

[3] 'We have nothing of her Grace's writings but the "Apology for the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough from her first coming to Court in the year 1710, in a Letter from herself to my Lord ***. London, 1742."' Walpole's *Works*, i. 491.

[4] Barnes, in an Ode to Jeffreys, just after his return from the Bloody Assize, wrote:—

'Great Jefferies! yet not half so great as good, [stood!
How little was thy worth once under-
. . . . . .
Or rather then, how was thy virtue known, [town,
And dreaded by the vice-empoison'd
Who thee, as sinful Jews the Saviour once, refus'd!'

Malone's *Dryden*, i. 248. For Barnes see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 284, iv. 19, v. 376.

[5] In *The Spectator*, No. 555, Steele writes:—'When *The Tender Husband* was last acted there were so many applauded strokes in it which I had from the same hand [Addison] that I thought very meanly of myself that I never publicly acknowledge them.'

[*The Tender Husband* was first acted on April 23, 1705, and was played about seven times. Genest's *Hist. of the Stage*, ii. 321; Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 128. It was printed on May 9, 1705. Aitken's *Life of Steele*, i. 92, 108, where mention is made of the common mistake (*Biog. Dram.* iii. 326, repeated in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liv. 131) that it appeared in 1703.]

[6] *Works*, i. 81.

[7] The Earl of Wharton was made Lord Lieutenant on Dec. 4, 1708, and Marquis in Dec. 1714. Johnson's *Works*, vii. 426*n*. On Oct. 19, 1710, the Duke of Ormond succeeded him. Swift's *Works*, ii. 52.

three hundred pounds a year. The office was little more than nominal, and the salary was augmented for his accommodation [1].

30 Interest and faction allow little to the operation of particular dispositions or private opinions. Two men of personal characters more opposite than those of Wharton and Addison could not easily be brought together. Wharton was impious, profligate, and shameless without regard or appearance of regard to right and wrong [2]: whatever is contrary to this may be said of Addison; but as agents of a party they were connected, and how they adjusted their other sentiments we cannot know.

31 Addison must, however, not be too hastily condemned. It is not necessary to refuse benefits from a bad man when the acceptance implies no approbation of his crimes; nor has the subordinate officer any obligation to examine the opinions or conduct of those under whom he acts, except that he may not be made the instrument of wickedness. It is reasonable to suppose that Addison counteracted, as far as he was able, the malignant and blasting influence of the Lieutenant, and that at least by his intervention some good was done, and some mischief prevented [3].

32 When he was in office he made a law to himself, as Swift has recorded, never to remit his regular fees in civility to his friends: 'For,' said he, 'I may have a hundred friends, and if my fee be two guineas I shall, by relinquishing my right, lose two hundred guineas, and no friend gain more than two; there is therefore no proportion between the good imparted and the evil suffered [4].'

[1] See Appendix K.

[2] *Post*, HUGHES, 8. Swift called him 'the most universal villain I ever knew.' *Works*, xii. 230. See also *ib.* iv. 7. Archbishop King (whom Johnson praises, *ante*, PARNELL, 7) wrote of him on his death to Addison:—'He has made a figure in the world to my remembrance about forty years, and always . . . so acted as became a true patriot.' Lucy Aikin's *Addison*, ii. 159. It was his boast that by his *Lillibullero* 'he had sung a King out of three kingdoms.' Macaulay's *Hist.* iii. 170.

[3] Swift wrote to Pope in 1721:—'Mr. Addison, when he first came over hither, was extremely offended at the conduct and discourse of the chief managers here. He told me they were a sort of people who seemed to think that the principles of a Whig consisted in nothing else but damning the church, reviling the clergy, abetting the dissenters, and speaking contemptibly of revealed religion.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 344.

[4] Swift wrote to Dr. Sheridan in 1725 (*Works*, xvi. 454):—'I hope Mr. Tickell has not complimented you with what fees are due to him for your patent. I wish you would say to him (if he refuses them) that I told you it was Mr. Addison's maxim to excuse nobody; "for here," says he, "I may have forty friends, whose fees may be two guineas apiece; then I lose eighty guineas, and my friends save but two apiece."' For Tickell see *post*, TICKELL, 16.

In *The Spectator*, No. 469, Addison attacks the man 'who, upon any pre-

He was in Ireland when Steele, without any communication of 33
his design, began the publication of *The Tatler*[1]; but he was not long concealed: by inserting a remark on Virgil, which Addison had given him, he discovered himself[2]. It is indeed not easy for any man to write upon literature or common life so as not to make himself known to those with whom he familiarly converses, and who are acquainted with his track of study, his favourite topicks, his peculiar notions, and his habitual phrases[3].

If Steele desired to write in secret he was not lucky; a single 34
month detected him. His first *Tatler* was published April 22 (1709), and Addison's contribution appeared May 26[4]. Tickell observes that *The Tatler* began and was concluded without his concurrence[5]. This is doubtless literally true; but the work did not suffer much by his unconsciousness of its commencement or his absence at its cessation, for he continued his assistance to December 23[6], and the paper stopped on January 2. He did not distinguish his pieces by any signature; and I know not whether

tence whatsoever, receives more than what is the stated and unquestioned fee of his office.' He ends by saying that 'it has been observed that men of learning who take to business discharge it generally with greater honesty than men of the world.' Don Quixote said:—'My counsel to a governor would be, All bribes to refuse, but insist on his dues.' Jervas's *Don Quixote*, 1820, iii. 349.

[1] *The Tatler*, appearing on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, began on April 12, 1709, and ended with No. 271 on Jan. 2, 1710–11. *The Spectator*, appearing every day but Sunday, began on March 1, 1710–11, and ended with No. 555 on Dec. 6, 1712. A fresh series, appearing on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, began with No. 556 on June 18, 1714, and ended with No. 635 on Dec. 20, 1714.

[2] *Works*, Preface, p. 8. Steele, in No. 6, quotes a Will's Coffee-house critic on Virgil's judiciousness in not applying his common epithet *pius* or *pater* to Aeneas 'in his meeting with Dido in the cave; where *pius* Aeneas would have been absurd, and *pater* Aeneas a burlesque. The poet has therefore wisely dropped them both for *Dux Troianus*.' This *Tatler* was published on April 23, 1709. The date of Addison's first letter from Dublin is April 22. *Ib.* v. 377.

[3] It was thus that the author of *Waverley* was discovered.

[4] 'The Distress of the Newswriters' in No. 18, May 21, was by him, as Steele owns in the Preface to vol. iv. See also his *Works*, v. 232, for the paper of June 4 also ascribed to him. His next contributions were on July 16 and Oct. 1. He wrote the whole or part of sixty-three numbers.

[5] 'It was dropt at last, as it had been taken up, without his participation.' *Works*, Preface, p. 8. Steele, angered by this statement, wrote of Tickell:—'I would ask this unskilful creature what he means when he speaks in the air of a reproach, that *The Tatler* was laid down, as it was taken up, without his participation; let him speak out and say why "without his knowledge" would not serve his purpose as well.' *Ib.* v. 147.

Swift wrote on Jan. 2, 1710–11:—'Steele's last *Tatler* came out to-day. He never told so much as Mr. Addison of it, who was surprised as much as I; but, to say the truth, it was time, for he grew cruel dull and dry.' *Works*, ii. 133.

[6] December 23, 1710.

his name was not kept secret, till the papers were collected into volumes [1].

35 To *The Tatler* in about two months succeeded *The Spectator*, a series of essays of the same kind, but written with less levity, upon a more regular plan, and published daily. Such an undertaking shewed the writers not to distrust their own copiousness of materials or facility of composition, and their performance justified their confidence. They found, however, in their progress many auxiliaries. To attempt a single paper was no terrifying labour: many pieces were offered, and many were received [2].

36 Addison had enough of the zeal of party, but Steele had at that time almost nothing else [3]. *The Spectator* in one of the first papers shewed the political tenets of its authors [4]; but a resolution was soon taken of courting general approbation by general topicks, and subjects on which faction had produced no diversity of sentiments; such as literature, morality, and familiar life [5]. To this practice they adhered with very few deviations. The ardour of Steele once broke out in praise of Marlborough [6]; and when Dr. Fleetwood prefixed to some sermons a preface overflowing with whiggish opinions, that it might be read by the Queen, it was reprinted in *The Spectator* [7].

37 To teach the minuter decencies and inferior duties, to regulate the practice of daily conversation, to correct those depravities which are rather ridiculous than criminal, and remove those grievances which, if they produce no lasting calamities, impress hourly vexation, was first attempted by Casa in his book of *Manners* [8], and Castiglione in his *Courtier* [9], two books yet

[1] See Appendix L.

[2] See Appendix M.

[3] *Post*, ADDISON, 73. Steele said of the Duke of Newcastle: 'His Lordship and many others may perhaps have done more for the House of Hanover than I have; but I am the only man in his Majesty's dominions who did all he could.' Steele's *The State of the Case*, &c., quoted in Montgomery's *Steele*, ii. 216. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 195.

[4] In No. 3, by Addison, where, in a vision, Public Credit dies away at the sight of 'a young man of about twenty-two years of age' [the Pretender] and revives when there appears 'a person whom I had never seen [George I] with the genius of Great Britain.'

[5] Addison wrote in No. 16:—'As I am very sensible my paper would lose its whole effect should it run into the outrages of a party, I shall take care to keep clear of everything which looks that way.'

[6] In No. 139.

[7] See Appendix N.

[8] *Post*, ADDISON, 44. Giovanni della Casa in 1558 published his book under the title of *Il Galateo*. It was translated into English under at least four titles. *Brit. Mus. Cata.* 'Casa is the Lord Chesterfield of Italy.' Courthope's *Addison*, p. 108.

[9] 'Dr. Johnson said:—"The best

celebrated in Italy for purity and elegance, and which, if they are now less read, are neglected only because they have effected that reformation which their authors intended, and their precepts now are no longer wanted. Their usefulness to the age in which they were written is sufficiently attested by the translations which almost all the nations of Europe were in haste to obtain.

This species of instruction was continued and perhaps advanced 38
by the French; among whom La Bruyère's *Manners of the Age*, though, as Boileau remarked, it is written without connection[1], certainly deserves great praise for liveliness of description and justness of observation.

Before *The Tatler* and *Spectator*, if the writers for the theatre 39
are excepted, England had no masters of common life. No writers had yet undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect or the impertinence of civility[2]; to shew when to speak, or to be silent; how to refuse, or how to comply. We had many books to teach us our more important duties, and to settle opinions in philosophy or politicks; but an *Arbiter elegantiarum*[3], a judge of propriety, was yet wanting, who should survey the track of daily conversation and free it from thorns and prickles, which teaze the passer, though they do not wound him.

For this purpose nothing is so proper as the frequent publication 40
of short papers, which we read not as study but amusement. If the subject be slight, the treatise likewise is short. The busy may find time, and the idle may find patience[4].

book that ever was written upon good breeding, *Il Corteggiano*, by Castiglione, grew up at the little Court of Urbino.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 276. It was published in 1528. *The Covrtyer*, 'done into Englysche by Thomas Hoby,' was published in London in 1561.

[1] At the end of Boileau's tenth *Satire* the editor praises in it 'la finesse et la variété des *transitions*. M. Despréaux [Boileau] regardait l'art de les bien ménager comme le chef-d'œuvre de l'art d'écrire, et il avait coutume de dire au sujet des *Caractères* de La Bruyère, que l'écrivain s'était libéré des transitions, qui étaient ce qu'il y avait de plus difficile dans les ouvrages d'esprit.' *Œuvres*, ed. 1747, i. 211.

[2] For Johnson's not admitting *civilization* into his *Dictionary*, see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 155.

[3] Gray wrote in 1763:—'It would be their interest to appoint Count Algarotti [*ante*, MILTON, 230 *n.* 4] their *Arbiter Elegantiarum*.' Mitford's *Gray*, iv. 20. Tacitus calls Petronius 'elegantiae arbiter' in Nero's Court. *Ann.* xvi. 18.

[4] 'It was said of Socrates that he brought Philosophy down from heaven to inhabit among men; and I shall be ambitious to have it said of me that I have brought Philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 10.

41 This mode of conveying cheap and easy knowledge began among us in the Civil War, when it was much the interest of either party to raise and fix the prejudices of the people. At that time appeared *Mercurius Aulicus*, *Mercurius Rusticus*, and *Mercurius Civicus*. It is said that when any title grew popular it was stolen by the antagonist, who by this stratagem conveyed his notions to those who would not have received him had he not worn the appearance of a friend. The tumult of those unhappy days left scarcely any man leisure to treasure up occasional compositions; and so much were they neglected that a complete collection is nowhere to be found.

42 These *Mercuries* were succeeded by L'Estrange's *Observator*[1], and that by Lesley's *Rehearsal*[2], and perhaps by others; but hitherto nothing had been conveyed to the people in this commodious manner but controversy relating to the Church or State: of which they taught many to talk, whom they could not teach to judge.

43 It has been suggested[3] that the Royal Society was instituted soon after the Restoration to divert the attention of the people from publick discontent. *The Tatler* and *Spectator* had the same tendency[4]; they were published at a time when two parties, loud, restless, and violent, each with plausible declarations, and each perhaps without any distinct termination of its views, were agitating the nation[5]: to minds heated with political contest they supplied cooler and more inoffensive reflections; and it is

[1] Burnet (*Hist.* ii. 72), under date of 1679, says that L'Estrange 'for four years published three or four sheets a week, under the title of *The Observator*, all tending to defame the contrary party, and to make the clergy apprehend that their ruin was designed.' See also Evelyn's *Diary*, ii. 231. '*The Observator* contained not the news, but merely dissertations on politics.' MACAULAY, *Hist.* vii. 231. For L'Estrange see *ante*, MILTON, 95.

[2] Dr. Charles Leslie was a non-juring divine. 'He was,' said Johnson, 'a reasoner, and a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 287 *n*. *The Rehearsal* was 'a series of weekly papers against the lawfulness of resistance in any case whatsoever,' published early in Anne's reign. Burnet's *Hist.* iv. 229. Swift, in 1708, said of his writings:—'If this author could make the nation see his adversaries under the colours he paints them in, we have nothing else to do but rise as one man, and destroy such wretches from the face of the earth.' *Works*, viii. 255.

[3] By Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 262. For the Royal Society see *ante*, COWLEY, 31; BUTLER, 20; DRYDEN, 257; SPRAT, 5.

[4] This tendency was pointed out in the number of *The Spectator* just quoted.

[5] Addison, in No. 507, attacks 'the abominable practice of party-lying. The coffee-houses are supported by lies, the press is choked with them, eminent authors live upon them.'

said by Addison, in a subsequent work[1], that they had a perceptible influence upon the conversation of that time, and taught the frolick and the gay to unite merriment with decency—an effect which they can never wholly lose, while they continue to be among the first books by which both sexes are initiated in the elegances of knowledge[2].

*The Tatler* and *Spectator* adjusted[3], like Casa[4], the un- 44
settled practice of daily intercourse by propriety and politeness; and, like La Bruyère, exhibited the 'Characters and Manners of the Age[5].' The personages introduced in these papers were not merely ideal; they were then known, and conspicuous in various stations. Of *The Tatler* this is told by Steele in his last paper[6], and of *The Spectator* by Budgell in the Preface to *Theophrastus*[7]; a book which Addison has recommended[8], and which he was suspected to have revised, if he did not write it. Of those portraits, which may be supposed to be sometimes embellished and sometimes aggravated, the originals are now partly known, and partly forgotten.

But to say that they united the plans of two or three eminent 45
writers is to give them but a small part of their due praise: they superadded literature and criticism, and sometimes towered far

[1] *The Freeholder*, No. 45, *Works*, v. 64.

[2] 'The reading in fashion when I was young (said Mrs. Shirley) was Romances. You, my children, have in that respect fallen into happier days. The present age is greatly obliged to the authors of *The Spectators*.' *Sir Charles Grandison*, 1754, vi. 204.

'Addison, Pope and Swift have vigorously defended the rights of good sense.' CHESTERFIELD, *Letters to his Son*, ii. 344.

Johnson wrote to Miss S. A. Thrale in 1783:—'Do you read *The Tatlers*? They are part of the books which every body should read, because they are the sources of conversation.' *John. Letters*, ii. 352.

Mr. Courthope, in his *Addison*, p. 4, calls Addison 'the chief architect of Public Opinion in the eighteenth century.'

[3] In the first edition 'reduced ... to propriety.'

[4] *Ante*, ADDISON, 37.

[5] *Les Caractères, ou Les Mœurs de ce Siècle.*

[6] 'If any have been more particularly marked at, such persons may impute it to their own behaviour (before they were touched upon) in publicly speaking their resentment against the author.' *The Tatler*, No. 271.

[7] 'Theophrastus was the Spectator of the age he lived in. He drew the pictures of particular men, and while he was describing, for example, a miser, having some remarkable offender of this kind in his eye, he threw in a circumstance or two, which, though they might not possibly be proper examples of avarice, served to make the picture of the man complete.' *The Moral Characters of Theophrastus*, by Eustace Budgell, 1714, Preface, p. 7. For Budgell see *post*, A. PHILIPS, 9.

[8] In *The Lover*, No. 39. *Works*, iv. 335. *The Lover* was edited by Steele.

above their predecessors; and taught, with great justness of argument and dignity of language, the most important duties and sublime truths [1].

46 All these topicks were happily varied with elegant fictions and refined allegories, and illuminated with different changes of style and felicities of invention [2].

47 It is recorded by Budgell that of the characters feigned or exhibited in *The Spectator* the favourite of Addison was Sir Roger de Coverley, of whom he had formed a very delicate and discriminated idea, which he would not suffer to be violated; and therefore when Steele had shewn him innocently picking up a girl in the Temple, and taking her to a tavern [3], he drew upon himself so much of his friend's indignation that he was forced to appease him by a promise of forbearing Sir Roger for the time to come.

48 The reason which induced Cervantes to bring his hero to the grave, 'para mi solo nacio Don Quixote, y yo para el [4],' made Addison declare, with an undue vehemence of expression, that he would kill Sir Roger [5]; being of opinion that they were born for one another, and that any other hand would do him wrong.

[1] In *The Spectator*, No. 413, June 24, 1712, Steele tried to start a lottery. On July 1 Swift wrote (*Works*, iii. 38):—'Steele was arrested the other day for making a lottery, directly against an act of parliament.' In *The Spectator*, No. 417, June 28, it is stated 'that, whereas the proposal is under an information from the Attorney-General, in humble submission and duty to her Majesty the said undertaking is laid down.'

[2] 'No writer has equalled Addison in the happy and dexterous application of passages from the classics for his mottoes.' J. WARTON, *Pope's Works*, i. 333.

[3] No. 410. This paper is commonly assigned to Steele; but Nichols thinks it was by Tickell. *The Spectator*, 1789, vi. 86.

[4] 'For me alone was Don Quixote born, and I for him.' These words are at the end of *Don Quixote*.

[5] 'Mr. Addison was so fond of this character that, a little before he laid down *The Spectator* (foreseeing that some nimble gentleman would catch up his pen the moment he had quitted it), he said to an intimate friend, with a certain warmth in his expression which he was not often guilty of, "By G—, I'll kill Sir Roger, that nobody else may murder him."' *The Bee*, for Feb. 1733, p. 27.

'*The Bee* was a weekly pamphlet carried on by Eustace Budgell, probably the intimate friend alluded to.' *The Spectator*, ed. 1789, vii. 248.

'JOHNSON. Sir Roger died only because others were to die, and because his death afforded an opportunity to Addison for some very fine writing.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 370.

'That Shakespeare once designed to have brought Falstaff on the scene again we know from himself; but whether he could contrive no train of adventures suitable to his character, or could match him with no companions likely to quicken his humour, or could open no new vein of pleasantry, and was afraid to continue the same strain lest it should not find the same reception, he has here for ever discarded him, and

It may be doubted whether Addison ever filled up his original 49
delineation. He describes his Knight as having his imagination somewhat warped; but of this perversion he has made very little use[1]. The irregularities in Sir Roger's conduct seem not so much the effects of a mind deviating from the beaten track of life by the perpetual pressure of some overwhelming idea, as of habitual rusticity, and that negligence which solitary grandeur naturally generates.

The variable weather of the mind, the flying vapours of inci- 50
pient madness, which from time to time cloud reason without eclipsing it, it requires so much nicety to exhibit, that Addison seems to have been deterred from prosecuting his own design.

To Sir Roger, who, as a country gentleman, appears to be 51
a Tory, or, as it is gently expressed, an adherent to the landed interest, is opposed Sir Andrew Freeport, a new man, a wealthy merchant, zealous for the moneyed interest, and a Whig[2]. Of this contrariety of opinions it is probable more consequences were at first intended than could be produced when the resolution was taken to exclude party from the paper. Sir Andrew does but little, and that little seems not to have pleased Addison, who, when he dismissed him from the club, changed his opinions[3]. Steele had made him, in the true spirit of unfeeling commerce, declare that he 'would not build an hospital for idle people[4]'; but at last he buys land, settles in the country, and builds not a manu-

made haste to dispatch him, perhaps for the same reason for which Addison killed Sir Roger, that no other hand might attempt to exhibit him.' JOHNSON, *Shakespeare*, iv. 397.

[1] 'JOHNSON. I never could see why Sir Roger is represented as a little cracked. It appears to me that the story of the widow was intended to have something superinduced upon it; but the superstructure did not come.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 370. See Courthope's *Addison*, p. 175, for an interesting criticism of Johnson's view.

[2] *The Spectator*, No. 126.

[3] *Ib.* No. 549.

[4] In No. 232, written neither by Steele nor Addison, Sir Andrew, after giving money to some beggars, says:—'I ought to give to an hospital of invalids, to recover as many useful subjects as I can, but I shall bestow none of my bounties upon an almshouse of idle people.'

Boswell records that one evening at Mr. Thrale's Johnson said:—'Addison had made his Sir Andrew Freeport a true Whig, arguing against giving charity to beggars, and throwing out other such ungracious sentiments; but that he had thought better, and made amends by making him found an hospital for decayed farmers.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 212.

*Hospital* Johnson defines as 'a place built for the reception of the sick or support of the poor,' and supports the definition by a misquotation from *The Spectator*, No. 549, changing *almshouse* into *hospital*.

'Severity towards the poor,' writes Mrs. Piozzi, 'was in Johnson's opinion a constant attendant upon Whiggism.' *John. Misc.* i. 204.

factory, but an hospital for twelve old husbandmen, for men with whom a merchant has little acquaintance, and whom he commonly considers with little kindness.

52 Of essays thus elegant, thus instructive, and thus commodiously distributed, it is natural to suppose the approbation general and the sale numerous. I once heard it observed that the sale may be calculated by the product of the tax, related in the last number to produce more than twenty pounds a week [1], and therefore stated at one and twenty pounds, or three pounds ten shillings a day: this, at a half-penny a paper, will give sixteen hundred and eighty for the daily number [2].

53 This sale is not great; yet this, if Swift be credited, was likely to grow less; for he declares that 'the Spectator,' whom he ridicules for his endless mention of the 'fair sex,' had before his recess [3] wearied his readers [4].

54 The next year (1713), in which *Cato* came upon the stage, was the grand climacterick of Addison's reputation. Upon the death of Cato he had, as is said, planned a tragedy in the time of his travels, and had for several years the four first acts finished, which were shewn to such as were likely to spread their admiration. They were seen by Pope, and by Cibber [5], who relates that Steele when he took back the copy told him, in the despicable cant [6] of literary modesty, that, whatever spirit his friend

[1] 'It is not certain that we ought not to read above £29, instead of above £20, in the last number of *The Spectator* in folio. It is a half-printed cipher or 9th figure.' NICHOLS, *The Tatler*, 1789, iv. 601. All the *Tatlers* and 446 numbers of *The Spectator* were untaxed.

[2] See Appendix O.

[3] Johnson's first definition of *recess* is 'retirement; retreat; withdrawing; secession.'

[4] 'Nov. 2, 1711. People grow weary of them, though they are often prettily written.'

'Feb. 8, 1711–12. I will not meddle with the *Spectator*, let him fair-sex it to the world's end.' SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 391, 476.

[5] *Ante*, ADDISON, 20; *post*, 66, 137. 'In 1703 I had the pleasure of reading the first four acts privately with Steele.' CIBBER, *Apology*, p. 261. He adds that Steele told him that 'it had only been the amusement of Addison's leisure hours in Italy, and was never intended for the stage.' Steele himself writes that 'a play under that design was projected very early, and wholly laid aside.' Addison's *Works*, v. 152.

According to Young, 'Addison, when a student at Oxford, sent up his play to Dryden'; who praised it highly, but did not think it fitted for the stage. Young's *Works*, 1770, iv. 295. Tonson, who met Addison at Rotterdam in 1703, said that four acts were written by that time. Spence's *Anec.* p. 46. It is probable that in Italy he rewrote the play—at least the first four acts.

For 'an attempt to rob him of his *Cato*' see *ante*, DENHAM, 11.

[6] For *cant* see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 221 *n.*; *John. Misc.* i. 161 *n.*; *post*, GRAY, 35.

had shewn in the composition, he doubted whether he would have courage sufficient to expose it to the censure of a British audience[1].

The time, however, was now come when those who affected to 55
think liberty in danger affected likewise to think that a stage-play might preserve it; and Addison was importuned, in the name of the tutelary deities of Britain, to shew his courage and his zeal by finishing his design[2].

To resume his work he seemed perversely and unaccountably 56
unwilling; and by a request, which perhaps he wished to be denied, desired Mr. Hughes to add a fifth act. Hughes supposed him serious; and, undertaking the supplement, brought in a few days some scenes for his examination: but he had in the mean time gone to work himself, and produced half an act, which he afterwards completed, but with brevity irregularly disproportionate to the foregoing parts; like a task performed with reluctance, and hurried to its conclusion[3].

It may yet be doubted whether *Cato* was made publick by 57
any change of the author's purpose; for Dennis charged him with raising prejudices in his own favour by false positions of preparatory criticism, and with 'poisoning the town' by contradicting in *The Spectator* the established rule of poetical justice, because his own hero, with all his virtues, was to fall before a tyrant[4]. The fact is certain; the motives we must guess.

[1] English audience. Cibber's *Apology*, p. 262.

[2] 'His friends of the first quality and distinction prevailed with him to put the last finishing touch to it, at a time when they thought the doctrine of liberty very seasonable.' TICKELL, Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 9.

[3] *Post*, HUGHES, 12. 'If I remember right the fifth act was written in less than a week's time.' STEELE, *Ib.* v. 153.

Oldmixon, in his *Essay on Criticism*, 1728, p. 6, gives a longer account of this, which he had, he says, from Hughes.

The first four acts fill seventy-eight pages of *Eng. Poets* (xxx. 257–334); the fifth act only nine pages.

[4] *Post*, ADDISON, 139, 140 *n.*

*Cato* was acted for the first time on April 14, 1713. Two years earlier Addison, in the second of four papers on tragedy in *The Spectator* (Nos. 39, 40, 42, 44), says:—'More of our English tragedies have succeeded in which the favourites of the audience sink under their calamities than those in which they recover themselves out of them.... *King Lear* is an admirable tragedy as Shakespeare wrote it; but as it is reformed according to the chimerical notion of poetical justice, in my humble opinion it has lost half its beauty.'

Johnson, in a note at the end of *King Lear*, says:—'Dennis has remarked, whether justly or not, that to secure the favourable reception of *Cato, the town was poisoned with much false and abominable criticism*, and that endeavours had been used to discredit and decry poetical justice.'

58 Addison was, I believe, sufficiently disposed to bar all avenues against all danger. When Pope brought him the prologue, which is properly accommodated to the play, there were these words, 'Britons, arise, be worth like this approved'; meaning nothing more than, Britons, erect and exalt yourselves to the approbation of public virtue. Addison was frighted lest he should be thought a promoter of insurrection, and the line was liquidated to 'Britons, attend[1].'

59 Now, 'heavily in clouds came on the day, the great, the important day[2],' when Addison was to stand the hazard of the theatre. That there might, however, be left as little to hazard as was possible on the first night, Steele, as himself relates, undertook to pack an audience[3]. This, says Pope, had been tried for the first time in favour of *The Distrest Mother*; and was now, with more efficacy, practised for *Cato*[4].

60 The danger was soon over. The whole nation was at that time on fire with faction. The Whigs applauded every line in

In the *Rambler*, No. 93, Johnson writes:—'Criticks like the rest of mankind are very frequently misled by interest.... Addison is suspected to have denied the expediency of poetical justice because his own Cato was condemned to perish in a good cause.'

[1] 'Mr. Pope had written it *arise*, in the spirit of poetry and liberty; but Mr. Addison, frightened at so *daring an expression*, which, he thought, squinted at rebellion, would have it altered, in the spirit of prose and politics, to *attend*.' WARBURTON, Pope's *Works*, i. 216. See also *ib.* iv. 173.

Johnson, who defines *to liquidate* as 'to clear away, to lessen debts,' uses the word here as signifying 'to make clear or plain, to render unambiguous.' *New Eng. Dict.*, where earlier uses of the word in this sense are given.

[2] 'The dawn is overcast, the morning lowers,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day,
The great, the important day, big with the fate
Of Cato and of Rome.' *Cato*, l. 1.
Horace Walpole wrote of Swift's entry on April 6, 1713, in the *Journal to Stella*:—'Swift goes to the rehearsal of *Cato*, and says the *drab* that acted Cato's daughter could not say her part. This was only Mrs. Oldfield.' *Letters*, iv. 505. For Mrs. Oldfield see *post*, SAVAGE, 42.

'On April 14, 1713, *Cato* was acted for the first time.' *The Guardian*, No. 30. In No. 39 the Prologue and Epilogue were printed.

[3] 'I promised before it was acted, and performed my duty accordingly to the author, that I would bring together so just an audience on the first days of it that it should be impossible for the vulgar to put its success or due applause to any hazard.' Addison's *Works*, v. 152.

'By the custom, which had something illiberal in it, and was first dropt by Addison, of distributing tickets, Southerne gained £700 for one play.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 471.

[4] 'An audience was laid for *The Distressed Mother* [*post*, A. PHILIPS, 6]; and when they found it would do, it was practised again, yet more successfully, for *Cato*.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 46. See also *post*, MALLET, 20 *n.*

which Liberty was mentioned, as a satire on the Tories; and the Tories echoed every clap, to shew that the satire was unfelt[1]. The story of Bolingbroke is well known. He called Booth[2] to his box, and gave him fifty guineas for defending the cause of Liberty so well against a perpetual dictator[3]. The Whigs, says Pope, design a second present, when they can accompany it with as good a sentence[4].

The play, supported thus by the emulation of factious praise, 61
was acted night after night for a longer time than, I believe, the publick had allowed to any drama before[5]; and the author, as Mrs. Porter long afterwards related, wandered through the whole exhibition behind the scenes with restless and unappeasable solicitude[6].

When it was printed notice was given that the Queen would 62
be pleased if it was dedicated to her; 'but as he had designed

[1] Berkeley, who saw the first representation, wrote on April 16, 1713: —'Some parts of the prologue, written by Mr. Pope, a Tory and even a Papist, were hissed, being thought to savour of Whiggism, but the clap got much [? the better of] the hiss. Lord Harley was observed to clap as loud as any in the house all the time of the play.' *Hist. MSS. Com.* vii. App. p. 238.

[2] 'Booth enters,—hark! the universal peal!
"But has he spoken?" Not a syllable.
"What shook the stage, and made the people stare?"
Cato's long wig, flower'd gown, and lacquer'd chair.'
POPE, *Imit. Hor. Epis.* ii. 1. 334.

[3] 'For so well representing the character of a person "who rather chose to die than see a general for life."' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 46. The Duke of Marlborough had sought to be appointed Captain-General for life.

Pope described this scene on April 30, 1713. He added:—'The author sweated behind the scenes with concern to find their applause proceeded more from the hand than the head. This was the case too of the Prologue writer [Pope], who was clapped into a stanch Whig sore against his will, at almost every two lines.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 184.

[4] 'In the meantime they are getting ready as good a sentence as the former on their side.' *Ib.* In 1737, when the Prince of Wales (*post*, POPE, 217) saw *Cato* acted, 'where Cato says:—
"When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station" [Act iv. sc. 4],
there was a loud huzza, with a great clap, in which clap the Prince himself joined in the face of the whole audience.' LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, ii. 466.

[5] Berkeley wrote on May 7, 1713: —'They have acted *Cato* now almost a month, and would, I believe, a month longer, but that Mrs. Oldfield cannot hold out any longer, having had for several nights past, as I am informed, a midwife behind the scenes.' *Hist. MSS. Com.* vii. App. p. 239.

'It reached not by full forty days the progress and applause of *The Beggar's Opera*.' CIBBER, *Apology*, p. 142; *post*, GAY, 20.

[6] Mrs. Porter acted Lucia. Addison's *Works*, i. 172. Johnson had known her. Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 243; *John. Letters*, ii. 344.

that compliment elsewhere, he found himself obliged,' says Tickell, 'by his duty on the one hand, and his honour on the other, to send it into the world without any dedication [1].'

63 Human happiness has always its abatements; the brightest sunshine of success is not without a cloud. No sooner was *Cato* offered to the reader than it was attacked by the acute malignity of Dennis [2], with all the violence of angry criticism. Dennis, though equally zealous, and probably by his temper more furious than Addison, for what they called liberty, and though a flatterer of the Whig ministry, could not sit quiet at a successful play; but was eager to tell friends and enemies that they had misplaced their admirations. The world was too stubborn for instruction: with the fate of the censurer of Corneille's *Cid* [3] his animadversions shewed his anger without effect, and *Cato* continued to be praised.

64 Pope had now an opportunity of courting the friendship of Addison by vilifying his old enemy, and could give resentment its full play without appearing to revenge himself. He therefore published *A Narrative of the madness of John Dennis* [4]; a performance which left the objections to the play in their full force, and therefore discovered more desire of vexing the critick than of defending the poet.

65 Addison, who was no stranger to the world, probably saw the selfishness of Pope's friendship [5], and, resolving that he should have the consequences of his officiousness to himself, informed

[1] *Works*, Preface, p. 9.

[2] *Post*, ADDISON, 138.

[3] The censurer was Richelieu.

'En vain contre le *Cid* un Ministre se ligue;
Tout Paris pour Chimène a les yeux de Rodrigue.'
BOILEAU, *Sat.* ix. 231.

See *Œuvres de Voltaire*, xliv. 178, for the sonnet in which Corneille revenged himself.

[4] *Post*, POPE, 66. Pope wrote to Caryll on Oct. 17, 1713:—'As to the whim upon Dennis, Cromwell thought me the author of it, which I assured him I was not, and we are, I hope, very far from being enemies. We still visit, criticise, and drink coffee as before. I am satisfied of his merit in all respects, and am truly his friend.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 197. See *ib.* p. 398 for Pope's forged letter to Addison of July 20, 1713, where, in a note, he avows the authorship.

[5] 'Mr. Pope,' wrote Dennis, 'could not bear the success of *Cato*, but prevails upon B. L. [Bernard Lintot] to engage me to write remarks upon it.' *Remarks on the Rape of the Lock*, 1728, Preface, p. 9. Dennis repeated this in *Remarks upon the Dunciad*, 1729, p. 41.

Mr. Elwin points out that Pope, in the enlarged *Dunciad* in 1729, though he contradicted the calumnies against him, 'did not venture to deny the truth of this story; nor has he repudiated it in his own copy of the *Remarks*, in which he replies on the margin to criticisms.... Though the fact was not made public till 1728, it was sure to have reached the ears of Addison.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 399. See also *ib.* ii. 125.

Dennis by Steele, that he was sorry for the insult; and that whenever he should think fit to answer his remarks, he would do it in a manner to which nothing could be objected [1].

The greatest weakness of the play is in the scenes of love, which 66
are said by Pope to have been added to the original plan upon a subsequent review, in compliance with the popular practice of the stage [2]. Such an authority it is hard to reject [3], yet the love is so intimately mingled with the whole action that it cannot easily be thought extrinsick and adventitious; for if it were taken away what would be left? or how were the four acts filled in the first draught?

At the publication the Wits seemed proud to pay their atten- 67
dance with encomiastick verses [4]. The best are from an unknown hand, which will perhaps lose somewhat of their praise when the author is known to be Jeffreys [5].

*Cato* had yet other honours. It was censured as a party-play 68
by 'A Scholar of Oxford [6],' and defended in a favourable examination by Dr. Sewel [7]. It was translated by Salvini into Italian, and acted at Florence [8]; and by the Jesuits of St. Omer's into

[1] For Steele's letter to Lintot conveying Addison's message to Dennis see *Remarks upon the Dunciad*, p. 42; Addison's *Works*, v. 405.

[2] 'The love-part was thrown in after, to comply with the popular taste.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 46.

In 1764 was published *Cato, a Tragedy. Without the Love-scenes, English and Latin.*

[3] Pope's statements are untrustworthy.

[4] In Addison's *Works*, i. 162-70, are verses by Steele, Hughes, Young, Eusden, Tickell, Cotes, Jeffreys, and A. Philips. Gay, in 1715, parodied *Cato* in *The What d'ye Call it. Post*, GAY, 9.

[5] *Works*, i. 168. George Jeffreys was nephew of James, Lord Chandos. In 1754 he published *Miscellanies*. He died in 1755, aged 77. *Gent. Mag.* 1773, p. 88. See also *ib.* 1753, p. 45. Southey inserted in *Specimens* (ii. 213) his translation of Horace's *Ode*, i. 13, on account of 'its excellence.' See also *Hughes Corres.* ii. 17.

[6] *Mr. A. turn'd Tory*, &c. By a Gentleman of Oxford. London, 1713. *Cato* was thrice acted at Oxford before a crowded house with great applause. Cibber's *Apology*, p. 268. Smalridge, Dean of Christ Church, attended. 'There was great notice taken that a man of his order and dignity should be there.' Some ladies laughed at him. He exclaimed: —'Sure the ladies, by laughing so, think themselves to be at church.' Hearne's *Remains*, ii. 163. See *post*, TICKELL, 4.

[7] *Observations upon Cato*, &c., 1713. In 1724 Sewell edited *Translations of Addison's Latin Poems*. Addison's *Works*, vi. 549, 555, 580. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 205.

[8] Salvini's translation was printed at Florence in 1716, and acted at Leghorn by one of the Academies. *Mémoires pour servir*, &c., par J. P. Niceron, 1735, xxxi. 81. For Salvini's translation of the *Letter from Italy* see Addison's *Works*, i. 28. 'Old Salvini,' said Dean Lockier, 'has translated all the Greek poets throughout.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 67. He translated *Paradise Lost*. J. Richardson's *Notes on Paradise Lost*, Preface, p. 120.

Latin, and played by their pupils. Of this version a copy was sent to Mr. Addison [1]: it is to be wished that it could be found, for the sake of comparing their version of the soliloquy with that of Bland [2].

69 A tragedy was written on the same subject by Des Champs, a French poet, which was translated, with a criticism on the English play. But the translator and the critick are now forgotten [3].

70 Dennis lived on unanswered, and, therefore, little read: Addison knew the policy of literature too well to make his enemy important by drawing the attention of the publick upon a criticism, which, though sometimes intemperate, was often irrefragable [4].

71 While *Cato* was upon the stage another daily paper, called *The Guardian*, was published by Steele [5]. To this Addison gave great assistance, whether occasionally or by previous engagement is not known [6].

72 The character of 'Guardian' was too narrow and too serious: it might properly enough admit both the duties and the decencies of life, but seemed not to include literary speculations, and was in some degree violated by merriment and burlesque. What had

[1] *Mémoires pour servir*, &c., par J. P. Niceron, xxxi. 81.

'Cato was acted in most of the languages of Christendom.' TICKELL, Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 9. Dennis, in the Preface to his *Original Letters* says that it was the first English play translated into French and Italian. In the British Museum there are thirty-three editions in English, of which ten were printed in 1713, three in French and two in Italian.

'L'Europe littéraire, qui connaît les traductions de cette pièce, applaudit aux traits philosophiques dont le rôle de Caton est rempli.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxxiii. 575.

[2] This version had been attributed to Atterbury. Horace Walpole wrote to Nichols in 1782:—'It was the work of Dr. Henry Bland, afterwards Head Master of Eton School. I have heard my father say that it was he himself who gave it to Mr. Addison, who was extremely surprised at the fidelity and beauty of it.' *Letters*, viii. 233. It was published in *The Spectator*, No. 628.

For 'the pride of Middleton and Bland' see Pope's *Epil. Sat.* i. 73.

[3] In 1716 was published *A Parallel betwixt the Tragedy of Cato by Mr. A. and the Cato of Utica by Mr. Des Champs*. Sewell, in his *Vindication of the English Stage*, &c., 1716, Pref. p. 5, says that Des Champs' play was performed 'upon our stage.'

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 173; *post*, ADDISON, 138, 153.

[5] It lasted from March 12, 1712–3, to Oct. 1. With the title, motto, and advertisements it was made to fill two sides of a folio sheet. Its price was twopence.

[6] Pope wrote on June 23:—'Mr. Addison writes as seldom as I do—one a month or so.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 189. Addison's first paper was on May 28, his second on June 2. From July 1 to August 3 he wrote every number. He wrote fifty-three in all. *Works*, iv. 159–331. Other contributors were Parnell, Gay, Hughes, Tickell, Ambrose Philips, and Berkeley. Preface to *The Guardian*.

the Guardian of the Lizards[1] to do with clubs of tall or of little men[2], with nests of ants[3], or with Strada's prolusions[4]?

Of this paper nothing is necessary to be said, but that it found 73
many contributors[5], and that it was a continuation of *The Spectator*, with the same elegance and the same variety, till some unlucky sparkle from a Tory paper set Steele's politicks on fire[6], and wit at once blazed into faction. He was soon too hot for neutral topicks, and quitted *The Guardian* to write *The Englishman*[7].

The papers of Addison are marked in *The Spectator* by one of 74
the letters in the name of *Clio*[8], and in *The Guardian* by *a hand*[9]; whether it was, as Tickell pretends to think, that he was unwilling to usurp the praise of others[10], or as Steele, with far greater likelihood, insinuates, that he could not without discontent impart to others any of his own[11]. I have heard that his avidity did not

[1] Nos. 5 and 6.

[2] The Short Club is by Pope, Nos. 91, 92. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 522. The Tall Club is by Addison, No. 108. *Works*, iv. 202.

[3] By Addison. Nos. 156, 157. *Works*, iv. 286-96.

[4] By Addison. Nos. 115, 119, 122. *Works*, iv. 221, 237, 240; *John. Misc.* i. 366, ii. 359.

[5] 'Berkeley had one guinea and a dinner with Steele for every paper of his composing in *The Guardian*.' NICHOLS, *The Tatler*, 1789, iv 601.

[6] *The Examiner* of April 24, 1713, said that as soon as the Earl of Nottingham had joined the Whigs, his daughter was 'taken knotting in St. James's Chapel during divine service, in the immediate presence both of God and Her Majesty, who were affronted together, that the family might appear to be entirely come over.' Steele, who believed that Swift had written the paper, or was 'an accomplice,' replied on April 28, in *The Guardian*, No. 41, and again in No. 53. For the correspondence between them see Swift's *Works*, i. 133, xvi. 38. See also *post*, SWIFT, 58. Nos. 128, 131, 168, and, 170 are political papers. For Steele's politics see *ante*, ADDISON, 36.

[7] Hughes wrote to Addison on Oct. 6, 1713:—'Mr. Steele has abruptly dropped *The Guardian*. He has published this day a paper called *The Englishman*, which begins with an answer to *The Examiner*, written with great boldness and spirit, and shows that his thoughts are at present entirely on politics.' Addison's *Works*, v. 411. Addison, who was in the country, replied on Oct. 12:—'I am in a thousand troubles for poor Dick, and wish that his zeal for the public may not be ruinous to himself; but he has sent me word that he is determined to go on, and that any advice I can give him in this particular will have no weight with him.' *Ib.* p. 412.

For Pope's forged letter to Addison on this subject see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 403, and for the words he really wrote to Caryll see *ib.* vi. 196.

[8] See Appendix P.

[9] This is stated in 'The Publisher to the Reader' prefixed to *The Guardian*. The *hand* is not in the first edition.

[10] Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 8.

[11] Steele wrote:—'The circumstance of marking his *Spectators* ... I made my own act; because I thought it too great a sensibility in my friend, and thought it, since it was done, better to be supposed marked by me than the author him-

satisfy itself with the air of renown, but that with great eagerness he laid hold on his proportion of the profits[1].

75 Many of these papers were written with powers truly comick, with nice discrimination of characters, and accurate observation of natural or accidental deviations from propriety, but it was not supposed that he had tried a comedy on the stage till Steele, after his death, declared him the author of *The Drummer*[2]; this, however, Steele did not know to be true by any direct testimony, for when Addison put the play into his hands he only told him it was the work of 'a Gentleman in the Company[3]'; and when it was received, as is confessed, with cold disapprobation[4], he was probably less willing to claim it. Tickell omitted it in his collection; but the testimony of Steele and the total silence of any other claimant has determined the publick to assign it to Addison, and it is now printed with his other poetry. Steele carried *The Drummer* to the playhouse, and afterwards to the press. and sold the copy for fifty guineas[5].

76 To the opinion of Steele may be added the proof supplied by the play itself, of which the characters are such as Addison would have delineated[6] and the tendency such as Addison would have promoted. That it should have been ill received would raise wonder did we not daily see the capricious distribution of theatrical praise.

self.' *Ib.* v. 149. Addison, in No. 542, claims for himself many of the letters to *The Spectator*. See also Spence's *Anec.* p. 325.

[1] 'Johnson,' says Hawkins, 'was never greedy of money, but without money could not be stimulated to write.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 19. 'No man but a blockhead,' he said, 'ever wrote except for money.' *Ib.* For Addison's heavy losses just before *The Spectator* was started see *ante*, ADDISON, 29 *n.*

[2] *Works*, v. 141. 'It was acted for the first time on March 10, 1715–16, and ran three nights.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 141.

[3] 'He sent for me, which he could always do from his natural power over me, as much as he could send for any of his clerks when he was Secretary of State, and told me that "a gentleman then in the room had written a play that he was sure I would like, but it was to be a secret, and he knew I would take as much pains, since he recommended it, as I would for him."' Addison's *Works*, v. 153.

[4] 'It made no great figure on the stage, though exquisitely well acted.' *Ib.* v. 152. It was revived at Drury Lane in 1754. *Gent. Mag.* 1754, p. 532.

[5] Addison's *Works*, v. 143. A French translation appeared in 1733 and a German in 1742. *Brit. Mus. Cata.*

[6] In a copy of Addison's *Works*, ed. 1746, in the British Museum, in vol. ii. p. 190 (*Works*, 1856, v. 166), where Lady Truman and Abigail in Act i are speaking just before Tinsel enters, Macaulay has written on the margin:—'I have no more doubt that this was Addison's than if I had seen him write it.' At the end of the play he has written:—'I am convinced that if he had cultivated his talent for the drama he would have surpassed any comic writer since the days of James the First.'

He was not all this time an indifferent spectator of publick affairs. He wrote as different exigences required (in 1707) *The present State of the War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation* [*Considered*][1]; which, however judicious, being written on temporary topicks and exhibiting no peculiar powers[2], laid hold on no attention, and has naturally sunk by its own weight into neglect. This cannot be said of the few papers entitled *The Whig Examiner*[3], in which is employed all the force of gay malevolence and humorous satire. Of this paper, which just appeared and expired, Swift remarks with exultation that 'it is now down among the dead men[4].' He might well rejoice at the death of that which he could not have killed[5]. Every reader of every party, since personal malice is past and the papers which once inflamed the nation are read only as effusions of wit, must wish for more of the *Whig Examiners*; for on no occasion was the genius of Addison more vigorously exerted, and on none did the superiority of his powers more evidently appear[6]. His *Trial of Count Tariff*[7], written to expose the Treaty of Commerce with France, lived no longer than the question that produced it. 77

Not long afterwards an attempt was made to revive *The Spectator*, at a time indeed by no means favourable to literature, when the succession of a new family to the throne filled the nation with anxiety, discord, and confusion; and either the turbulence of the times or the satiety of the readers put a stop to the publication after an experiment of eighty numbers, which were afterwards collected into an eighth volume, perhaps more 78

[1] The augmentation was of our forces. *Works*, iv. 340. He maintained 'the natural state of war with the French nation.' *Ib.* p. 342.

[2] The next six words are not in the first edition.

[3] He wrote five weekly numbers, from Thursday, Sept. 14, 1710, to Thursday, Oct. 12. *Works*, iv. 370–95.

[4] 'From a Tory song of the time, the burthen whereof is:—

"And he that will this health deny
Down among the dead men let him lie."'

HAWKINS, Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 63.

[5] For Johnson's error in making *The Whig Examiner* a reply to Swift's papers in *The Examiner* see *post*, SWIFT, 39.

[6] Macaulay wrote in a marginal note (Addison's *Works*, 1746, ii. 321; *ante*, ADDISON, 76 *n.* 6):—'The *Whig Examiners* have, I think, as little merit as anything that Addison wrote. I cannot conceive how Johnson, who of course disliked all the doctrines of these papers, could have been so partial to them.' Between Swift and Addison Johnson perhaps was not unwilling that 'the Whig dog should have the best of it.'

[7] *The Late Trial and Conviction of Count Tariff*, 1713, *Works*, iv. 364. It is an attack on the Treaty of Utrecht.

valuable than any one of those that went before it[1]. Addison produced more than a fourth part, and the other contributors are by no means unworthy of appearing as his associates. The time that had passed during the suspension of *The Spectator*, though it had not lessened his power of humour, seems to have increased his disposition to seriousness: the proportion of his religious to his comick papers is greater than in the former series.

79 *The Spectator* from its recommencement was published only three times a week; and no discriminative marks were added to the papers. To Addison Tickell has ascribed twenty-three[2].

80 *The Spectator* had many contributors; and Steele[3], whose negligence kept him always in a hurry, when it was his turn to furnish a paper, called loudly for the letters, of which Addison, whose materials were more, made little use; having recourse to sketches and hints, the product of his former studies, which he now reviewed and completed: among these are named by Tickell[4] the *Essays on Wit*[5], those on the *Pleasures of the Imagination*[6] and the *Criticism on Milton*[7].

81 When the House of Hanover took possession of the throne it was reasonable to expect that the zeal of Addison would be suitably rewarded[8]. Before the arrival of king George he was made secretary to the regency[9], and was required by his office to

[1] The first number (556) appeared on June 18, 1714, and the last (635) on Dec. 20. A paper was at once started under the same name. Pope wrote to Broome on Feb. 10, 1714–15: —'As to *The Spectator*, that which is now published is not by the former hands, but a paper of no sort of reputation with the town.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 36. Addison compared the undertaking to 'the attempt of Penelope's lovers to shoot with the bow of Ulysses.' *Works*, vi. 693.

In a note in the edition of 1789 to the eighth volume (viii. 381) it is said that 'for three or four papers running, though room is not wanting, not a single advertisement occurs.' The *Guardian* advertisements were inserted for *2s. 6d.* each, 'notwithstanding the duty of one shilling.' *The Guardian*, ed. 1789, ii. 536.

In 1715 Addison sold the copy to Tonson for £53 15*s.* *Works*, vi. 631. The copy of the first seven volumes had been sold at the rate of £82 a volume. *Ante*, ADDISON, 52 *n.*

[2] Numb. 556, 557, 558, 559, 561, 562, 565, 567, 568, 569, 571, 574, 575, 579, 580, 582, 583, 584, 585, 590, 592, 598, 600. JOHNSON. In Addison's *Works*, iv. 123, No. 576 is also assigned to him.

[3] What is said here does not apply to vol. viii, 'in which it does not appear that Steele was concerned.' Ed. 1789, viii. 25 *n.*

[4] *Works*, Preface, p. 9.

[5] Nos. 58 to 63; *post*, ADDISON, 164.

[6] Nos. 411 to 421; *post*, ADDISON, 164; AKENSIDE, 4.

[7] In the Saturday papers, beginning with Jan. 5, 1711–12 (No. 267), and ending with May 3 (No. 369).

[8] According to Birch it was in this interval of public employment that he began his *Dictionary* (*post*, ADDISON, 91). *Life of Tillotson*, 1752, p. 362.

[9] Addison, in his Memorial to

send notice to Hanover that the Queen was dead, and that the throne was vacant. To do this would not have been difficult to any man but Addison, who was so overwhelmed with the greatness of the event and so distracted by choice of expression that the lords, who could not wait for the niceties of criticism, called Mr. Southwell, a clerk in the house, and ordered him to dispatch the message. Southwell readily told what was necessary in the common style of business, and valued himself upon having done what was too hard for Addison[1].

He was better qualified for *The Freeholder*, a paper which he 82
published twice a week, from Dec. 23, 1715, to the middle of the next year[2]. This was undertaken in defence of the established government[3], sometimes with argument, sometimes with mirth. In argument he had many equals; but his humour was singular and matchless. Bigotry itself must be delighted with the Tory Fox-hunter[4].

There are, however, some strokes less elegant and less decent; 83
such as the Pretender's Journal, in which one topick of ridicule is his poverty[5]. This mode of abuse had been employed by Milton against king Charles II.

'. . . *Jacobæi*
Centum exulantis viscera marsupii regis[6].'

George I, stated that for this office 'he received no fee, salary, reward, or perquisite; he was at a considerable charge in keeping clerks, &c.; and the incredible fatigue very much impaired his health.' *Works*, vi. 635.

[1] *Post*, ADDISON, 86. For Macaulay's criticism of this 'idle tradition' see his *Essays*, iv. 232. In Trevelyan's *Macaulay*, i. 423, it is said that Macaulay defended Addison 'against the charge of having been an inefficient Secretary of State.' He defended him as Secretary to the Lords Justices who formed the Regency.

[2] There were fifty-five numbers—all by Addison.

[3] 'At the time when the rebellion broke out in Scotland.' Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 10.

[4] Nos. 22, 44, 47.

[5] Johnson refers to such entries as the following in *The history of the Pretender's fourteen years' reign digested into annals*:—'Anno Regni 4°. He ordered the lord high-treasurer to pay off the debts of the crown; particularly a milk-score of three years' standing.' No. 36.

Johnson supplied Addison's justification when he said:—'When a man voluntarily engages in an important controversy he is to do all he can to lessen his antagonist, because authority from personal respect has much weight with most people, and often more than reasoning.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 443.

'Reputation is power, and consequently to despise is to weaken.' SOUTH, *Sermons*, i. 135. 'So far as a man shames his enemy, so far he also disarms him.' *Ib.* ii. 317.

[6] Milton's *Works*, v. 160.

'Just a hundred
English Jacobusses . . .
An outlawed King's last stock.'
*Ib.* iii. 269.

See *ante*, MILTON, 66.

And Oldmixon delights to tell of some alderman of London, that he had more money than the exiled princes[1]; but that which might be expected from Milton's savageness[2] or Oldmixon's meanness was not suitable to the delicacy of Addison.

84 Steele thought the humour of *The Freeholder* too nice and gentle for such noisy times; and is reported to have said that the ministry made use of a lute when they should have called for a trumpet.

85 This year (1716[3]) he married the countess dowager of Warwick, whom he had solicited by a very long and anxious courtship, perhaps with behaviour not very unlike that of Sir Roger to his disdainful widow[4]; and who, I am afraid, diverted herself often by playing with his passion. He is said to have first known her by becoming tutor to her son. 'He formed,' said Tonson, 'the design of getting that lady from the time when he was first recommended into the family[5].' In what part of his life he obtained the recommendation, or how long, and in what manner he lived in the family, I know not. His advances at first were certainly timorous, but grew bolder as his reputation and influence increased; till at last the lady was persuaded to marry him on terms much like those on which a Turkish princess is espoused, to whom the Sultan is reported to pronounce, 'Daughter, I give thee this man for thy slave.' The marriage, if uncontradicted report can be credited, made no addition to his happiness: it neither found them nor made them equal[6]. She always remembered

[1] [Oldmixon in defending the members of Cromwell's Upper House in 1657 from the sneers of Clarendon and Echard at their low birth, had written:—'One of the above Citizens is thought to have been rich enough to have bought the whole Court of Bruges, Sir Edward Hyde included and the Princes, the Duke of Ormond and two or three lords only excepted.' *Hist. of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart*, 1730, p. 419.] For Oldmixon see *ante*, SMITH, 57.

[2] For Milton's having 'adopted the puritanical savageness of manners' see *ante*, MILTON, 47.

[3] August 2. JOHNSON. The marriage took place on Aug. 9, as the register of St. Edmund's, Lombard Street, shows. Wheatley's *London*, ii. 7; *N. & Q.* 7 S. xii. 96.

[4] Sir Roger's butler, in the letter announcing his master's death, says:—'Indeed we were once in great hopes of his recovery, upon a kind message that was sent him from the widow lady whom he had made love to the forty last years of his life; but this only proved a lightning before his death.' *The Spectator*, No. 517.

[5] 'He had thoughts of getting that lady from his first being recommended into the family.' TONSON, Spence's *Anec.* p. 47.

Oldmixon says that in 1704 he became the tutor of her son, who was seven years old. *Hist. of Eng.* 1735, p. 682, quoted in Addison's *Works*, v. 366.

[6] See Appendix Q.

her own rank, and thought herself entitled to treat with very little ceremony the tutor of her son. Rowe's ballad of *The Despairing Shepherd*[1] is said to have been written, either before or after marriage, upon this memorable pair; and it is certain that Addison has left behind him no encouragement for ambitious love.

The year after (1717) he rose to his highest elevation, being 86 made secretary of state[2]. For this employment he might be justly supposed qualified by long practice of business and by his regular ascent through other offices; but expectation is often disappointed: it is universally confessed that he was unequal to the duties of his place. In the house of commons he could not speak[3], and therefore was useless to the defence of the government. In the office, says Pope, he could not issue an order without losing his time in quest of fine expressions[4]. What he gained in rank, he lost in credit; and, finding by experience his own inability, was forced to solicit his dismission, with a pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. His friends palliated this relinquishment, of which both friends and enemies knew the true reason, with an account of declining health, and the necessity of recess and quiet[5].

[1] It is entitled *Colin's Complaint*. It contains the lines:—

'Twas hers to be false and to change,
'Tis mine to be constant and true.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxviii. 216; *ante*, ROWE, 33 *n.* 7.

Rowe wrote also *Stanzas to Lady Warwick on Mr. Addison's Going to Ireland*, in which he addresses the widow as 'fairest maid.' *Ib.* p. 225.

[2] Johnson has passed over two offices held by Addison. He was for a second time Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1714–16), and besides a Commissioner of Trade (1715). *Works*, Preface, p. 10. He was gazetted Secretary on April 16, 1717. *Ib.* v. 436. For Swift's letter to him on the appointment see his *Works*, xix. 268.

'M. Addison, en France, eût été de quelque académie, et aurait pu obtenir, par le crédit de quelque femme, une pension de douze cents livres ... en Angleterre il a été secrétaire d'état.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 139.

No second man of letters entered the Cabinet—even Burke being excluded—till Lord Melbourne in 1839 admitted Macaulay.

[3] Macaulay writes of 'his parliamentary career in Ireland': —'Some of the entries [in the Journals of two sessions] appear to indicate that he so far overcame his timidity as to make speeches.' *Essays*, iv. 209. For an anecdote of his failure at Westminster see *Works*, vi. 725. See also *post*, PRIOR, 46.

[4] 'Mr. Addison could not give out a common order in writing, from his endeavouring always to word it too finely.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 175. Spence adds in a note:—'Lord Oxford said one day before Mr. Sandys: —"This fellow can't write a common letter," and snatched the pen out of Addison's hand, and wrote it himself.' See *ante*, ADDISON, 81 *n.* 1.

[5] On Sept. 28, 1717, he wrote that 'he had been confined to his chamber by a dangerous fit of sickness.' Lucy Aikin's *Addison*, ii. 202. Vin-

87 He now returned to his vocation, and began to plan literary occupations for his future life. He purposed a tragedy on the death of Socrates; a story of which, as Tickell remarks, the basis is narrow [1], and to which I know not how love could have been appended. There would, however, have been no want either of virtue in the sentiments, or elegance in the language.

88 He engaged in a nobler work, a defence of the *Christian Religion*, of which part was published after his death [2]; and he designed to have made a new poetical version of the Psalms [3].

89 These pious compositions Pope imputed to a selfish motive, upon the credit, as he owns, of Tonson, who, having quarrelled with Addison and not loving him, said that, when he laid down the secretary's office, he intended to take orders, and obtain a bishoprick; 'for,' said he, 'I always thought him a priest in his heart [4].'

90 That Pope should have thought this conjecture of Tonson worth remembrance is a proof, but indeed so far as I have found, the only proof, that he retained some malignity from their ancient rivalry [5]. Tonson pretended but to guess it; no other mortal

cent Bourne thanked the physician in a copy of verses

'Qui tibi languenti vires, animamque reduxit
Visuram inferni iam prope regna Dei.'

Lucy Aikin's *Addison*, ii. 214.

On March 14, 1717–18, he resigned on the score of ill-health. *Works*, vi. 509. Six days later he wrote to Swift of 'a long dangerous fit of sickness' through which he had passed. *Ib.* p. 510. See also *Letters of Lady M. W. Montagu*, ii. 135.

His pension was £1,600 a year. *Works*, vi. 641.

[1] *Ib.* Preface, p. 10. In *The Spectator*, Nos. 23, 183, 186, 213, 349, and in *The Guardian*, No. 135, Addison has touched upon the death of Socrates.

[2] *Post*, ADDISON, 166. Gibbon, in a note to *The Decline and Fall*, v. 247, writing of 'the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus,' says:—'Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient but untenable post I am ashamed to discover Mr. Addison, an English gentleman; but his superficial tract on the Christian religion owes its credit to his name, his style, and the interested applause of our clergy.' In another place Gibbon writes:—'There is scarce a prejudice or a legend that this popular writer has not condescended to adopt as the strongest argument.' *Misc. Works*, v. 558.

[3] *Works*, Preface, p. 11; Spence's *Anec.* p. 192.

[4] 'Old Jacob Tonson had a quarrel with Mr. Addison; and, after his quitting the Secretaryship, used frequently to say of him:—"One day or other you'll see that man a bishop. I'm sure he looks that way; and indeed I ever thought him a priest in his heart.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 200.

Pope said of Addison that 'he had latterly an eye toward the lawn, and it was then that he began his *Evidences of Christianity*, and had a design of translating all the Psalms for the use of churches.' *Ib.* p. 192.

[5] It was not till after Johnson's times that the forgeries were discovered by which Pope slandered Addison's memory. *Post*, POPE, 103 *n.*

ever suspected it; and Pope might have reflected that a man who had been secretary of state in the ministry of Sunderland knew a nearer way to a bishoprick than by defending Religion, or translating the Psalms [1].

It is related that he had once a design to make an English 91
Dictionary [2], and that he considered Dr. Tillotson as the writer of highest authority [3]. There was formerly sent to me by Mr. Locker, clerk of the Leathersellers' Company [4], who was eminent for curiosity [5] and literature, a collection of examples selected from Tillotson's works, as Locker said, by Addison. It came too late to be of use [6], so I inspected it but slightly, and remember it indistinctly. I thought the passages too short.

Addison, however, did not conclude his life in peaceful studies, 92
but relapsed when he was near his end to a political dispute.

It so happened that (1718–19) a controversy was agitated with 93
great vehemence between those friends of long continuance, Addison and Steele. It may be asked, in the language of Homer, what power or what cause could set them at variance [7]. The subject of their dispute was of great importance. The earl of Sunderland proposed an act called the *Peerage Bill*, by which the number of peers should be fixed, and the king restrained from

[1] 'JOHNSON. To be a bishop, a man must be learned in a learned age,—factious in a factious age; but always of eminence.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 80. It was the factious man who under Sunderland would attain to a bishopric, for Sunderland, to use Macaulay's words, was 'the most vehement of Whigs.' *Essays*, iv. 199.

[2] Lady M. W. Montagu wrote to Pope on Sept. 1, 1717, on hearing of Addison's appointment as Secretary of State:—'It is well that he laid aside the thoughts of the voluminous dictionary, of which I have heard you or somebody else frequently make mention.' Montagu's *Letters*, ii. 136. For Milton's *Latin Dictionary* see *ante*, MILTON, 83.

[3] 'He considered his writings as the chief standard of our language, and accordingly marked the particular phrases in the sermons published during his Grace's life-time as the ground-work of an English Dictionary.' BIRCH, *Life of Tillotson*, 1752, p. 362.

Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 557, with a zeal for the new Union with Scotland, absurdly calls Tillotson 'the great British preacher.' 'JOHNSON. I should not advise a preacher at this day to imitate Tillotson's style; though I don't know; I should be cautious of objecting to what has been applauded by so many suffrages.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 247. For Dryden's admiration of Tillotson see *ante*, DRYDEN, 215 *n.*

[4] 'List of Deaths. May 30, 1760. John Locker, Esq., Clerk to the Leathersellers' Company.' *Gent. Mag.* 1760, p. 297.

[5] *Post*, THOMSON, 21. 'Curiosity is in great and generous minds the first passion and the last; and perhaps always predominates in proportion to the strength of the contemplative faculties.' *The Rambler*, No. 150.

[6] For Johnson's *Dictionary*.

[7] Τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; *Iliad* i. 8.

any new creation of nobility, unless when an old family should be extinct [1]. To this the lords would naturally agree; and the king, who was yet little acquainted with his own prerogative and, as is now well known, almost indifferent to the possessions [2] of the Crown, had been persuaded to consent. The only difficulty was found among the commons, who were not likely to approve the perpetual exclusion of themselves and their posterity. The bill therefore was eagerly opposed, and among others by Sir Robert Walpole, whose speech was published [3].

94 The lords might think their dignity diminished by improper advancements, and particularly by the introduction of twelve new peers at once, to produce a majority of Tories in the last reign [4]; an act of authority violent enough, yet certainly legal, and by no means to be compared with that contempt of national right, with which some time afterwards, by the instigation of Whiggism [5], the commons, chosen by the people for three years, chose themselves for seven [6]. But whatever might be the disposition of the lords, the people had no wish to increase their power. The tendency of the bill, as Steele observed in a letter to the earl of Oxford,

[1] The Bill was brought into the House of Lords on March 14, 1718-9. The king was to be allowed to enlarge the number of peers by six. It was dropped on April 14. *Parl. Hist.* vii. 592. It was again brought in on the following Nov. 25 and passed on Nov. 30. It was brought into the House of Commons on Dec. 1, and rejected by 269 to 177 on Dec. 18. *Ib.* pp. 606, 609, 624.

[2] [Probably for 'possessions' we should read 'possession.' Johnson once said of George the First that 'the only good thing that is told of him is, that he wished to restore the crown to its hereditary successor.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 342, where in a note the following passage from Coxe's *Memoirs of Walpole* (i. 57) is quoted,—'It was maliciously circulated that George I was indifferent to his own succession, and scarcely willing to stretch out a hand to grasp the crown within his reach.']

[3] Coxe, who published the speech after Johnson's death, says that 'the substance of it is collected from memorandums in Walpole's handwriting.' Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 125. Johnson, perhaps, refers to Walpole's pamphlet, *The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House*, &c., 1719.

[4] *Post*, GRANVILLE, 17.

[5] *Whiggism* Steele defines as 'a desire of liberty, and a spirit of opposition to all exorbitant power in any part of the constitution.' Addison's *Works*, v. 240.

[6] 'The first Parliament of George I had been chosen (1715) for three years; the term had elapsed, the trust was expired; and the four additional years (1718-1722), during which they continued to sit, were derived not from the people, but from themselves; from the strong measure of the Septennial Bill.... Yet candour will own that to the same Parliament every Englishman is deeply indebted; the Septennial Act, so vicious in its origin, has been sanctioned by time, experience, and the national consent. Its first operation secured the House of Hanover on the throne, and its permanent influence maintains the peace and stability of government.' GIBBON, *Memoirs*, p. 19. See *post*, SWIFT, 10.

was to introduce an aristocracy [1]; for a majority in the house of lords so limited would have been despotick and irresistible.

To prevent this subversion of the ancient establishment, Steele, 95
whose pen readily seconded his political passions, endeavoured to alarm the nation by a pamphlet called *The Plebeian* [2]; to this an answer was published by Addison, under the title of *The Old Whig* [3], in which it is not discovered that Steele was then known to be the advocate for the commons. Steele replied by a second *Plebeian*, and, whether by ignorance or by courtesy, confined himself to his question without any personal notice of his opponent. Nothing hitherto was committed against the laws of friendship or proprieties of decency [4]; but controvertists cannot long retain their kindness for each other. *The Old Whig* answered *The Plebeian*, and could not forbear some contempt of 'little *Dicky*, whose trade it was to write pamphlets [5].' Dicky, however, did not lose his settled veneration for his friend [6], but contented himself with quoting some lines of *Cato*, which were at once detection and reproof [7]. The bill was laid aside during that session, and Addison died before the next, in which its commitment was rejected by two hundred sixty-five [8] to one hundred seventy-seven.

Every reader surely must regret that these two illustrious 96
friends, after so many years passed in confidence and endearment, in unity of interest, conformity of opinion, and fellowship of study, should finally part in acrimonious opposition [9]. Such a contro-

[1] 'The Bill, I fear, may change this free State into the worst of all tyrannies, that of an Aristocracy.' STEELE, *Epistolary Corres.* 1787, p. 468. See also Addison's *Works*, v. 240.

[2] The four numbers (published in March and April 1719) are included in Addison's *Works*, v. 236, 267, 281, 297.

[3] For the two numbers see *ib.* pp. 247, 284.

[4] 'At length Steele so far forgot himself as to throw an odious imputation on the morals of the chiefs of the administration.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, iv. 250. See Addison's *Works*, v. 270, 285, 305.

[5] See Appendix R.

[6] Steele writes of 'The Old Whig' in his last *Plebeian*:—'This author's menaces in this place are as vain as his compassion in another part of his pamphlet is insolent.' Addison's *Works*, v. 305.

[7] 'Authors in these cases are named upon suspicion, and if it is right as to *The Old Whig* I leave the world to judge of this cause by comparison of this performance to his other writings; and I shall . . . end this paper by firing every free breast with that noble exhortation of the tragedian' (Steele here quotes six lines from the last speech in *Cato*, act iii. sc. 5). *Ib.*

[8] 269. *Ante*, ADDISON, 93 *n.* 1.

[9] Two years earlier Steele wrote to his wife:—'I dined this day with Mr. Secretary Addison, who received the seals of office last night.' A fortnight later he wrote:—'I do not ask Mr. Secretary Addison anything.' Montgomery's *Steele*, ii. 115, 118. The formal title, 'Mr. Secretary,'

versy was 'Bellum plusquam civile,' as Lucan expresses it[1]. Why could not faction find other advocates? But, among the uncertainties of the human state, we are doomed to number the instability of friendship.

97 Of this dispute I have little knowledge but from the *Biographia Britannica*. *The Old Whig* is not inserted in Addison's works, nor is it mentioned by Tickell in his *Life*; why it was omitted the biographers doubtless give the true reason: the fact was too recent, and those who had been heated in the contention were not yet cool.

98 The necessity of complying with times and of sparing persons is the great impediment of biography. History may be formed from permanent monuments and records; but Lives can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and in a short time is lost for ever. What is known can seldom be immediately told, and when it might be told it is no longer known[2]. The delicate features of the mind, the nice discriminations of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct are soon obliterated; and it is surely better that caprice, obstinacy, frolick, and folly, however they might delight in the description, should be silently forgotten than that by wanton merriment and unseasonable detection a pang should be given to a widow, a daughter, a brother, or a friend. As the process of these narratives is now bringing me among my contemporaries I begin to feel myself 'walking upon ashes under which the fire is not extinguished[3],' and coming to the time of which it will be proper rather to say 'nothing that is false, than all that is true[4].'

99 The end of this useful life was now approaching.—Addison had for some time been oppressed by shortness of breath, which was now aggravated by a dropsy; and, finding his danger pressing, he prepared to die conformably to his own precepts and professions.

100 During this lingering decay he sent, as Pope relates, a message by the earl of Warwick to Mr. Gay, desiring to see him: Gay,

implies no coldness in itself. Nevertheless in the fortnight a coldness seems to have arisen.

[1] 'Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos,
Iusque datum sceleri canimus.'
*Phar.* i. 1.

[2] 'When writers have the least opportunities of knowing the truth they are in the best disposition to tell it.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 101.

[3] 'Incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.'
HORACE, *Odes*, ii. 1. 7.

[4] 'Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat.' CICERO, *De Oratore*, ii. 15. 62.

who had not visited him for some time before, obeyed the summons, and found himself received with great kindness. The purpose for which the interview had been solicited was then discovered: Addison told him that he had injured him, but that if he recovered he would recompense him. What the injury was he did not explain, nor did Gay ever know; but supposed that some preferment designed for him had, by Addison's intervention, been withheld [1].

Lord Warwick was a young man of very irregular life, and 101
perhaps of loose opinions. Addison, for whom he did not want respect, had very diligently endeavoured to reclaim him; but his arguments and expostulations had no effect [2]. One experiment, however, remained to be tried: when he found his life near its end he directed the young lord to be called, and when he desired with great tenderness to hear his last injunctions, told him, 'I have sent for you that you may see how a Christian can die [3].' What effect this awful scene had on the earl I know not; he likewise died himself in a short time [4].

In Tickell's excellent Elegy on his friend are these lines: 102

'He [There] taught us how to live; and, oh! too high
The price of [for] knowledge, taught us how to die [5].'

[1] Spence's *Anec.* p. 149. For Gay's hope of preferment see *post*, GAY, 7, 17, and for his parody of *Cato* see *post*, GAY, 9. The whole story rests on worthless evidence—Pope's. For Macaulay's remarks on it see his *Essays*, iv. 252.

[2] For three pretty letters Addison wrote to him when a child see *Works*, v. 366.

Young wrote on Addison's death:—

'O Warwick! by divine contagion bright,
How early didst thou catch his radiant light!'

*Eng. Poets*, lx. 241.

Warwick, in his epitaph, is described as 'adolescens nobilissimus, propriis tamen quam maiorum virtutibus clarior.' Collins's *Peerage*, 1756, ii. 245. 'In lapidary inscriptions,' as Johnson said, 'a man is not upon oath.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 407. According to the second Earl of Oxford 'he killed himself with his debauchery.' *N. & Q.* 2 S. i. 326.

For the 'irregular life' of the Earl's father see Thackeray's *English Humourists*, ed. Phelps, p. 104.

[3] 'He sent for a youth nearly related, and finely accomplished; yet not above being the better for good impressions from a dying friend. He came; but life now glimmering in the socket, the dying friend was silent; after a decent and proper pause the youth said:—"Dear Sir, you sent for me; I believe and hope that you have some commands; I shall hold them most sacred." Forcibly grasping the youth's hand, he softly said:—"See in what peace a Christian can die."' DR. YOUNG, *Works*, 1770, iv. 300.

For Horace Walpole's sarcasm about this scene see his *Letters*, iii. 227, and for 'the singularly cheerful character of Addison's piety' see Macaulay's *Essays*, iv. 253.

[4] The Earl died on Aug. 16, 1721. Collins's *Peerage*, ii. 245.

[5] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 248; Addison's

In which he alludes, as he told Dr. Young, to this moving interview [1].

103 Having given directions to Mr. Tickell for the publication of his works [2], and dedicated them on his death-bed to his friend Mr. Craggs [3], he died June 17, 1719, at Holland-house, leaving no child but a daughter [4].

104 Of his virtue it is a sufficient testimony that the resentment of party has transmitted no charge of any crime [5]. He was not one of those who are praised only after death; for his merit was so generally acknowledged that Swift, having observed that his election passed without a contest, adds, that if he had proposed himself for king, he would hardly have been refused [6].

105 His zeal for his party did not extinguish his kindness for the merit of his opponents [7]: when he was secretary in Ireland he refused to intermit his acquaintance with Swift [8].

106 Of his habits, or external manners, nothing is so often mentioned as that timorous or sullen taciturnity, which his friends called modesty by too mild a name. Steele mentions with great tenderness 'that remarkable bashfulness, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit [9]'; and tells us that 'his abilities were

*Works*, Preface, p. 15; *post*, TICKELL, 15.

[1] Young, after quoting these lines, continues:—'With truth wrapped in darkness so sung our oracle to the public, but explained himself to me; he was present at his patron's death, and that account of it here given he gave to me before his eyes were dry.' Young's *Works*, iv. 302.

[2] *Post*, TICKELL, 14.

[3] In a letter. *Works*, vi. 523. Atterbury wrote to Pope in 1721:—'Addison's *Works* came to my hands yesterday. I cannot but think it a very odd set of incidents that the book should be dedicated by a dead man to a dead man; and even that the new patron [Lord Warwick], to whom Tickell chose to inscribe his verses, should be dead also before they were published.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 32. For Pope's epitaph on Craggs, who died on Feb. 16, 1720, see *post*, POPE, 404. See also *post*, FENTON, 9; POPE, 91.

[4] See Appendix S.

[5] Pope alone blackened his character.

[6] 'Oct. 12, 1710. We are yet in a very dull state, only inquiring every day after new elections, where the Tories carry it among the new members six to one. Mr. Addison's election has passed away easy and undisputed; and I believe if he had a mind to be chosen king he would hardly be refused.' SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 41. He was member for Malmesbury. *Works*, v. 425.

[7] He did not subscribe to Prior's *Poems*. *Post*, PRIOR, 41 *n*.

[8] Swift wrote to him on July 9, 1717:—'I am extremely obliged . . . for your generous intentions, if you had come to Ireland, to have made party give way to friendship by continuing your acquaintance.' *Works*, xix. 268. (See also *ib.* p. 280.) This shows that Johnson is in error when, speaking of Addison's second appointment as Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, he says (*post*, TICKELL, 14) that he went to Ireland.

[9] Steele wrote 'his "remarkable" bashfulness.' Addison's *Works*, v. 152. By the quotation marks he referred to Tickell, who, writing of

covered only by modesty, which doubles the beauties which are seen, and gives credit and esteem to all that are concealed.' Chesterfield affirms that 'Addison was the most timorous and awkward man that he ever saw[1].' And Addison, speaking of his own deficience in conversation, used to say of himself, that, with respect to intellectual wealth, 'he could draw bills for a thousand pounds, though he had not a guinea in his pocket[2].'

That he wanted current coin for ready payment, and by that 107
want was often obstructed and distressed; that he was oppressed by an improper and ungraceful timidity, every testimony concurs to prove: but Chesterfield's representation is doubtless hyperbolical. That man cannot be supposed very unexpert in the arts of conversation and practice of life, who, without fortune or alliance, by his usefulness and dexterity became secretary of state, and who died at forty-seven, after having not only stood long in the highest rank of wit and literature, but filled one of the most important offices of state.

The time in which he lived had reason to lament his obstinacy 108
of silence, 'for he was,' says Steele[3], 'above all men in that talent called [we call] humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful than any other man ever possessed.' This is the fondness of a friend; let us hear what is told us by a rival. 'Addison's conversation,' says Pope, 'had something in it more charming than I have found in any other man. But this was only when familiar: before strangers, or perhaps a single stranger, he preserved his dignity by a stiff silence[4].'

Addison, spoke of 'his remarkable seriousness and modesty.' *Works*, Preface, p. 5.

'Mr. Addison used frequently to say "that there was no such thing as a real conversation between more than two persons."' Budgell's *Memoirs of Orrery*, 1732, Preface, p. 9.

[1] 'Mr. Addison was the most timid and awkward man in good company I ever saw; and no wonder, for he had been wholly cloistered up in the cells of Oxford till he was five and twenty years old.' CHESTERFIELD, *Letters to his Godson*, 1890, p. 185; *Misc. Works*, 4to, 1778, iii. 19.

'He was not free with his superiors.' DR. YOUNG, Spence's *Anec.* p. 335.

[2] See Appendix T.

[3] Addison's *Works*, v. 151.

[4] 'Addison had something more charming in his conversation than I ever knew in any other man; but with any mixture of strangers, and sometimes only with one, he seemed to preserve his dignity much, with

109 This modesty was by no means inconsistent with a very high opinion of his own merit[1]. He demanded to be the first name in modern wit; and, with Steele to echo him, used to depreciate Dryden, whom Pope and Congreve defended against them[2]. There is no reason to doubt that he suffered too much pain from the prevalence of Pope's poetical reputation[3]; nor is it without strong reason suspected that by some disingenuous acts he endeavoured to obstruct it: Pope was not the only man whom he insidiously injured[4], though the only man of whom he could be afraid.

110 His own powers were such as might have satisfied him with conscious excellence. Of very extensive learning he has indeed given no proofs[5]. He seems to have had small acquaintance

a stiff sort of silence.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 50.

Addison in *The Spectator*, No. 562, describes a man 'who is content at present to pass for a man of plain sense in his ordinary conversation, and is never facetious but when he knows his company.'

Swift wrote on Sept. 14, 1711, of a supper at Addison's lodgings:—'We were very good company; and yet know no man half so agreeable to me as he is.' *Works*, ii. 347.

'Addison,' said Lady M. W. Montagu, 'was the best company in the world.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 232. She wrote in 1758 (*Letters*, iii. 252):—'I have heard Mr. Addison say he always listened to poets with patience, to keep up the dignity of the fraternity.'

[1] *Ante*, MILTON, 47; DRYDEN, 161-2; *post*, POPE, 20.

[2] 'Addison was so eager to be the first name that he and his friend Sir Richard Steele used to run down even Dryden's character as far as they could. Pope and Congreve used to support it.' TONSON, Spence's *Anec.* p. 47.

In his early poems he praised Dryden highly (*Works*, i. 1, 26); but his criticisms of him were often unfavourable. In *The Tatler*, No. 114, he refuted his assertion 'that he could meet with no turn of words in Milton.' (For 'the beautiful turns of words and thoughts' which Dryden 'found not' in Milton see Dryden's *Works*, xiii. 116-7.) In *The Spectator*, No. 40, Addison said that Dryden had practised rant 'with good success.' In No. 62 he ridiculed his definition of wit. In No. 279 he accused him of having 'in some places misrepresented Virgil's way of thinking,' and in *The Guardian*, No. 110, he said that 'he is generally wrong in his sentiments.'

[3] Johnson perhaps relies on Pope's lines:—

'Should such a man, too fond to rule alone, [the throne.'
Bear like the Turk no brother near

*Prol. Sat.* l. 197. See also *post*, POPE, 103.

Spence records (*Anec.* p. 348):—'Cibber confirmed to me Mr. Addison's character of bearing no rival, and enduring none but flatterers.'

'I don't remember that there was any such thing as two parties, one to set up Pope and the other Addison as the chief poet of those times. 'Twas a thing that could not bear any dispute.' LADY M. W. MONTAGU, *ib.* p. 233.

[4] Johnson, I suppose, refers to the story about Gay, which comes from Pope. *Ante*, ADDISON, 100.

[5] Dr. Warton ranks 'our most eminent poets, with respect to their learning, in the following order:—Milton, Spenser, Cowley, Butler, Donne, Jonson, Akenside, Gray, Dryden, Addison.' Pope's *Works*, 1822, Preface, p. 15. 'Addison,' he adds, 'appears not to have read Dante, from

with the sciences, and to have read little except Latin and French; but of the Latin poets his *Dialogues on Medals*[1] shew that he had perused the works with great diligence and skill[2]. The abundance of his own mind left him little need of adventitious sentiments: his wit always could suggest what the occasion demanded. He had read with critical eyes the important volume of human life, and knew the heart of man from the depths of stratagem to the surface of affectation.

What he knew he could easily communicate. 'This,' says 111
Steele, 'was particular in this writer, that when he had taken his resolution or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about a room and dictate it into language with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down, and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated[3].'

Pope, who can be less suspected of favouring his memory, 112
declares that he wrote very fluently, but was slow and scrupulous in correcting; that many of his *Spectators* were written very fast, and sent immediately to the press; and that it seemed to be for his advantage not to have time for much revisal[4].

'He would alter,' says Pope, 'any thing to please his friends, 113
before publication, but would not retouch his pieces afterwards: and I believe not one word in *Cato*, to which I made an objection, was suffered to stand[5].'

The last line of *Cato* is Pope's, having been originally written 114

'And, oh! 'twas this that ended Cato's life[6].'

Pope might have made more objections to the six concluding lines[7]. In the first couplet the words 'from hence' are improper,

his never once referring to him in his *Criticisms on Milton*.' Pope's *Works*, 1822, iv. 281. 'Bayle's *Dictionary* lay always open in Addison's study.' MRS. PIOZZI, *Auto.* ii. 148.

[1] *Ante*, ADDISON, 20. 'In the first *Dialogue* the author sets out well; his characters are well marked, and the whole has the air of a free conversation among polite and learned friends; but the two following *Dialogues* might as well have been called letters or essays.' GIBBON, *Misc. Works*, v. 456. See also *ib.* p. 564.

[2] It is strange that the motto for *The Spectator*, No. 323—'modo vir, modo femina'—he attributes to Virgil.

[3] *Works*, v. 153.

[4] See Appendix U.

[5] He would show his verses to several friends, and would alter almost everything that any of them hinted at as wrong.... He would never alter anything after a poem was once printed.... I believe he did not leave a word unchanged that I made any scruple against in his *Cato*.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* pp. 49, 151.

[6] *Ib.* p. 151.

[7] 'From hence let fierce contending nations know
What dire effects from civil discord flow.
'Tis this that shakes our country with alarms,

and the second line is taken from Dryden's *Virgil*[1]. Of the next couplet the first verse being included in the second is therefore useless, and in the third *Discord* is made to produce *Strife*.

115 Of the course of Addison's familiar day before his marriage Pope has given a detail[2]. He had in the house with him Budgell[3], and perhaps Philips[4]. His chief companions were Steele[5], Budgell, Philips, Carey[6], Davenant[7] and colonel Brett[8]. With one or other of these he always breakfasted. He studied all morning, then dined at a tavern, and went afterwards to Button's[9].

116 Button had been a servant in the countess of Warwick's family[10], who, under the patronage of Addison, kept a coffee-house on the south-side of Russel-street, about two doors from Covent-garden[11]. Here it was that the wits of that time used

And gives up Rome a prey to Roman arms,
Produces fraud, and cruelty, and strife,
And robs the guilty world of Cato's life.'

[1] *Pastorals*, i. 99.

[2] Spence's *Anec.* pp. 196, 286.

[3] *Ante*, ADDISON, 44; *post*, A. PHILIPS, 9.

[4] *Post*, A. PHILIPS, 4, 19.

[5] Gay accuses Steele of owing everything to Addison:—

'Some may, perhaps, to a whole week extend,
Like Steele, when unassisted by a friend.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 212.

[6] Pope joins these three in *The Three Gentle Shepherds*:—

'Of gentle Philips will I ever sing,
With gentle Philips shall the valleys ring.
My numbers too for ever will I vary
With gentle Budgell and with gentle Carey.'

Mr. Courthope thinks Walter Carey is meant, a Whig member of parliament. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 439 *n.*, iv. 464. He is believed to be Pope's *Umbra*, which begins:—

'Close to the best known author Umbra sits,
The constant index to all Button's wits.' *Ib.* iv. 468.

There was also John Carey, of New College, mentioned in *The Spectator*, No. 555, as a contributor.

[7] Dr. Charles Davenant (son of the dramatist, *ante*, MILTON, 102), of whom Swift wrote in 1710:—'He has been teasing me to look over some of his writings that he is going to publish; but the rogue is so fond of his own productions that I hear he will not part with a syllable.' *Works*, ii. 68.

[8] *Post*, SAVAGE, 5.

[9] Pope gave two accounts. 'He used to breakfast with one or other of them at his lodgings in St. James's Place, dine at taverns with them, then to Button's, and then to some tavern again for supper.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 196. 'He usually studied all the morning; then met his party at Button's; dined there, and stayed five or six hours, and sometimes far into the night. He passed each day alike.' *Ib.* p. 286.

[10] Pope calls him Addison's servant. *Ib.* p. 263.

[11] For the lion's head set up in Button's, into which contributions for *The Guardian* were to be dropped, see No. 98 by Addison. See also No. 140, also by him, for 'a good omen with regard to the lion' in Button's Christian name being Daniel. The head is now at Woburn Abbey. Wheatley's *London*, i. 316.

For Swift's first appearance at Button's, described by Philips to

to assemble[1]. It is said that when Addison had suffered any vexation from the countess he withdrew the company from Button's house.

From the coffee-house he went again to a tavern, where he 117
often sat late and drank too much wine. In the bottle discontent seeks for comfort, cowardice for courage, and bashfulness for confidence. It is not unlikely that Addison was first seduced to excess by the manumission which he obtained from the servile timidity of his sober hours. He that feels oppression from the presence of those to whom he knows himself superior will desire to set loose his powers of conversation; and who that ever asked succour from Bacchus was able to preserve himself from being enslaved by his auxiliary[2]?

Among those friends it was that Addison displayed the elegance 118
of his colloquial accomplishments[3], which may easily be supposed such as Pope represents them. The remark of Mandeville, who, when he had passed an evening in his company, declared that he was a parson in a tye-wig[4], can detract little from his character: he was always reserved to strangers, and was not incited to uncommon freedom by a character like that of Mandeville[5].

T. Sheridan, see Swift's *Works*, 1803, i. 120.

'Mr. Addison, with his friend Steele, brought me, upon my banishment from Cambridge, to have many astronomical lectures at Button's ... to the agreeable entertainment of a good number of curious persons and the procuring me ... some comfortable support.' W. WHISTON, *Memoirs*, p. 302.

In Cibber's *Non-Juror*, act i. sc. 1, Sir John Woodvil describes Button's as 'that foul nest of heresy and schism,' where there is 'fine company indeed, Arians, party-poets, players and Presbyterians.' See also *post*, TICKELL, 10.

'Will's was on the north side of Russell St.' *Post*, POPE, 31. It was in this street of so few houses that Gibbon, on June 8, 1753, 'at the feet of a Roman Catholic priest abjured the errors of heresy' (*Memoirs*, p. 72), and that Boswell, on May 16, 1763, first saw Johnson. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 390. Lamb lodged here. See his *Letters*, 1888, ii. 6, 8. There is scarcely a street in London so rich in literary memories.

[1] They did not frequent it long. In a letter in *The Plain Dealer* (*post*, SAVAGE, 59), No. 102, dated 'Button's, March 4, 1725,' it is stated that 'this place, which was once the Seat of Wit, is now deserted by all that sort of company. The classics are elbowed out by the constables.' In 1744 Gray wrote that on the appearance of a new poem, people 'wait to catch the judgment of the world immediately above them, that is Dick's Coffee-House and the Rainbow.' *Letters*, i. 119.

[2] See Appendix X.

[3] 'The talking with a friend is nothing else but "thinking aloud." ... The greatest pleasures of life are the freedoms of conversation with a bosom friend.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 225. See also *ib.* No. 68.

[4] Hawkins's *Hist. of Music*, v. 315 *n.*; Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 71.

[5] For his *Fable of the Bees* see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 291. Adam Smith speaks of his 'lively and

119 From any minute knowledge of his familiar manners the intervention of sixty years has now debarred us. Steele once promised Congreve and the publick a complete description of his character[1]; but the promises of authors are like the vows of lovers. Steele thought no more on his design, or thought on it with anxiety that at last disgusted him, and left his friend in the hands of Tickell.

120 One slight lineament of his character Swift has preserved. It was his practice when he found any man invincibly wrong to flatter his opinions by acquiescence, and sink him yet deeper in absurdity. This artifice of mischief was admired by Stella; and Swift seems to approve her admiration[2].

121 His works will supply some information. It appears from his various pictures of the world that, with all his bashfulness, he had conversed with many distinct classes of men, had surveyed their ways with very diligent observation, and marked with great acuteness the effects of different modes of life[3]. He was a man in whose presence nothing reprehensible was out of danger: quick in discerning whatever was wrong or ridiculous, and not unwilling to expose it. 'There are,' says Steele, 'in his writings many oblique strokes upon some of the wittiest men of the age[4].'

humorous, though coarse and rustic eloquence.' *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1801, ii. 262.

[1] Addison's *Works*, v. 153.

[2] This paragraph is not in the first edition. Swift wrote of her:—'Whether this proceeded from her easiness in general, or from her indifference to persons, or from her despair of mending them, or from the same practice which she much liked in Mr. Addison, I cannot determine; but when she saw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, she was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppose them. . . . "It prevented noise," she said, "and saved time."' *Works*, ix. 284.

Steele describes Addison doing this under the name of Callisthenes. *The Spectator*, No. 422.

Pope probably alludes to it when he makes Atticus 'assent with civil leer.' *Prol. Sat.* l. 201. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 243.

[3] His sympathy with his fellow men he shows in his visit to the Royal Exchange. 'As I am a great lover of mankind my heart naturally overflows with pleasure at the sight of a prosperous and happy multitude, insomuch that at many public solemnities I cannot forbear expressing my joy with tears that have stolen down my cheeks. For this reason I am wonderfully delighted to see such a body of men thriving in their own private fortunes, and at the same time promoting the public stock.' *The Spectator*, No. 69.

[4] 'Many of the writings now published as his, I have been very patiently traduced and calumniated for, as they were pleasantries and oblique strokes upon certain the wittiest men of the age.' Addison's *Works*, v. 148.

Addison in *The Spectator*, No. 262, says:—'When I draw any faulty character I consider all those persons to whom the malice of the world may possibly apply it, and take care to dash it with such particular circumstances as may prevent all such

His delight was more to excite merriment than detestation, and he detects follies rather than crimes.

If any judgement be made from his books of his moral 122
character nothing will be found but purity and excellence. Knowledge of mankind indeed, less extensive than that of Addison, will shew that to write and to live are very different. Many who praise virtue, do no more than praise it[1]. Yet it is reasonable to believe that Addison's professions and practice were at no great variance, since, amidst that storm of faction in which most of his life was passed, though his station made him conspicuous and his activity made him formidable, the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies: of those with whom interest or opinion united him he had not only the esteem, but the kindness; and of others, whom the violence of opposition drove against him, though he might lose the love, he retained the reverence[2].

It is justly observed by Tickell that he employed wit on the 123
side of virtue and religion[3]. He not only made the proper use of wit himself, but taught it to others; and from his time it has been generally subservient to the cause of reason and of truth. He has dissipated the prejudice that had long connected gaiety with vice, and easiness of manners with laxity of principles[4]. He has

ill-natured applications.... I know very well the value which every man sets upon his reputation, and how painful it is to be exposed to the mirth and derision of the public.'

[1] Steele, in the last *Tatler*, after saying that 'the general purpose of the whole has been to recommend truth, innocence, honour, and virtue as the chief ornaments of life,' continues:—'I shall not carry my humility so far as to call myself a vicious man; but at the same time I must confess my life is at best but pardonable.'

[2] On April 1, 1713, a time of great faction, Swift recorded:—'I prevailed on Lord Bolingbroke to invite Mr. Addison to dine with him on Good Friday.' *Works*, iii. 138. It was a strange day for a High Church divine to select for a dinner to be given to the moral and religious Addison by a notorious ill-liver and scoffer. For the dinner see *ib.* p. 140.

[3] Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 5. Tickell also in *The Prospect of Peace* (*Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 171) tells how the *Spectators*

'Fight virtue's cause, stand up in wit's defence,
Win us from vice, and laugh us into sense.'

[4] In *The Spectator*, No. 262, he describes himself as having 'broken loose from that great body of writers who have employed their wit and parts in propagating of vice and irreligion.' In No. 445 he writes:—'I have new-pointed all the batteries of ridicule.' In *The Present State of Wit* (1711), ascribed to Gay, the author writes of *The Tatler*:—'It would have been a jest sometime since for a man to have asserted that anything witty could be said in praise of a married state.... It is incredible to conceive the effect Bickerstaff's writings have had on the town;... how much countenance they have added to virtue and religion.' He goes on to mention Steele, and

restored virtue to its dignity, and taught innocence not to be ashamed [1]. This is an elevation of literary character, 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame [2].' No greater felicity can genius attain than that of having purified intellectual pleasure, separated mirth from indecency, and wit from licentiousness [3]; of having taught a succession of writers to bring elegance and gaiety to the aid of goodness; and, if I may use expressions yet more awful, of having 'turned many to righteousness [4].'

124 ADDISON, in his life and for some time afterwards, was considered by the greater part of readers as supremely excelling both in poetry and criticism. Part of his reputation may be probably ascribed to the advancement of his fortune: when, as Swift observes, he became a statesman, and saw poets waiting at his levee [5], it is no wonder that praise was accumulated upon him. Much likewise may be more honourably ascribed to his personal character: he who, if he had claimed it, might have obtained the diadem, was not likely to be denied the laurel.

125 But time quickly puts an end to artificial and accidental fame; and Addison is to pass through futurity protected only by his genius. Every name which kindness or interest once raised too

his 'great and constant assistant Mr. Addison.' Swift's *Works*, vi. 158.

Cowper places Addison in the front of those who

'Whipp'd out of sight with satire just and keen
The puppy pack that had defil'd the scene.'

*Table-Talk*, Cowper's *Works*, viii. 141.

[1] With admirable humour he makes one of his correspondents say:—'For my own part I was born in wedlock, and I do not care who knows it.' *The Spectator*, No. 500.

[2] POPE, *Imit. Hor. Epis.* ii. 1. 26.

[3] Pope says of Addison (*ib.* l. 217):

'He from the taste obscene reclaims our youth, [truth.'

And sets the passions on the side of

Mrs. Piozzi wrote on the margin of *The Spectator*, No. 4, opposite the paragraph that begins, 'When it is a woman's day':—'He has been the woman's truest friend, and as such is still accounted.' This number was by Steele.

Blackmore had begun the attack before Addison, and so had Collier. *Post*, CONGREVE, 19; BLACKMORE, 15. The wonderful effect produced by Collier's attack shows that the immorality had tainted a class rather than the nation. The reform came slowly. Pope, in the interval between the two series of *The Spectator*, wrote his indecent prologue to Rowe's *Jane Shore*. In the early numbers of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which began in 1731, and in *The Annual Register*, which began in 1758, there is indecent writing. The first volumes of *Tristram Shandy* appeared forty-one years after Addison's death. For the purification of society in the eighteenth century see Lockhart's *Scott*, 1839, vi. 406, and Scott's *Life of Swift*, *Works*, i. 360.

[4] 'They that turn many to righteousness [shall shine] as the stars for ever and ever.' *Daniel* xii. 3.

[5] In the *Libel on Dr. Delany* Swift describes how Addison

'grown a minister of state
Saw poets at his levee wait.'

*Works*, xiv. 389.

high is in danger lest the next age should by the vengeance of criticism sink it in the same proportion. A great writer has lately styled him 'an indifferent poet, and a worse critick[1].'

His poetry is first to be considered; of which it must be 126
confessed that it has not often those felicities of diction which give lustre to sentiments, or that vigour of sentiment that animates diction: there is little of ardour, vehemence, or transport; there is very rarely the awfulness of grandeur, and not very often the splendour of elegance. He thinks justly; but he thinks faintly[2]. This is his general character; to which, doubtless, many single passages will furnish exceptions[3].

Yet, if he seldom reaches supreme excellence, he rarely sinks 127
into dulness, and is still more rarely entangled in absurdity. He did not trust his powers enough to be negligent. There is in most of his compositions a calmness and equability, deliberate and cautious, sometimes with little that delights, but seldom with any thing that offends.

Of this kind seem to be his poems to Dryden[4], to Somers[5], 128
and to the King[6]. His *Ode on St. Cecilia* has been imitated by Pope[7], and has something in it of Dryden's vigour. Of his *Account of the English Poets*[8] he used to speak as 'a poor thing[9]';

[1] The 'great writer' was Warburton, who wrote:—'He was but an ordinary poet and a worse critic.' Warburton's *Pope*, iv. 175. J. G. Cooper (Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 129, iii. 149) called Addison 'a very indifferent critic and a worse poet.' *Letters concerning Taste*, 1757, p. 28. Horace Walpole, in 1765, wrote of 'the cold and well-disciplined merit of Addison' as a poet. *Letters*, iv. 333. Johnson, in *The Idler*, No. 60, represents Dick Minim as 'paying no great deference to Addison as a critic.' Addison, in *The Guardian*, No. 103, describes a critic as 'a man who, on all occasions, is more attentive to what is wanting than what is present.' See also *post*, ADDISON, 159.

[2] For Gray's estimate of his poetry see *post*, TICKELL, 6 *n.* 3.

[3] *Post*, ADDISON, 155. 'One night at the Club, a person quoting the nineteenth psalm, Dr. Johnson caught fire, and, instantly taking off his hat, began with great solemnity:—"The spacious firmament on high." Those who were acquainted with the Doctor knew how harsh his features in general were; but upon this occasion, "his face was almost as if it had been the face of an angel."' *John. Misc.* ii. 393.

Thackeray, in his *English Humourists*, p. 95, says of this hymn of Addison's:—'Listen to him; from your childhood you have known the verses; but who can hear their sacred music without love and awe?... It seems to me that these verses shine like the stars. They shine out of a great deep calm.'

[4] *Ante*, ADDISON, 12.

[5] *Ante*, ADDISON, 17.

[6] *Ante*, ADDISON, 17. This Ode Congreve describes as

'that immortal song,
As Spenser sweet, as Milton strong.'
*Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 287.

[7] *Post*, POPE, 320.

[8] *Ante*, ADDISON, 14.

[9] Pope is the authority. Spence's *Anec.* p. 50.

but it is not worse than his usual strain. He has said, not very judiciously, in his character of Waller:

'Thy verse could [can] shew ev'n Cromwell's innocence,
And compliment the storms that bore him hence.
O! had thy Muse not come an age too soon,
But seen great Nassau on the British throne,
How had his triumph [triumphs] glitter'd in thy page!—[1]'

What is this but to say that he who could compliment Cromwell had been the proper poet for king William? Addison, however, never printed the piece[2].

129 The *Letter from Italy* has been always praised, but has never been praised beyond its merit. It is more correct, with less appearance of labour, and more elegant, with less ambition of ornament, than any other of his poems[3]. There is, however, one broken metaphor, of which notice may properly be taken:

'Fir'd with that name—
I bridle in my struggling Muse with pain,
That longs to launch into a nobler [bolder] strain[4].'

To *bridle* a *goddess* is no very delicate idea; but why must she be *bridled*? because she *longs to launch*; an act which was never hindered by a *bridle*: and whither will she *launch*? into a *nobler strain*. She is in the first line a *horse*, in the second a *boat*; and the care of the poet is to keep his *horse* or his *boat* from *singing*.

130 The next composition is the far-famed *Campaign*, which Dr. Warton has termed a 'Gazette in Rhyme[5],' with harshness not often used by the good-nature of his criticism. Before a censure so severe is admitted, let us consider that War is a frequent subject of Poetry, and then enquire who has described it with more justness and force. Many of our own writers tried

[1] *Works*, i. 25; *ante*, WALLER, 65.

[2] He printed it in 1694. *Ante*, ADDISON, 14 *n.* Johnson was misled by Pope, who said that 'it was not published till after his death.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 50.

[3] *Ante*, ADDISON, 21. 'I used formerly to like it extremely, and still like it the most of all his poems.' POPE. *Spence*, p. 316.

[4] *Works*, i. 37.

[5] In his *Essay on Pope*, i. 30; *post*, POPE, 65 *n.* In his *Pope's Works*, iv. 179, he explains his meaning:—'The regular march from place to place, which he followed like the route of a muster-master-general, was all that was pointed at.'

Addison perhaps has a hit at himself. *The Spectator*, No. 85:—'I remember, after having read over a poem of an eminent author on a victory, I met with several fragments of it upon the next rejoicing day, which had been employed in squibs and crackers, and by that means celebrated its subject in a double capacity.'

their powers upon this year of victory [1], yet Addison's is confessedly the best performance [2]; his poem is the work of a man not blinded by the dust of learning: his images are not borrowed merely from books. The superiority which he confers upon his hero is not personal prowess, and 'mighty bone [3],' but deliberate intrepidity, a calm command of his passions, and the power of consulting his own mind in the midst of danger [4]. The rejection and contempt of fiction is rational and manly [5].

It may be observed that the last line is imitated by Pope; 131

'Marlb'rough's exploits appear divinely bright,

. . . . . .

Rais'd of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,
And those that [who] paint them truest, praise them most [6].'

This Pope had in his thoughts; but, not knowing how to use what was not his own, he spoiled the thought when he had borrowed it:

'The well-sung woes shall [will] soothe my [pensive] ghost;
He best can paint them who shall feel them most [7].'

Martial exploits may be *painted*; perhaps *woes* may be *painted*; but they are surely not *painted* by being *well-sung*: it is not easy to paint in song or to sing in colours.

No passage in *The Campaign* has been more often mentioned 132 than the simile of the Angel [8], which is said in *The Tatler* to be 'one of the noblest thoughts that ever entered into the heart of man [9],' and is therefore worthy of attentive consideration. Let it be first enquired whether it be a simile. A poetical simile is the discovery of likeness between two actions in their general nature dissimilar, or of causes terminating by different operations in some resemblance of effect [10]. But the mention of another like conse-

[1] *Ante*, ADDISON, 25.

[2] Voltaire calls it 'un monument plus durable que le palais de Blenheim.' *Œuvres*, xvii. 494.

[3] 'Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise.' *Paradise Lost*, xi. 642.

[4] 'Amidst confusion, horror, and despair
Examined all the dreadful scenes of war;
In peaceful thought the field of death surveyed,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid.' *Works*, i. 49.

[5] *Ante*, J. PHILIPS, 12. 'Addison,' writes Scott, 'was the first poet who ventured to celebrate a victorious general for skill and conduct, instead of such feats as are appropriated to Guy of Warwick, or Bevis of Hampton.' Scott's *Dryden*, 1821, iv. 2. See Macaulay's *Essays*, iv. 194; also Burton's *Hume*, i. 250.

[6] Addison's *Works*, i. 54.

[7] *Eloisa to Abelard*, l. 365.

[8] *Works*, i. 49.

[9] 'The sublime image that I am talking of, and which I really think as great as ever entered into the thoughts of man, is in the poem called *The Campaign*.' *The Tatler*, No. 43.

[10] Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, defines *simile* as 'a comparison by

quence from a like cause, or of a like performance by a like agency, is not a simile, but an exemplification. It is not a simile to say that the Thames waters fields as the Po waters fields; or that as Hecla vomits flames in Iceland, so Ætna vomits flames in Sicily. When Horace says of Pindar, that he pours his violence and rapidity of verse, as a river swoln with rain rushes from the mountain[1]; or of himself, that his genius wanders in quest of poetical decorations, as the bee wanders to collect honey[2]; he, in either case, produces a simile: the mind is impressed with the resemblance of things generally unlike, as unlike as intellect and body. But if Pindar had been described as writing with the copiousness and grandeur of Homer, or Horace had told that he reviewed and finished his own poetry with the same care as Isocrates polished his orations, instead of similitude he would have exhibited almost identity: he would have given the same portraits with different names. In the poem now examined, when the English are represented as gaining a fortified pass by repetition of attack and perseverance of resolution, their obstinacy of courage and vigour of onset is well illustrated by the sea that breaks with incessant battery the dikes of Holland[3]. This is a simile: but when Addison, having celebrated the beauty of Marlborough's person, tells us that 'Achilles thus was formed with every grace[4],' here is no simile, but a mere exemplification. A simile may be compared to lines converging at a point and is more excellent as the lines approach from greater distance: an exemplification may be considered as two parallel lines which run on together without approximation, never far separated, and never joined.

133 Marlborough is so like the angel in the poem[5] that the action of both is almost the same, and performed by both in the same

which anything is illustrated or aggrandized.'

[1] HORACE, *Odes*, iv. 2. 5.

[2] *Ib.* l. 27.

[3] *Works*, i. 46.

[4] *Ib.* p. 53.

[5] 'So when an angel by divine command
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.' *Ib.* p. 49.

For Defoe's account of 'the dreadful tempest' on Nov. 26, 1703, to which Addison alludes, see his *Works*, 1877, v. 249, and for Pope's parody see *post*, GAY, 18 *n.*

'Tautology is a frequent fault of Addison; more such faults in his *Campaign* than any one would easily imagine.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 151. In *The Art of Sinking*, ch. xi,

manner. Marlborough 'teaches the battle to rage'; the angel 'directs the storm': Marlborough is 'unmoved in peaceful thought'; the angel is 'calm and serene': Marlborough stands 'unmoved amidst the shock of hosts'; the angel rides 'calm in the whirlwind.' The lines on Marlborough are just and noble; but the simile gives almost the same images a second time.

But perhaps this thought, though hardly a simile, was remote 134
from vulgar conceptions, and required great labour of research or dexterity of application. Of this Dr. Madden, a name which Ireland ought to honour, once gave me his opinion[1]. 'If I had set,' said he, 'ten school-boys to write on the battle of Blenheim, and eight had brought me the Angel, I should not have been surprised.'

The opera of *Rosamond*[2], though it is seldom mentioned, is 135
one of the first of Addison's compositions. The subject is well-chosen, the fiction is pleasing, and the praise of Marlborough, for which the scene gives an opportunity[3], is, what perhaps every human excellence must be, the product of good-luck improved by genius[4]. The thoughts are sometimes great, and sometimes tender; the versification is easy and gay. There is doubtless some advantage in the shortness of the lines, which there is little temptation to load with expletive epithets. The dialogue seems commonly better than the songs. The two comick characters of Sir Trusty and Gridoline, though of no great value, are yet such as the poet intended. Sir Trusty's account of the death of Rosamond is, I think, too grossly absurd[5]. The whole drama

his tautology in this poem is ridiculed. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 385.

[1] For Johnson's 'castigation' of Madden's *Boulter's Monument* see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 318. In a note on *Timon of Athens* (i. 2) on

"'Tis not enough to help the feeble up,
But to support him after,'

Johnson says:—'This thought is better expressed by Dr. Madden in his elegy on Archbishop Boulter.

"He thought it mean
Only to help the poor to beg again."'

Johnson's *Shakespeare*, vi. 173.

[Arthur Young writing of the Dublin Society, established in 1731 for the improvement of agriculture, praises Dr. Samuel Madden, to whom it owed its origin, as 'one of the most patriotic individuals which any country has produced.' *Tour in Ireland*, 1892, ii. 131.]

[2] *Ante*, ADDISON, 27.

[3] *Works*, i. 75. The scene is laid in Woodstock Park.

[4] *Ante*, DENHAM, 31; *post*, POPE, 402.

[5] *Works*, i. 73. Rosamond is not killed in the opera.

'Having selected and happily ridiculed the absurdity of the Italian opera, Mr. Addison had the weakness to produce *Rosamond*, which, without any of the superficial merits of Italian operas, is degraded below the buffoonery of Sadler's Wells by the stupid and false pleasantry in the person-

is airy and elegant; engaging in its process, and pleasing in its conclusion. If Addison had cultivated the lighter parts of poetry he would probably have excelled.

136 The tragedy of *Cato*, which, contrary to the rule observed in selecting the works of other poets, has by the weight of its character forced its way into the late collection, is unquestionably the noblest production of Addison's genius[1]. Of a work so much read, it is difficult to say any thing new. About things on which the public thinks long it commonly attains to think right[2]; and of *Cato* it has been not unjustly determined that it is rather a poem in dialogue than a drama, rather a succession of just sentiments in elegant language than a representation of natural affections, or of any state probable or possible in human life[3]. Nothing here 'excites or assuages emotion'; here is 'no magical power of raising phantastick[4] terror or wild anxiety.' The events are expected without solicitude, and are remembered without joy or sorrow. Of the agents we have no care: we consider not what they are doing, or what they are suffering; we wish only to know what they have to say. Cato is a being above our solicitude; a man of whom the gods take care, and whom we leave to their care with heedless confidence. To the rest, neither gods nor men can have much attention; for there is not one amongst them that strongly attracts either affection or esteem. But they are made the vehicles of such sentiments and

ages of Sir Trusty and Grideline.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Works*, i. 550.

[1] *Ante*, ADDISON, 20, 54. Addison quotes the play thrice in *The Guardian*, Nos. 99, 123, 161.

[2] *Post*, POPE, 280; GRAY, 51.

'Le gros des hommes à la longue ne se trompe point sur les ouvrages d'esprit.' BOILEAU, *Réflexions critiques*, vii, *Œuvres*, iii. 310.

'In the production of the English Drama the popular and learned writers by their opposite tendencies contributed to rectify each other. The learned would have reduced tragedy to oratorical declamation, while the vulgar wanted a direct appeal to their feelings. The many feel what is beautiful, but they cannot distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine.' COLERIDGE, H. C. Robinson's *Diary*, i. 268.

[3] 'Addison speaks the language of poets and Shakespeare of men.... We pronounce the name of Cato, but we think on Addison.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 126.

'*Cato* is a fine dialogue on liberty and the love of one's country.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, i. 259.

'Il est bien triste que quelque chose de si beau ne soit pas une belle tragédie; des scènes décousues qui laissent souvent le théâtre vide, des *aparté* trop longs et sans art, des amours froids et insipides, une conspiration inutile à la pièce, un certain Sempronius déguisé et tué sur le théâtre: tout cela fait de la fameuse tragédie de *Caton* une pièce que nos comédiens n'oseraient jamais jouer.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 105.

[4] Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, under *phantastick* says 'see *fantastick*.'

such expression that there is scarcely a scene in the play which the reader does not wish to impress upon his memory[1].

When *Cato* was shewn to Pope he advised the author to print 137
it without any theatrical exhibition; supposing that it would be read more favourably than heard. Addison declared himself of the same opinion[2], but urged the importunity of his friends for its appearance on the stage. The emulation of parties made it successful beyond expectation[3], and its success has introduced or confirmed among us the use of dialogue too declamatory, of unaffecting elegance, and chill philosophy[4].

The universality of applause, however it might quell the censure 138
of common mortals, had no other effect than to harden Dennis in fixed dislike; but his dislike[5] was not merely capricious. He found and shewed many faults: he shewed them indeed with anger, but he found them with acuteness, such as ought to rescue his criticism from oblivion; though, at last, it will have no other life than it derives from the work which it endeavours to oppress[6].

[1] 'More speeches from *Cato* were learned by rote than from any play that had ever been acted.' T. DAVIES, *Life of Garrick*, 1781, i. 127. For the eight 'habitual quotations' see Thackeray's *English Humourists*, p. 86 *n.* It is six times quoted in Boswell's *Johnson*.

[2] Pope is the authority for this. Spence's *Anec.* p. 196. That he lied is clear from his letter to Caryll of Feb. 1712-13, where he writes:—'I have had lately the entertainment of reading Mr. Addison's *Cato*.... It drew tears from me in several parts of the fourth and fifth acts, where the beauty of virtue appears so charming that I believe, if it comes upon the theatre, we shall enjoy that which Plato thought the greatest pleasure an exalted soul could be capable of, a view of virtue itself drest in person, colour and action,' &c. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 181. See also *ib.* ii. 123 *n.*

[3] *Ante*, ADDISON, 60.

[4] Johnson seems to be condemning his own *Irene*. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 199.

Macready saw John Kemble act Cato in 1816—'five acts of declamatory, unimpassioned verse. The sentiments on patriotism and liberty, awakening no response, were listened to with respectful, almost drowsy attention.' Macready's *Reminiscences*, i. 134.

For the refutation of De Quincey's statement in his *Works*, xv. 9, that Addison knew nothing of Shakespeare, see *N. & Q.* 8 S. iv. 147, 210.

[5] *Ante*, ADDISON, 63; *post*, POPE, 34.

[6] *Ante*, ADDISON, 70. 'Dr. Johnson said he wished to see Dennis's *Critical Works* collected. Davies said they would not sell. Dr. Johnson seemed to think otherwise.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 40.

Aaron Hill (*Works*, iii. 421) thus describes Dennis:—

'Th' impatient envy, the disdainful air,
The front malignant, and the captious stare,
The furious petulance, the jealous start,
The mist of frailties that obscur'd thy heart,
Veil'd in thy grave shall unremember'd lie,
For these were parts of Dennis born to die.'

He ends his poem with 'the sacred reverence of his name.'

139 Why he pays no regard to the opinion of the audience he gives his reason by remarking[1] that

'A deference is to be paid to a general applause, when it appears that that applause is natural and spontaneous, but that little regard is to be had to it when it is affected and artificial; that of all the tragedies which in his [their] memory have had vast and violent runs not one has been excellent, few have been tolerable, most have been scandalous...; that when a poet writes a tragedy, who knows he has judgement and who feels he has genius, that poet presumes upon his own merit, and scorns to make a cabal; that people come coolly to the representation of such a tragedy, without any violent expectation, or delusive imagination, or invincible prepossession; that such an audience is liable to receive the impressions which the poem shall naturally make in them, and to judge by their own reason and their own judgements, and that reason and judgement are calm and serene, not formed by nature to make proselytes, and to controul and lord it over the imaginations of others; but that when an author writes a tragedy who knows he has neither genius nor judgement he has recourse to the making a party, and he endeavours to make up in industry what is wanting in talent, and to supply by poetical craft the absence of poetical art: that such an author is humbly contented to raise men's passions by a plot without doors, since he despairs of doing it by that which he brings upon the stage[2]; that party and passion, and prepossession, are clamorous and tumultuous things, and so much the more clamorous and tumultuous by how much the more erroneous; that they domineer and tyrannize over the imaginations of persons who want judgement, and sometimes too of those who have it, and, like a fierce and outrageous torrent, bear down all opposition before them.'

140 He then condemns the neglect of poetical justice, which is always one of his favourite principles[3].

[1] [The original passage runs:—'my friends have reply'd that they are willing to own that a deference,' &c.] *Remarks upon Cato*, 1713, p. 4. Horace Walpole absurdly says that 'Johnson reprinted Dennis's criticism to save time and swell his pay.' *Letters*, vii. 505.

[2] *Ante*, ADDISON, 57.

[3] *Ante*, ADDISON, 57. In *The Spectator*, No. 40, Addison attacked the 'ridiculous doctrine in modern criticism that writers of tragedy are obliged to an equal distribution of rewards and punishments, and an impartial execution of poetical justice.' Dryden says of tragedy:—'When we see that the most virtuous, as well as the greatest, are not exempt from misfortunes, that consideration moves pity in us, and insensibly works us to be helpful to, and tender over, the distressed; which is the noblest and most godlike of moral virtues.' *Works*, vi. 263.

'A play in which the wicked prosper and the virtuous miscarry may doubtless be good, because it is a just representation of the common events of human life; but since all reasonable beings naturally love justice, I cannot easily be persuaded that the observation of justice makes a play worse.' JOHNSON, *King Lear*, Shakespeare's *Works*, vi. 159.

'Tis certainly the duty of every tragick poet, by the exact distribution of poetical justice, to imitate the Divine Dispensation, and to inculcate a particular Providence. 'Tis true, indeed, upon the stage of the world the wicked sometimes prosper, and the guiltless suffer. But that is permitted by the Governor of the world to shew, from the attribute of his infinite justice, that there is a compensation in futurity, to prove the immortality of the human soul, and the certainty of future rewards and punishments. But the poetical persons in tragedy exist no longer than the reading or the representation; the whole extent of their entity is circumscribed by those; and therefore, during that reading or representation, according to their merits or demerits, they must be punished or rewarded. If this is not done there is no impartial distribution of poetical justice, no instructive lecture of a particular Providence, and no imitation of the Divine Dispensation. And yet the author of this tragedy does not only run counter to this in the fate of his principal character, but every where throughout it makes virtue suffer and vice triumph; for not only Cato is vanquished by Cæsar, but the treachery and perfidiousness of Syphax prevails over the honest simplicity and the credulity of Juba, and the sly subtlety and dissimulation of Portius over the generous frankness and open-heartedness of Marcus[1].'

Whatever pleasure there may be in seeing crimes punished and 141
virtue rewarded, yet, since wickedness often prospers in real life, the poet is certainly at liberty to give it prosperity on the stage. For if poetry has an imitation of reality, how are its laws broken by exhibiting the world in its true form? The stage may sometimes gratify our wishes; but, if it be truly the *mirror of life*[2], it ought to shew us sometimes what we are to expect.

Dennis objects to the characters that they are not natural or 142
reasonable; but as heroes and heroines are not beings that are seen every day, it is hard to find upon what principles their conduct shall be tried. It is, however, not useless to consider what he says of the manner in which Cato receives the account of his son's death:

'Nor is the grief of Cato in the fourth act one jot more in 143
nature than that of his son and Lucia in the third. Cato receives the news of his son's death not only with dry eyes, but with a sort of satisfaction; and in the same page sheds tears for the calamity of his country, and does the same thing in the next page upon the bare apprehension of the danger of his friends. Now,

[1] *Remarks upon Cato*, p. 15.

[2] ['Comoediam esse Cicero ait imitationem vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem veritatis.' DONATUS, *Fragm. de Com. et Trag.*, quoted in Delphin *Terence*, Lond. 1740, Pref. p. 27.]

since the love of one's country is the love of one's countrymen, as I have shewn upon another occasion, I desire to ask these questions: Of all our countrymen which do we love most, those whom we know, or those whom we know not? And of those whom we know which do we cherish most, our friends or our enemies? And of our friends, which are the dearest to us, those who are related to us, or those who are not? And of all our relations, for which have we most tenderness, for those who are near to us, or for those who are remote? And of our near relations which are the nearest, and consequently the dearest to us, our offspring or others? Our offspring, most certainly; as nature, or in other words Providence, has wisely contrived for the preservation of mankind. Now, does it not follow, from what has been said, that for a man to receive the news of his son's death with dry eyes, and to weep at the same time for the calamities of his country, is a wretched affectation, and a miserable inconsistency [1]? Is not that, in plain English, to receive with dry eyes the news of the deaths of those for whose sake our country is a name so dear to us, and at the same time to shed tears for those for whose sakes our country is not a name so dear to us [2]?'

144 But this formidable assailant is least resistible when he attacks the probability of the action and the reasonableness of the plan. Every critical reader must remark that Addison has, with a scrupulosity [3] almost unexampled on the English stage, confined himself in time to a single day, and in place to rigorous unity [4]. The scene never changes, and the whole action of the play passes in the great hall of Cato's house at Utica. Much therefore is done in the hall, for which any other place had been more fit; and this impropriety affords Dennis many hints of merriment and opportunities of triumph. The passage is long; but as such disquisitions are not common, and the objections are skilfully formed and vigorously urged, those who delight in critical controversy will not think it tedious.

145 'Upon the departure of Portius, Sempronius makes but one

[1] 'Why mourn you thus? Let not a private loss
Afflict your hearts. 'Tis Rome requires our tears.'
*Works*, i. 182.

[2] *Remarks*, p. 39.

[3] For *scrupulosity* see *post*, SWIFT, 122.

[4] For Johnson's criticism of the unities see his Preface (p. 29) to Shakespeare's *Works*. Voltaire instances Corneille, Racine, Molière, Addison, and Congreve among those who upheld them. *Œuvres*, i. 59.

Horace Walpole seems to allude to Johnson's *Irene* in a passage about architecture in *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 185. 'A Gibbs and money, a French and an English schoolmaster, can make a building or a tragedy without a fault against proportion or the three unities; and the one or the other might make either.'

soliloquy, and immediately in comes Syphax, and then the two politicians are at it immediately [1]. They lay their heads together with their snuff-boxes in their hands, as Mr. Bayes has it, and league [fegue] it away [2]. But, in the midst of that wise scene, Syphax seems to give a seasonable caution to Sempronius:

> "*Syph.* But is it true, Sempronius, that your senate
> Is call'd together? Gods! thou must be cautious,
> Cato has piercing eyes [3]."

There is a great deal of caution shewn indeed, in meeting in a governor's own hall to carry on their plot against him. Whatever opinion they have of his eyes I suppose they had none of his ears, or they would never have talked at this foolish rate so near:

> "Gods! thou must be cautious."

Oh! yes, very cautious: for if Cato should overhear you, and turn you off for politicians, Cæsar would never take you; no, Cæsar would never take you.

. . . . . .

'When Cato, Act II, turns the senators out of the hall, upon 146
pretence of acquainting Juba with the result of their debates, he appears to me to do a thing which is neither reasonable nor civil. Juba might certainly have better been made acquainted with the result of that debate in some private apartment of the palace. But the poet was driven upon this absurdity to make way for another; and that is, to give Juba an opportunity to demand Marcia of her father. But the quarrel and rage of Juba and Syphax in the same Act; the invectives of Syphax against the Romans and Cato; the advice that he gives Juba, in her father's hall, to bear away Marcia by force; and his brutal and clamorous rage upon his refusal, and at a time when Cato was scarce out of sight, and perhaps not out of hearing—at least, some of his guards or domesticks must necessarily be supposed to be within hearing—is a thing that is so far from being probable that it is hardly possible [4].'

. . . . . .

'Sempronius, in the second Act, comes back once more in the 147
same morning to the governor's hall, to carry on the conspiracy with Syphax against the governor, his country, and his family; which is so stupid, that it is below the wisdom of the O—'s, the

[1] Of the scene which follows Voltaire writes:—'Il n'y a point de théâtre en Europe où la scène de Juba et de Syphax ne fût applaudie, comme un chef-d'œuvre d'adresse, de caractères bien développés, de beaux contrastes, et d'une diction pure et noble.' *Œuvres*, xxxiii. 574.

[2] 'When a knotty point comes, I lay my head close to it,... and then I fegue it away i' faith.' *The Rehearsal*, 1714, p. 55, quoted in *New Eng. Dict.* under *feague*, where 'to feague it away' is explained 'to work at full stretch.' In the first edition it runs, 'and then I whew it away.' *The Rehearsal*, ed. Arber, p. 59.

[3] Addison's *Works*, i. 178.

[4] *Remarks*, p. 44.

Mac's, and the Teagues: even Eustace Commins[1] himself would never have gone to Justice-hall[2] to have conspired against the government. If [any] officers at Portsmouth should lay their heads together, in order to the carrying off J— G—'s[3] nicce or daughter, would they meet in J— G—'s hall, to carry on that conspiracy? There would be no necessity for their meeting there, at least till they came to the execution of their plot, because there would be other places to meet in. There would be no probability that they should meet there, because there would be places more private and more commodious. Now there ought to be nothing in a tragical action but what is necessary or probable.

148 'But treason is not the only thing that is carried on in this hall: that and love, and philosophy, take their turns in it, without any manner of necessity or probability occasioned by the action, as duly and as regularly, without interrupting one another, as if there were a triple league between them, and a mutual agreement that each should give place to and make way for the other, in a due and orderly succession.

149 'We come now to the third Act. Sempronius, in this Act, comes into the governor's hall, with the leaders of the mutiny; [. . . .] but as soon as Cato is gone Sempronius, who but just before had acted like an unparalleled knave, discovers himself, like an egregrious fool, to be an accomplice in the conspiracy.

> "*Semp.* Know, villains, when such paltry slaves presume
> To mix in treason, if the plot succeeds,
> They're thrown neglected by; but if it fails,
> They're sure to die like dogs, as you shall do.
> Here, take these factious monsters, drag them forth
> To sudden death[4]."—

[1] [He may be identified with one of the witnesses for the Crown in the reaction against the Whigs in 1681. Luttrell under date May 25, 1681, has this entry:—'There is a great fewd between the Irish witnesses about the plott; some of them, as . . . Eustace Coming, . . . have recanted theire former evidence, and doe endeavour to invalidate the testimony of the others.' *Relation of State Affairs*, i. 92; and under date Nov. 25, 1681:—'William Bradley, Esq., was brought to his tryall at the Kings bench bar for high treason committed in Ireland: there were severall witnesses called, but none appeared except one Thomas Sampson and Eustace Comins, who knew nothing against the prisoner but rather spoke in his behalf; so that the Jury without goeing from the barr brought him in not guilty and so he was discharged.' *Ib.* i. 146. Dennis, who was a Whig, elsewhere refers to him 'as Eustace Cummins, of Immortal Memory, [who] could swear through a two Inch Board.' *Original Letters*, 1721, ii. 255.]

[2] The Old Bailey Sessions House or Central Criminal Court. This 'Justice Hall,' as Strype calls it (iii. 281), was destroyed in the Gordon riots of 1780. Wheatley's *London*, ii. 611.

[3] 'Sir John Gibson, Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth in 1710, and afterwards. He was much beloved in the army, and by the common soldiers was called Johnny Gibson.' Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 97.

[4] *Works*, i. 209.

'Tis true, indeed, the second leader says there are none there but friends; but is that possible at such a juncture? Can a parcel of rogues attempt to assassinate the governor of a town of war in his own house, in mid-day and after they are discovered and defeated? Can there be none near them but friends? Is it not plain from these words of Sempronius:

"Here, take these factious monsters, drag them forth
To sudden death—"

and from the entrance of the guards upon the word of command, that those guards were within ear-shot? Behold Sempronius then palpably discovered. How comes it to pass then that, instead of being hanged up with the rest, he remains secure in the governor's hall, and there carries on his conspiracy against the government, the third time in the same day, with his old comrade Syphax? who enters at the same time that the guards are carrying away the leaders, big with the news of the defeat of Sempronius [Marcus]; though where he had his intelligence so soon is difficult to imagine. And now the reader may expect a very extraordinary scene; there is not abundance of spirit indeed, nor a great deal of passion, but there is wisdom more than enough to supply all defects.

"*Syph.* Our first design, my friend, has prov'd abortive;
Still there remains an after-game to play;
My troops are mounted, their Numidian steeds
Snuff up the winds, and long to scour the desart;
Let but Sempronius lead [head] us in our flight,
We'll force the gate, where Marcus keeps his guard,
And hew down all that would oppose our passage;
A day will bring us into Cæsar's camp.
*Semp.* Confusion! I have fail'd of half my purpose;
Marcia, the charming Marcia's left behind."

Well! but though he tells us the half-purpose that he has fail'd of, he does not tell us the half that he has carried. But what does he mean by

"Marcia, the charming Marcia's left behind?"

He is now in her own house; and we have neither seen her nor heard of her any where else since the play began. But now let us hear Syphax:

"What hinders then, but that thou find her out,
And hurry her away by manly force?"

But what does old Syphax mean by finding her out? They talk as if she were as hard to be found as a hare in a frosty morning.

"*Semp.* But how to gain admission?"

Oh! she is found out then, it seems.

. . . . . .

"But how to gain admission? for access
Is giv'n to none, but Juba and her brothers."

But, raillery apart, why access to Juba? For he was owned and received as a lover neither by the father nor by the daughter. Well! but let that pass. Syphax puts Sempronius out of pain immediately; and, being a Numidian, abounding in wiles, supplies him with a stratagem for admission that, I believe, is a non-pareille [pareillo]:

"*Syph.* Thou shalt have Juba's dress, and Juba's guards;
The doors will open, when Numidia's prince
Seems to appear before [the slaves that watch] them."

'Sempronius is, it seems, to pass for Juba in full day at Cato's house, where they were both so very well known, by having Juba's dress and his guards: as if one of the marshals of France could pass for the duke of Bavaria at noon-day at Versailles by having his dress and liveries. But how does Syphax pretend to help Sempronius to young Juba's dress? Does he serve him in a double capacity, as general and master of his wardrobe? But why Juba's guards? For the devil of any guards has Juba appeared with yet. Well! though this is a mighty politick invention, yet, methinks, they might have done without it; for, since the advice that Syphax gave to Sempronius was

"To hurry her away by manly force,"

in my opinion the shortest and likeliest way of coming at the lady was by demolishing, instead of putting on an impertinent disguise to circumvent two or three slaves. But Sempronius, it seems, is of another opinion. He extols to the skies the invention of old Syphax:

"*Sempr.* Heavens! what a thought was [is] there!"

'Now I appeal to the reader if I have not been as good as my word. Did I not tell him that I would lay before him a very wise scene?

. . . . . .

'But now let us lay before the reader that part of the scenery of the Fourth Act, which may shew the absurdities which the author has run into, through the indiscreet observance of the Unity of Place. I do not remember that Aristotle has said any thing expressly concerning the Unity of Place[1]. 'Tis true, implicitly he has said enough in the rules which he has laid down for the Chorus. For, by making the Chorus an essential part of Tragedy and by bringing it on the stage immediately after the

[1] 'The unity of place is not once mentioned, or even hinted, in the whole book.' T. Twining's *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry*, 1812, i. 339.

opening of the scene, and retaining it there till the very catastrophe, he has so determined and fixed the place of action that it was impossible for an author on the Grecian stage to break through that unity. I am of opinion that if a modern tragic poet can preserve the unity of place without destroying the probability of the incidents 'tis always best for him to do it, because by the preservation of that unity, as we have taken notice above, he adds grace, and cleanness, and comeliness to the representation. But since there are no express rules about it and we are under no compulsion to keep it, since we have no Chorus as the Grecian poet had; if it cannot be preserved without rendering the greater part of the incidents unreasonable and absurd, and perhaps sometimes monstrous, 'tis certainly better to break it[1].

. . . . . .

'Now comes bully Sempronius, comically accoutred and equipped with his Numidian dress and his Numidian guards. Let the reader attend to him with all his ears; for the words of the wise are precious:

"*Sempr.* The deer is lodg'd, I've track'd her to her covert[2]."

'Now I would fain know why this deer is said to be lodged, since we have not heard one word since the play began of her being at all out of harbour; and if we consider the discourse with which she and Lucia begin the Act we have reason to believe that they had hardly been talking of such matters in the street. However, to pleasure Sempronius let us suppose, for once, that the deer is lodged:

"The deer is lodg'd, I've track'd her to her covert."

'If he had seen her in the open field what occasion had he to track her, when he had so many Numidian dogs at his heels, which with one halloo he might have set upon her haunches? If he did not see her in the open field, how could he possibly track her? [. . .] If he had seen her in the street, why did he not set upon her in the street, since through the street she must be carried at last? Now here, instead of having his thoughts upon his business and upon the present danger; instead of meditating and contriving how he shall pass with his mistress through the southern gate, where her brother Marcus is upon the guard, and where she would certainly prove an impediment to him, which is the Roman word for the *baggage*; instead of doing this, Sempronius is entertaining himself with whimsies:

"*Sempr.* How will the young Numidian rave to see
His mistress lost! If aught could glad my soul,
Beyond th' enjoyment of so bright a prize,
'Twould be to torture that young gay Barbarian.

[1] *Remarks*, &c., p. 47. [2] *Works*, i. 212.

But hark! what noise? Death to my hopes, 'tis he,
'Tis Juba's self! There is but one way left!
He must be murder'd, and a passage cut
Through those his guards."

'Pray, what are *those his guards?* I thought at present that Juba's guards had been Sempronius's tools, and had [now] been dangling after his heels.

. . . . . .

151 'But now let us sum up all these absurdities together. Sempronius goes at noon-day, in Juba's clothes and with Juba's guards, to Cato's palace, in order to pass for Juba, in a place where they were both so very well known; he meets Juba there, and resolves to murder him with his own guards. Upon the guards appearing a little bashful, he threatens them:

"Hah! Dastards, do you tremble!
Or act like men, or by yon azure heav'n!"

But the guards still remaining restive Sempronius himself attacks Juba, while each of the guards is representing Mr. Spectator's sign of the Gaper[1], awed, it seems, and terrified by Sempronius's threats. Juba kills Sempronius, and takes his own army prisoners, and carries them in triumph away to Cato. Now I would fain know if any part of Mr. Bayes's tragedy is so full of absurdity as this?

'Upon hearing the clash of swords Lucia and Marcia come in. The question is, why no men came in upon hearing the noise of swords in the governor's hall? Where was the governor himself? Where were his guards? Where were his servants? Such an attempt as this, so near the person of a governor of a place of war, was enough to alarm the whole garrison; and yet, for almost half an hour after Sempronius was killed, we find none of those appear, who were the likeliest in the world to be alarmed; and the noise of swords is made to draw only two poor women thither, who were most certain to run away from it. Upon Lucia and Marcia's coming in, Lucia appears in all the symptoms of an hysterical gentlewoman:

"*Luc.* Sure 'twas the clash of swords! my troubled heart
Is so cast down, and sunk amidst its sorrows,
It throbs with fear, and akes at every sound!"

And immediately her old whimsy returns upon her:

"O Marcia, should thy brothers, for my sake—
I die away with horror at the thought."

[1] 'The Dutch, who are more famous for their industry and application than for wit and humour, hang up in several of their streets what they call the sign of the Gaper; that is the head of an idiot, dressed in a cap and bells, and gaping in a most immoderate manner. This is a standing jest at Amsterdam.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 47.

She fancies that there can be no cutting of throats, but it must be for her. If this is tragical, I would fain know what is comical. Well! upon this they spy the body of Sempronius; and Marcia, deluded by the habit, it seems, takes him for Juba; for, says she,

"The face is [lies] muffled up within the garment."

Now how a man could fight and fall with his face muffled up in his garment is, I think, a little hard to conceive! Besides Juba, before he killed him, knew him to be Sempronius. It was not by his garment that he knew this; it was by his face then: his face therefore was not muffled. Upon seeing this man with the muffled face, Marcia falls a-raving; and, owning her passion for the supposed defunct, begins to make his funeral oration. Upon which Juba enters listening, I suppose on tip-toe: for I cannot imagine how any one can enter listening, in any other posture. I would fain know how it came to pass that during all this time he had sent nobody, no not so much as a candle-snuffer, to take away the dead body of Sempronius. Well! but let us regard him listening. Having left his apprehension behind him he, at first, applies what Marcia says to Sempronius. But finding at last with much ado that he himself is the happy man, he quits his eve[s]-dropping, and discovers himself just time enough to prevent his being cuckoled [cuckolded] by a dead man, of whom the moment before he had appeared so jealous; and greedily intercepts the bliss, which was fondly designed for one who could not be the better for it. But here I must ask a question: how comes Juba to listen here, who had not listened before throughout the play? Or, how comes he to be the only person of this tragedy who listens, when love and treason were so often talked in so publick a place as a hall? I am afraid the author was driven upon all these absurdities only to introduce this miserable mistake of Marcia; which after all is much below the dignity of tragedy as any thing is which is the effect or result of trick.

. . . . . .

'But let us come to the scenery of the Fifth Act. Cato 152
appears first upon the scene, sitting in a thoughtful posture; in his hand Plato's treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, a drawn sword on the table by him. Now let us consider the place in which this sight is presented to us. The place, forsooth, is a long [large] hall. Let us suppose that any one should place himself in this posture in the midst of one of our halls in London; that he should appear *solus*, in a sullen posture, a drawn sword on the table by him; in his hand Plato's treatise on [of] the Immortality of the Soul, translated lately by Bernard Lintot[1]: I desire the

[1] Lintot was the publisher of Dennis's *Remarks upon Cato*. In 1713 he published *Plato's Dialogue of the Immortality of the Soul*, translated from the Greek by Mr. Theobald. For Lintot see *ante*, SMITH, 48.

reader to consider whether such a person as this would pass with them who beheld him for a great patriot, a great philosopher, or a general, or for some whimsical person who fancied himself all these; and whether the people who belonged to the family would think that such a person had a design upon their midrifs or his own.

'In short, that Cato should sit long enough in the aforesaid posture, in the midst of this large hall, to read over Plato's treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, which is a lecture[1] of two long hours; that he should propose to himself to be private there upon that occasion; that he should be angry with his son for intruding there; then, that he should leave this hall upon the pretence of sleep, give himself the mortal wound in his bedchamber, and then be brought back into that hall to expire, purely to shew his good-breeding, and save his friends the trouble of coming up to his bedchamber: all this appears to me to be improbable, incredible, impossible[2].'

153 Such is the censure of Dennis. There is, as Dryden expresses it, perhaps 'too much horse-play in his raillery[3]'; but if his jests are coarse, his arguments are strong. Yet as we love better to be pleased than to be taught, *Cato* is read, and the critick is neglected[4].

154 Flushed with consciousness of these detections of absurdity in the conduct, he afterwards attacked the sentiments of *Cato*[5]; but he then amused himself with petty cavils, and minute objections.

155 Of Addison's smaller poems no particular mention is necessary: they have little that can employ or require a critick[6]. The parallel of the Princes and Gods, in his verses to Kneller, is often happy, but is too well known to be quoted[7].

[1] Johnson gives as a second meaning of *lecture*, 'the act or practice of reading; perusal.'

[2] *Remarks*, &c., p. 52.

[3] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 175.

[4] *Ante*, ADDISON, 70. Dennis, in 1696, published his belief that Wycherley was 'the greatest comic wit that ever England bred.' *Letters on Several Occasions*, p. 7. He suppressed this when, in 1718–21, he republished these *Letters* in his *Select Works*, ii. 490.

Landor placed Dryden as a critic 'knee-deep below John Dennis.' *Imag. Conver.* iv. 275.

'Dennis will one day have justice done him as a critic. He wrote villainous verses; but he knew what poetry ought to be, and did not define it, like some others, to be the Art of Pleasing.' SOUTHEY, *Quar. Rev.* xii. 89, quoted in Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 174.

[5] In *Original Letters Familiar, Moral, and Critical*, 1721, ii. 303.

[6] *Ante*, ADDISON, 126. 'The earliest compositions that I recollect taking pleasure in were *The Vision of Mirza* [*Spectator*, No. 159] and a hymn of Addison's beginning, "How are thy servants bless'd, O Lord!" I particularly remember one half-stanza which was music to my boyish ear:—

'For though on [in] dreadful whirls
we hung,
High on the broken wave."
[*Spectator*, No. 489].'
BURNS, *Poems*, 1846, p. 15.

[7] See Appendix Y.

His translations, so far as I have compared them, want the 156
exactness of a scholar[1]. That he understood his authors cannot be doubted; but his versions will not teach others to understand them, being too licentiously paraphrastical. They are, however, for the most part smooth and easy, and, what is the first excellence of a translator, such as may be read with pleasure by those who do not know the originals.

His poetry is polished and pure: the product of a mind too 157
judicious to commit faults, but not sufficiently vigorous to attain excellence. He has sometimes a striking line, or a shining paragraph; but in the whole he is warm rather than fervid, and shews more dexterity than strength[2]. He was, however, one of our earliest examples of correctness[3].

The versification which he had learned from Dryden he debased 158
rather than refined. His rhymes are often dissonant: in his *Georgick* he admits broken lines[4]. He uses both triplets and alexandrines, but triplets more frequently in his translations than his other works. The mere structure of verses seems never to have engaged much of his care. But his lines are very smooth in *Rosamond*, and too smooth in *Cato*.

Addison is now to be considered as a critick; a name which 159
the present generation is scarcely willing to allow him[5]. His criticism is condemned as tentative or experimental rather than scientifick, and he is considered as deciding by taste rather than by principles[6].

It is not uncommon for those who have grown wise by the 160

[1] *Works*, i. 10, 38, 83-139.

[2] 'Addison seemed to value himself more upon his poetry than upon his prose, though he wrote the latter with such particular ease, fluency and happiness.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 257.

[3] 'Roscommon is perhaps the only correct writer in verse before Addison.' *Ante*, ROSCOMMON, 24. For Prior's correctness see *post*, PRIOR, 70, and for Pope's, *post*, POPE, 30. For De Quincey's attack on this doctrine of 'correctness' see his *Works*, xv. 141, and for Macaulay's attack see his *Essays*, i. 304. Conington, in his *Misc. Writings*, i. 3, shows that 'there is a legitimate and intelligible sense in which Pope may be said to have especially earned the praise of correctness.'

[4] *Works*, i. 10. He probably introduced them 'in order to hinder the ear from being tired with the same continued modulation of voice.' For this reason he writes, 'I do not dislike the speeches in our English tragedy that close with an hemistic, or half verse.' *The Spectator*, No. 39. See *ante*, COWLEY, 198.

[5] See *ante*, ADDISON, 125, for Warburton's criticism. Johnson is answering also Hurd in his *Notes on the Epistle to Augustus*, l. 210. Hurd's *Works*, 1811, vol. i. 395.

[6] Mr. Courthope, in his *Addison*, p. 181, says of him, that 'finding English taste in hopeless confusion, he left it in admirable order.'

labour of others to add a little of their own, and overlook their masters[1]. Addison is now despised by some who perhaps would never have seen his defects, but by the lights which he afforded them. That he always wrote as he would think it necessary to write now cannot be affirmed; his instructions were such as the character of his readers made proper. That general knowledge which now circulates in common talk was in his time rarely to be found[2]. Men not professing learning were not ashamed of ignorance; and in the female world any acquaintance with books was distinguished only to be censured[3]. His purpose was to infuse literary curiosity by gentle and unsuspected conveyance into the gay, the idle, and the wealthy; he therefore presented knowledge in the most alluring form, not lofty and austere, but accessible and familiar. When he shewed them their defects, he shewed them likewise that they might be easily supplied. His attempt succeeded; enquiry was awakened, and comprehension expanded. An emulation of intellectual elegance was excited, and from his time to our own life has been gradually exalted, and conversation purified and enlarged.

161 Dryden had not many years before scattered criticism over his *Prefaces* with very little parcimony[4]; but, though he sometimes condescended to be somewhat familiar, his manner was in general too scholastick for those who had yet their rudiments to learn, and found it not easy to understand their master. His observations were framed rather for those that were learning to write, than for those that read only to talk.

162 An instructor like Addison was now wanting, whose remarks being superficial[5], might be easily understood, and being just might prepare the mind for more attainments. Had he presented *Paradise Lost* to the publick with all the pomp of system and severity of science, the criticism would perhaps have been admired,

[1] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 197.

[2] 'JOHNSON. There is now a great deal more learning in the world than there was formerly, for it is universally diffused.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 217.

[3] *Ante*, MILTON, 135; *post*, BLACKMORE, 9. Swift wrote in Jan. 1735-6: —'The ladies in general are extremely mended both in writing and reading since I was young.' *Mrs. Delany's Auto.*, &c., i. 551.

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 198. Johnson in his Dictionary only gives *parsimony*.

[5] 'Addison himself has been so unsuccessful in enumerating the words with which Milton has enriched our language as, perhaps, not to have named one of which Milton was the author.' JOHNSON, *Proposals for printing the Works of Shakespeare*, 1756, *Works*, v. 98. For the enumeration see *The Spectator*, No. 285.

and the poem still have been neglected[1]; but by the blandishments of gentleness and facility he has made Milton an universal favourite, with whom readers of every class think it necessary to be pleased[2].

He descended now and then to lower disquisitions; and by a 163
serious display of the beauties of *Chevy Chase*[3] exposed himself to the ridicule of 'Wagstaff,' who bestowed a like pompous character on *Tom Thumb*[4]; and to the contempt of Dennis, who, considering the fundamental position of his criticism, that *Chevy Chase* pleases, and ought to please, because it is natural[5], observes 'that there is a way of deviating from nature, by bombast or tumour, which soars above nature, and enlarges images beyond their real bulk; by affectation, which forsakes nature in quest of something unsuitable; and by imbecility, which degrades nature by faintness and diminution, by obscuring its appearances and weakening its effects[6].' In *Chevy Chase* there is not much of either bombast or

[1] In the first edition, 'he would perhaps have been admired and the book still have been neglected.'

[2] *Ante*, MILTON, 137. 'In its silent progression, even after it had been recommended by the popular papers of Addison, many years elapsed before any symptom appeared that it had influenced the national taste.' T. WARTON, Milton's *Poems*, &c., 1785, p. 589.

'The criticisms had no appreciable effect at the time on the demand for Milton's poetry. The ninth edition of *Paradise Lost* was published in 1711, and the tenth in 1719. Between 1720-30 five editions of his *Poetical Works* appeared.' MASSON'S *Milton*, VI. 787.

C. P. Moritz, a young Prussian, travelling in England in 1782, wrote: —'Certain it is that the English classical authors are read more generally, beyond all comparison, than the German, which in general are read only by the learned, or, at most, by the middle class of people. The English national authors are in all hands. My landlady, who is only a tailor's wife, reads her Milton.' *Travels in England*, 1886, p. 34.

De Quincey expands Johnson's words, and at the same time, without acknowledging that he is borrowing from him, censures him. *Works*, 1863, VI. Preface, p. 11.

[3] In *The Spectator*, Nos. 70, 74. In No. 85 he describes the 'most exquisite pleasure' given him by 'the old ballad of *The Two Children in the Wood*.'

[4] *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb*. 'Wagstaffe's' *Works*, 1726, p. 1. See *ante*, PHILIPS, 31 *n.* 3.

[5] 'An ordinary song or ballad that is the delight of the common people cannot fail to please all such readers as are not unqualified for the entertainment by their affectation or ignorance; and the reason is plain, because the same paintings of nature which recommend it to the most ordinary reader will appear beautiful to the most refined.' *The Spectator*, No. 70.

[6] [For Dennis's contempt of *Chevy Chase* see *Remarks upon Cato*, p. 5, where he speaks of Addison as 'so merrily in the wrong as to take pains to reconcile us to the old doggerel of *Chevy Chase* and the *Three Children* (sic) and to put Impotence and Imbecility upon us for simplicity'; see also *Of Simplicity in Poetical Composition in Remarks on the 70th Spectator*, Dennis's *Orig. Letters*, 1721, i. 176 and *passim*.]

affectation; but there is chill and lifeless imbecility[1]. The story cannot possibly be told in a manner that shall make less impression on the mind[2].

164 Before the profound observers of the present race repose too securely on the consciousness of their superiority to Addison, let them consider his *Remarks on Ovid*[3], in which may be found specimens of criticism sufficiently subtle and refined; let them peruse likewise his *Essays on Wit* and on *The Pleasures of Imagination*, in which he founds art on the base of nature, and draws the principles of invention from dispositions inherent in the mind of man with skill and elegance, such as his contemners will not easily attain[4].

165 As a describer of life and manners he must be allowed to stand perhaps the first of the first rank. His humour, which, as Steele observes, is peculiar to himself[5], is so happily diffused as to give the grace of novelty to domestick scenes and daily occurrences. He never 'outsteps the modesty of nature[6],' nor raises merriment or wonder by the violation of truth. His figures neither divert by distortion, nor amaze by aggravation. He copies life with so much fidelity that he can be hardly said to invent; yet his exhibitions have an air so much original that it is difficult to suppose them not merely the product of imagination.

166 As a teacher of wisdom he may be confidently followed. His religion has nothing in it enthusiastick or superstitious[7]: he

[1] 'Earl Percy's lamentation over his enemy is generous, beautiful, and passionate; I must only caution the reader not to let the simplicity of the style, which one may well pardon in so old a poet, prejudice him against the greatness of the thought.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 70.

[2] Windham records that Johnson said: '*Chevy Chase* pleased the vulgar, but did not satisfy the learned; it did not fill a mind capable of thinking strongly. The merit of Shakespeare was such as the ignorant could take in, and the learned add nothing to.' *John. Letters*, ii. 440.

[3] *Works*, i. 139.

[4] *Ante*, ADDISON, 80. Macaulay wrote in 1843:—

'The papers on *The Pleasures of the Imagination* are certainly very ingenious and pleasingly written, but there has been so much progress, since Addison's time, in the philosophy of taste that, if I were to send a reader to those papers now, he would be disappointed.' *Macvey Napier Corres.* p. 430.

[5] 'He was above all men in that talent we call humour.' Addison's *Works*, v. 151.

[6] 'That you o'erstep not the modesty of nature.' *Hamlet*, iii. 2. 21.

[7] 'There is not a more melancholy object than a man who has his head turned with religious enthusiasm.... Devotion, when it does not lie under the check of reason, is very apt to degenerate into enthusiasm.... Most of the sects that fall short of the Church of England have in them strong tinctures of enthusiasm, as the Roman Catholic religion is one huge overgrown body of childish and idle superstitions. . . . Nothing is so

appears neither weakly credulous nor wantonly sceptical; his morality is neither dangerously lax, nor impracticably rigid. All the enchantment of fancy and all the cogency of argument are employed to recommend to the reader his real interest, the care of pleasing the Author of his being. Truth is shewn sometimes as the phantom of a vision [1], sometimes appears half-veiled in an allegory [2], sometimes attracts regard in the robes of fancy, and sometimes steps forth in the confidence of reason [3]. She wears a thousand dresses, and in all is pleasing.

'Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet [4].'

His prose is the model of the middle style; on grave sub- 167
jects not formal, on light occasions not groveling; pure without scrupulosity [5], and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences. Addison never deviates from his track to snatch a grace; he seeks no ambitious ornaments, and tries no hazardous innovations. His page is always luminous, but never blazes in unexpected splendour.

It was apparently [6] his principal endeavour to avoid all harsh- 168
ness and severity of diction; he is therefore sometimes verbose in his transitions and connections, and sometimes descends too much to the language of conversation: yet if his language had been less idiomatical it might have lost somewhat of its genuine Anglicism. What he attempted, he performed; he is never feeble, and he did not wish to be energetick; he is never rapid,

glorious in the eyes of mankind and ornamental to human nature... as a strong, steady, masculine piety; but enthusiasm and superstition are the weaknesses of human reason, that expose us to the scorn and derision of infidels, and sink us even below the beasts that perish.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 201.

[1] Of which the most beautiful is *The Visions of Mirza*. *The Spectator*, No. 159.

[2] 'The virtue which we gather from a fable or an allegory is like the health we get by hunting; as we are engaged in an agreeable pursuit that draws us on with pleasure, and makes us insensible of the fatigues that accompany it.' ADDISON, *The Tatler*, No. 147.

[3] 'A bill of mortality is in my opinion an unanswerable argument for a Providence; how can we, without supposing ourselves under the constant care of a Supreme Being, give any possible account for that nice proportion which we find in every great city between the deaths and births of its inhabitants.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 289.

[4] Tibullus, iv. 2. 14.

'Burke was said by Mr. Windham, when he had arranged his worldly matters, to have amused his dying hours with the writings of Addison on the immortality of the soul.' Prior's *Burke*, 1872, p. 457.

[5] *Ante*, ADDISON, 144 *n.*

[6] In the first edition, 'It seems to have been.'

and he never stagnates. His sentences have neither studied amplitude, nor affected brevity; his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy. Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison [1].

## APPENDIX I (PAGE 82)

For Johnson's authorities for this story see Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 53, 91. Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 43 *n.*

Steele wrote to his wife on Aug. 20, 1708:—'I have paid Mr. Addison the whole *thousand pound.*' Montgomery's *Steele*, i. 108. In 1711 he wrote:—'Addison's money you will have to-morrow noon. I have but 18*s.*, but have very many reasons to be in good humour, except you are angry with me.' *Ib.* i. 301.

Steele, from 1707 to 1710, was Gazetteer at £300 a year, and from the winter of 1709–10 to 1713 Commissioner of Stamps at the same salary. He had a pension of £100 as gentleman-usher to the deceased Prince George. Swift's *Works*, iv. 188. (For the dates of his appointments and dismissals see *ib.* ii. 55; Montgomery's *Steele*, i. 69, 230, 418.) Both in 1708 and 1711, when he was borrowing from Addison, his official salary was £400 a year—equal perhaps to £1,000 at the present time. He made money besides by his pen. 'Being,' wrote Swift, 'the most imprudent man alive . . . he is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice; by which he has committed more absurdities in economy, friendship, love, duty . . . than ever fell to one man's share.' *Works*, iv. 187.

Berkeley, on Feb. 23, 1712–13, 'says that he dines frequently with Steele at his house in Bloomsbury Square, and speaks of his good house, table, servants, coach, &c.' *Hist. MSS. Com.* vii. App. p. 238.

Cibber, who with Steele was a patentee of Drury Lane Theatre, says

[1] 'Vos exemplaria Graeca Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.' HORACE, *Ars Poet.* l. 268.

Five years before this *Life* was published, Beattie had written to a friend:—'The longer I study English, the more I am satisfied that Addison's prose is the best model; and if I were to give advice to a young man on the subject of English style I would desire him to read that author day and night.' Forbes's *Beattie*, 1824, p. 237.

'Landor said that an engaging simplicity shone through all that Addison wrote, that there was coyness in his style; the archness and shyness of a graceful and beautiful girl.' Locker-Lampson's *Confidences*, p. 162.

'He [J. S. Mill] spoke of style; thinks Goldsmith unsurpassed; then Addison comes.' Morley's *Crit. and Misc. Essays*, iii. 49.

E. FitzGerald, speaking of Wesley's *Journal*, says:—'It is remarkable to read pure, unaffected and undying English, while Addison and Johnson are tainted with a style, which all the world imitated.' *Letters*, ii. 59.

For Cowley's prose see *ante*, COWLEY, 200. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 225 *n.*

that their loans to him 'only heightened his importunity to borrow more.' *Apology*, p. 303.

'Observe who have been the greatest borrowers of all ages—Alcibiades—Falstaff—Steele—our late incomparable Brinsley [Sheridan]—what a family likeness in all four.' LAMB, *Essays of Elia*, p. 32.

For Savage's account of Steele's fear of the bailiffs see *post*, SAVAGE, 31, 33, and for Macaulay's defence of Addison see his *Essays*, iv. 206.

## APPENDIX J (PAGE 82)

'Mr. Addison,' writes Tickell, 'had been at Queen's College about two years, when the accidental sight of a paper of his verses in the hands of Dr. Lancaster, then Dean of that house, occasioned his being elected into Magdalen College.' Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 3. Johnson carelessly read this passage. It was a third person, perhaps the President of Magdalen, who accidentally saw the verses in the hands of Dr. Lancaster, then a Fellow, afterwards Provost of Queen's. Macaulay makes Lancaster Dean of Magdalen. *Essays*, iv. 166.

Tickell ends his *Prospect of Peace*, written at Queen's College (*post*, TICKELL, 5), with a passage beginning:—

> 'Here thy commands, O Lancaster, inflame
> My eager breast to raise the British name.'
> *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 172.

See also *ib.* p. 294.

Hearne describes Lancaster as 'a man having an extreme desire to be a bishop.' *Remains*, i. 184. See also *ib.* p. 189 for a ballad on him.

The Fellowships at Queen's were confined to men born in Cumberland and Westmorland, so that Addison had no chance of one. *Post*, TICKELL, 1. His father, a Westmorland man, had enjoyed a scholarship. For a story of him as Terrae Filius (licensed satirist at the Commemoration) see Hearne's *Remains*, iii. 77. Collins, like Addison, passed from Queen's to Magdalen. *Post*, COLLINS, 3. The Provost of Queen's informs me that in those days the two Colleges used to act together on many occasions.

'The Demies were so called because their allowance or "commons" was originally half that of a Fellow; the Latin term is *semi-communarius*.' *New Eng. Dict.*

It was the succession to a Fellowship as a matter of course that brought the College to the state described in Gibbon's *Memoirs*, pp. 57, 287.

Addison took the degree of B.A. May 7, 1691; of M.A. in 1694. [Feb. 14, 1693–4. JOHNSON.] In 1698 he became Fellow; he resigned in 1711. His rooms were 'at the north-east corner of the old buildings looking towards the river.' They no longer exist. Bloxam's *Reg. of Mag. Coll.* vi. 78.

## APPENDIX K (PAGE 90)

Addison had lost his place as Under-Secretary of State on the dismissal of Sunderland in Dec. 1708; but he was at once transferred to his new post of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant with a salary of £2,000 a year. He retained it after Wharton's dismissal. *Works*, v. 374, 401. He was in Dublin on July 20, 1709. *Cata. of MSS. in Record Office Museum*, 1902, p. 86.

As Keeper of the Irish Records in Birmingham's Tower (*ante*, KING, 9) he had £400 a year. *Works*, vi. 632. In 1724 Swift wrote:—'Mr Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure place, called Keeper of the Records in Birmingham's Tower, of £10 a year, and to get a salary of £400 annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half a crown, either for curiosity or use.' Swift's *Works*, vi. 416. On July 21, 1711, Addison wrote:—'I have lost a place of £2,000 per annum, an estate in the Indies of £14,000, and, what is worse than all the rest, my mistress [ADDISON, 85]. I find they are going to take away my Irish place from me too.' *Works*, v. 401. He kept his losses secret. He wrote:—'I know the most likely way to keep a place is to appear not to want it.' Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, p. 394. He kept his place by Ormond's protection. He showed his gratitude by 'being absent from the House of Commons as by accident,' when Ormond was impeached. *Works*, vi. 671. Swift said that he too had helped to secure Addison his place. Swift's *Works*, iii. 80.

## APPENDIX L (PAGE 92)

Nichols says that 'Addison's papers at least up to No. 155 were transcribed by some amanuensis before they were sent to the printer.' *The Tatler*, 1789, iii. 297. Swift does not mention Addison as a contributor in his *Journal to Stella*. In *The Present State of Wit*, dated May 3, 1711, included in Swift's *Works* (vi. 153), but probably by Gay, the writer says (p. 159) every one was 'set upon guessing who was the 'Squire's [Steele's] friend, and most people at first fancied it must be Dr. Swift; but it is now no longer a secret that his only great and constant assistant was Mr. Addison.' In the last *Tatler* Steele says that he is beholden for some of his best papers to 'a person who is too fondly my friend ever to own them.'

Johnson mentions 'the great success' of the publication of *The Tatler* by subscription. *Post*, POPE, 73. It was published in 1710 in four volumes octavo. According to Nichols the subscription was a guinea a volume. *The Tatler*, 1789, iii. 353 *n*. In the Duchess of Grafton's accounts is the following entry:—'April, 1710. To the Tatler, £2. 3. 0. *Hanmer Corres.* p. 237. This was the subscription for two volumes. 718 copies were subscribed for. See list prefixed to edition of 1710. Addison in No. 162 speaks of 'such generous subscriptions as will give a magnificence to my old age.' On the very day the first two volumes appeared it was also published in two volumes duodecimo at *2s. 6d.* a volume. This cheap publication was probably due to a pirated edition. *The Tatler*, 1789, iv. 46.

## APPENDIX M (PAGE 92)

*The Spectator* began on March 1, 1710–11.

'March 16, 1710–11. Have you seen *The Spectator* yet? It is written by Mr. Steele, who seems to have gathered new life, and have a new fund of wit. I believe Addison and he club.'

'April 28, 1711. It is written by Steele with Addison's help; 'tis often very pretty.'

'Nov. 18. Do you read *The Spectators*? I never do; they never come in my way; I go to no coffee-houses.' SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 201, 240, 407.

Addison wrote about 240 *Spectators*, of about 112 lines to a number. In 92 weeks he wrote, roughly speaking, 26,680 lines, or 292 lines a week. Johnson wrote 203 *Ramblers* in 103 weeks, which, at 167 lines to a number, give 33,901 lines or 329 a week. Johnson moreover all these weeks was working at his *Dictionary*. See *John. Misc.* i. 392.

'JOHNSON. It is wonderful that there is such a proportion of bad papers in the half of the work which was not written by Addison; for there was all the world to write that half, yet not a half of that half is good.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 33.

'You will find all *The Spectators* that are good, that is all Addison's, in my library.' CHESTERFIELD, *Letters to his Son*, i. 227.

## APPENDIX N (PAGE 92)

Fleetwood's Preface was printed in *The Spectator*, No. 384, May 21, 1712. He was then Bishop of St. Asaph. The sermons had been preached on the deaths of Mary, William III, and the Duke of Gloucester, and on the accession of Anne. 'He has asserted,' writes *The Spectator*, 'that Christianity left us where it found us as to our civil rights.' Nichols, who was likely to have good information, was told that 'this number was not published till twelve o'clock, that it might come out precisely at the hour of her Majesty's breakfast, and that no time might be left for deliberating about serving it up with that meal as usual.' *The Spectator*, 1789, v. 401. According to Scott 'the Queen was so partial to Fleetwood as usually to call him *her bishop*.' Swift's *Works*, iv. 119.

By order of the House of Commons (June 10, 1712) the Preface was burnt by the common hangman. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 1151.

Fleetwood wrote to Burnet on June 17, 1712:—'Everybody's curiosity is awakened by this usage, and the bookseller finds his account in it above any one else. *The Spectator* has conveyed above 14,000 of them into other people's hands, that would otherwise have never seen or heard of it. . . . We are fallen methinks into the very dregs of Charles the Second's politics.' *Sermons*, &c., 1737, Preface, p. 6.

Swift, in 1712, attacked Fleetwood in two papers. *Works*, iv. 119, 129. Of Steele he wrote on July 1, 1712:—'I believe he will very soon lose his employment, for he has been mightily impertinent of late in his *Spectators*.' *Ib.* iii. 38. On June 4, 1713, Steele resigned his

Commissionership of Stamps. Montgomery's *Steele*, i. 418. According to Swift (*Works*, iv. 208) he knew his dismissal was impending.

'Johnson introduced Fleetwood's *Reasonable Communicant* to the University of Oxford by recommending it to a young student there.' *John. Misc.* ii. 147.

## APPENDIX O (PAGE 98)

On July 19, 1712, Swift wrote:—'Grub street has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half sheet at a halfpenny.' *Works*, iii. 42. On Aug. 7 he added:—'Do you know that Grub Street is dead and gone last week? . . . *The Spectator* keeps up and doubles its price.' *Ib.* p. 44. Addison called 'this mortality among authors "the fall of the leaf."' *The Spectator*, No. 445. In No. 10 he had written:—'My publisher tells me that there are already three thousand of my papers distributed every day.' In the last number (555) it is said that the tax at first reduced the issue to less than half. By this time (Dec. 1712) nine or ten thousand copies of the first and second volumes had also been sold. See Nos. 488, 555. In 1712 Addison and Steele sold to S. Buckley one half-share of the first seven volumes for £575. *Works*, vi. 630.

In 1694 Bentley had been deterred from printing his *Philostratus* and *Manilius* 'by the increased expense of paper and printing, the consequence of war and new taxes.' Monk's *Bentley*, i. 57.

## APPENDIX P (PAGE 105)

'Some tell us that C is the mark of those papers written by the Clergyman, though others ascribe them to the Club in general. . . . That L signifies the Lawyer, whom I have described in my speculations.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 221. Steele, in No. 555, gives the explanation of C. L. I. O. adopted by Johnson.

'The signatures of Addison's papers occur in this order:—1, C. 2, L. 3, I. 4, O.' NICHOLS. *The Spectator*, 1789, i. 45. Nichols suggests that C. stands for Chelsea or College (sketched at College, *ib.* vii. 21); L. for London; I. for Islington (*ib.* iv. 276), and O. for his Office or Oxford (sketched when a student at Oxford, *ib.* vi. 92). O., I think, is first found at the end of No. 405. If Addison had used C, L, I to indicate the place where he wrote the paper, it might have struck him that the addition of O would suggest Clio.

## APPENDIX Q (PAGE 110)

'"Tell Lady Henrietta," says Dr. Cheyne, writing to Lord Harley, "that Lady Warwick's marriage with Mr. Addison was upon terms, he settling (or giving) £4,000 in lieu of an estate which she gave up for his sake."' From the original in the British Museum. Lucy Aikin's *Addison*, ii. 185.

Pope said that he became Secretary of State 'to oblige the Countess and to qualify himself to be owned for her husband.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 47. Pope probably alludes to him when he describes his own father as

> 'Born to no pride, inheriting no strife,
> Nor marrying discord in a noble wife.'
> *Prol. Sat.* l. 392.

'A tradition which began early, which has been generally received, and to which we have nothing to oppose, has represented his wife as an arrogant and imperious woman.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, iv. 248.

In his will, with the exception of an annuity of £50 to his mother [step-mother], and a legacy of £500 to his sister, he left everything to his 'dear and loving wife.' *Works*, vi. 525. She, in her will, 'desired to be buried "in the vault in Kensington Church with my dear and beloved son if there be room; if not, then I desire to be buried in the same vault in King Henry VII's Chapel where my dear husband Mr. Addison is now buried." She was buried at Kensington on July 12, 1731.' *N. & Q.* 7 S. x. 513.

Tickell, in his Elegy on Addison, while he speaks of the grief of the step-son, says nothing of the widow. *Works*, Preface, p. 13.

'I used to think myself in company as much above me when I was with Mr. Addison and Mr. Pope as if I had been with all the Princes in Europe.' CHESTERFIELD, *Letters to his Son*, i. 280.

## APPENDIX R (PAGE 115)

These words are not in *The Old Whig*, which Johnson had never read (see ADDISON, 97). They seem condensed from the following passage in *Biog. Brit.* 1778, p. 52:—'He styles him a perfect master in the vocation of pamphlet-writing in one place; calls him *little Dicky* in another.' This is taken from *The Old Whig*, No. 2:—'The author of *The Plebeian*, to show himself a perfect master in the vocation of pamphlet-writing &c. . . . But our Author's chief concern is for the poor House of Commons, whom he represents as naked and defenceless, when the Crown, by losing this prerogative, would be less able to protect them against the power of a House of Lords. Who forbears laughing, when the Spanish friar represents LITTLE DICKEY under the person of Gomez, insulting the Colonel that was able to fright him out of his wits with a single frown.' [*The Old Whig*, 1719, Numb. ii. pp. 1, 4;] Addison's *Works*, v. 284, 287.

Macaulay 'confidently affirms that Addison's little Dicky had no more to do with Steele than Sheridan's little Isaac [in *The Duenna*] with Newton. . . . Little Dicky was the nickname of Henry Norris, an actor of remarkably small stature, but of great humour, who played the usurer Gomez in Dryden's *Spanish Friar*.' *Essays*, iv. 251. For Macaulay's exultation over his sagacity in this discovery see his *Life*, ii. 129. Nevertheless it may be as confidently affirmed that Addison introduced 'little Dicky' maliciously, with an after-reference to Steele, which would be everywhere understood.

## APPENDIX S (PAGE 118)

'Addison died in what is now the dining-room.' Princess Liechtenstein's *Holland House*, ii. 77.

Macaulay, in his article on Lord Holland, thus writes of Holland House:—'Those turrets and gardens which are associated with so much that is interesting and noble, with the courtly magnificence of Rich, with the loves of Ormond, with the counsels of Cromwell, with the death of Addison.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, iii. 285. He quotes also 'those tender and graceful lines addressed' by Tickell to the house. Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 15; *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 248. See also his *Essays*, iv. 246.

Johnson passes over the midnight funeral in Westminster Abbey, finely described in Tickell's *Elegy*. Bishop Newton tells how 'the King's Scholars of Westminster School [he was one of them], in their surplices, with their white tapers in their hands, attended the funeral; the service was observed to be performed with more than common solemnity by Bishop Atterbury [the Dean].' Newton's *Works*, 1782, i. 11.

Addison's daughter died in 1797. *Works*, v. 424. Mrs. Piozzi wrote on the margin of *The Tatler*, 1789, iv. 333:—'My mother said Miss Addison was half a fool, though she showed some signs of wit too. Miss Boycott, my first cousin, went to school with her in Queen Square—then Calverley's, now Stevenson's.' See also *ib.* iv. 330 *n.*; [*N. & Q.* 10 S. i. 149–51].

For Mr. Scharf's 'notes on the portraits of Addison' see Bloxam's *Reg. of Mag. Coll.* vi. 92.

## APPENDIX T (PAGE 119)

In *Addisoniana*, i. 3 (where the authority for the story is not given) Addison is reported to have said:—'I have only ninepence in my pocket, but I can draw for a thousand pounds.'

Lamb quotes from Fuller:—'He carried learning enough *in numerato* about him in his pockets for any discourse, and had much more at home in his chests for any serious dispute.' *Poems*, &c., 1888, p. 266. For sayings of the same kind see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 256. See also *ib.* iii. 339.

'I desire to converse with people of this world, who bring into company their share, at least, of cheerfulness, good breeding and knowledge of mankind. In common life one much oftener wants small money and silver than gold.' CHESTERFIELD, *Letters to his Son*, iii. 350.

In a note on *The Tatler*, ed. 1789, iv. 250, it is stated, on the authority of Dr. Birch, that Addison had lent some money to a friend with whom he had hitherto lived in perfect equality. 'From this time his friend agreed implicitly to everything he advanced. One day he entirely acquiesced in his opinion' on a subject which before they had keenly disputed. 'Addison vented his displeasure by saying with some emotion, "Sir, either contradict me, or pay me my money."' For the failure of Cowley and Dryden in conversation see *ante*, COWLEY, 200, and DRYDEN, 168.

## APPENDIX U (PAGE 121)

Johnson's authority is Spence's *Anec.* pp. 49, 50. 'I have been informed that Addison was so extremely nice in polishing his prose compositions that when almost a whole impression of a *Spectator* was worked off, he would stop the press to insert a new preposition or conjunction.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, i. 149.

'Mr. Richard Nutt, one of the first printers of *The Tatler*, remembers that the press was stopped, and not seldom, but not by Addison, or for the sake of inserting some new prepositions or conjunctions; it was stopped, he said, for want of copy.' J. NICHOLS, *The Tatler*, 1789, ii. 265 *n.* Nichols quotes an advertisement to No. 77:—'Having these moon-shining nights been much taken up with my astronomical observations, I could not attend to the press so carefully as I ought, by which means more than ordinary *errata* have crept into my writings, even to the making of false English.' *Ib.* p. 263. Nichols adds that, if there were *errata* in Addison's papers, 'he never failed to rectify them' in his next paper. As it was Steele who, in the case of *The Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, 'delivered the papers immediately to the press' (so Nutt reported), Nichols disbelieves Warton's story. *Ib.* p. 265. See also *ib.* iii. 297.

For an example of Addison's polishing his sentences see Courthope's *Addison*, p. 189.

## APPENDIX X (PAGE 123)

'Oct. 31, 1710. I dined with Mr. Addison and Dick Stuart; a treat of Addison's. They were half fuddled, but not I; for I mixed water with my wine.' SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 63. On the following Nov. 18 Steele in *The Tatler*, No. 252, described Addison:—'A gentleman who has an inexhaustible source of wit to entertain the curious, the grave, the humorous and the frolic. . . . Yet in a coffee-house . . . he appears rather dull than sprightly. You can seldom get him to a tavern, but when once he is arrived to his pint, and begins to look about and like his company, you admire a thousand things in him which before lay buried. . . . He tells us a story, serious or comical, with as much delicacy of humour as Cervantes himself.'

Berkeley says of the first performance of *Cato*:—'I was present with Mr. Addison and two or three more friends in a side box, where we had a table, and two or three flasks of Burgundy, and Champagne, with which the author (who is a very sober man) thought it necessary to support his spirits, and indeed it was a pleasant refreshment to us all between the acts.' *Hist. MSS. Com.* vii. App. p. 238.

Dr. J. Hoadly described 'a Whig meeting, at the Trumpet in Shoe Lane,' attended by his father the bishop, 'where Sir Richard [Steele] in his zeal, rather exposed himself, having the double duty of the day upon him, as well to celebrate the memory of King William, it being November 4, as to drink his friend Addison up to conversation pitch, whose phlegmatic constitution was hardly warmed for society by the time Steele was not fit for it.' Montgomery's *Steele*, ii. 159.

'Tonson,' so Nichols was told, 'boasted of paying his court by inventing excuses for requesting a glass of Barbadoes water, in order to furnish the Secretary [Addison] with an apology for indulging his own inclination.' *The Tatler*, 1789, iv. 332 *n.* In *The Spectator*, No. 569, Addison attacks drunkenness. See *ante*, DRYDEN, 152 *n.*, for Dryden's drinking with him.

Thackeray wrote of him:—'A better and more Christian man scarcely ever breathed than Joseph Addison. If he had not that little weakness for wine—why we could scarcely have found a fault with him, and could not have liked him as we do.' *Eng. Humourists*, ed. Phelps, p. 82.

## APPENDIX Y (PAGE 144)

The following is Addison's 'parallel of the Princes and Gods.'

'Great Pan, who wont to chase the fair,
And loved the spreading oak, was there;
Old Saturn too, with up-cast eyes,
Beheld his abdicated skies;
And mighty Mars, for war renowned,
In adamantine armour frowned;
By him the childless goddess rose,
Minerva, studious to compose
Her twisted threads; the web she strung,
And o'er a loom of marble hung;
Thetis, the troubled ocean's queen,
Matched with a mortal, next was seen,
Reclining on a funeral urn,
Her short-lived darling son to mourn.
The last was he whose thunder slew
The Titan race, a rebel crew,
That from a hundred hills allied
In impious leagues their king defied.'

*Works*, i. 230.

The allusions are to Charles II—his mistresses and the oak in which he hid; James II and his abdication; William III and his wars; Mary II, childless and fond of women's work; Anne, married to Prince George, mourning over her last child, the Duke of Gloucester; and George I conquering the Highland rebels.

Opposite this parallel Macaulay has written on the margin (Addison's *Works*, 1746, ii. 129; *ante*, ADDISON, 76 *n.*):—'Wonderfully ingenious! Neither Cowley nor Butler ever surpassed, I do not remember that they ever equalled it.' [Macaulay made these notes at Calcutta in 1835. Unfortunately, being written in pencil, they show signs of fading.]

# HUGHES[1]

JOHN HUGHES, the son of a citizen of London and of 1
Anne Burgess, of an ancient family in Wiltshire, was born at Marlborough, July 29, 1677[2]. He was educated at a private school; and though his advances in literature are in the *Biographia* very ostentatiously displayed, the name of his master is somewhat ungratefully concealed[3].

At nineteen he drew the plan of a tragedy, and paraphrased 2
rather too diffusely the ode of Horace which begins 'Integer Vitæ[4].' To poetry he added the science of Musick, in which he seems to have attained considerable skill, together with the practice of design or rudiments of painting.

His studies did not withdraw him wholly from business, nor 3
did business hinder him from study[5]. He had a place in the office of ordnance, and was secretary to several commissions for purchasing lands necessary to secure the royal docks at Chatham and Portsmouth[6]; yet found time to acquaint himself with modern languages.

In 1697 he published a poem on *The Peace of Ryswick*[7], and 4
in 1699 another piece, called *The Court of Neptune*, on the return of king William, which he addressed to Mr. Montague, the general patron of the followers of the Muses[8]. The same year he produced a song on the duke of Gloucester's birth-day[9].

He did not confine himself to poetry, but cultivated other kinds 5

[1] Johnson's authorities in this *Life* are the Memoir by Duncombe prefixed to the *Hughes Correspondence*, 2nd ed. 1773, and the *Biog. Brit.*

[2] Jan. 29, 1677. *Hughes Corres.* Preface, p. 5.

[3] *Ante*, ADDISON, 2. The name of his master was Thomas Rowe. Isaac Watts was his schoolfellow. *Post*, WATTS, 5.

[4] HORACE, *Odes*, i. 22; *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 100. See also *ib.* p. 212 for '*An Allusion to Horace, Book I, Ode* 22. Printed at the Breaking-out of the Rebellion in the year 1715.'

[5] He was intended for the ministry, but declined it by the advice of Watts, who saw him neglect everything in the Academy but poetry. Gibbon's *Life of Watts*, p. 86.

[6] *Hughes Corres.* Preface, p. 6.

[7] *Ante*, ADDISON, 18; *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 17.

[8] *Ante*, HALIFAX, 12; *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 23.

[9] *Ib.* p. 82. The Duke died the following year.

of writing with great success; and about this time shewed his knowledge of human nature by an *Essay on the Pleasure of being deceived*[1]. In 1702 he published, on the death of king William, a Pindarick ode called *The House of Nassau*[2], and wrote another paraphrase on the *Otium Divos* of Horace[3].

6 In 1703 his *Ode on Musick*[4] was performed at Stationers' Hall; and he wrote afterwards six cantatas, which were set to musick by the greatest masters of that time[5], and seem intended to oppose or exclude the Italian opera[6], an exotick and irrational entertainment, which has been always combated and always has prevailed[7].

7 His reputation was now so far advanced that the publick began to pay reverence to his name, and he was solicited to prefix a preface to the translation of Boccalini, a writer whose satirical vein cost him his life in Italy[8]; but who never, I believe, found many readers in this country, even though introduced by such powerful recommendation.

8 He translated Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead*, and his version was perhaps read at that time, but is now neglected; for by a book not necessary, and owing its reputation wholly to its turn of diction, little notice can be gained but from those who can enjoy the graces of the original. To the dialogues of Fontenelle he added two composed by himself; and, though not only an honest but a pious man, dedicated his work to the earl of

[1] *Poems on Several Occasions with Some Select Essays in Prose*, 1735, i. 256. [At the end of the *Essay* the date, 1701, is given. *Ib.* p. 264.]

[2] *Ib.* p. 37. For Pindarick Odes see *ante*, COWLEY, 124.

[3] HORACE, *Odes*, ii. 16; *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 103.

[4] *Ib.* p. 142. 'It was the custom of this time for almost every rhymer to try his hand in an Ode on St. Cecilia; we find many despicable rhapsodies, so called, in *Tonson's Miscellanies*.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, i. 51. See *ante*, DRYDEN, 150; *post*, CONGREVE, 39; POPE, 320.

[5] 'Master' in the *Lives* is a mistake for 'masters.' 'His pieces,' writes Duncombe (*Hughes Corres.* Preface, p. 7), 'were set by Dr. Pepusch, Mr. Galliard, Mr. Handel and other great masters. The six cantatas were all set by Pepusch.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 111. Henry Purcell was dead before this. For a critical letter on music by Hughes see Montgomery's *Steele*, i. 304.

[6] 'Mr. Hughes had no such intention.' HAWKINS, Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 114.

[7] *Ante*, ADDISON, 27; *post*, GAY, 18, 20. See also Appendix Z.

[8] According to Hughes, being threatened by the Spaniards, 'who were chiefly lashed in his satire,' he fled from Rome to Venice. There 'early one morning four bravos rushed into his chamber, and beat him to death with sand bags.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 2701.

For his fable of the traveller who, annoyed by the chirpings of the grasshoppers, stopped to kill them, and so missed his way, see *Œuvres de Voltaire*, ii. 329.

Wharton[1]. He judged skilfully enough of his own interest, for Wharton, when he went lord lieutenant to Ireland, offered to take Hughes with him, and establish him; but Hughes, having hopes or promises from another man in power of some provision more suitable to his inclination, declined Wharton's offer and obtained nothing from the other[2].

He translated the *Miser* of Molière[3], which he never offered 9
to the Stage; and occasionally amused himself with making versions of favourite scenes in other plays.

Being now received as a wit among the wits he paid his 10
contributions to literary undertakings, and assisted both *The Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*[4]. In 1712 he translated Vertot's *History of the Revolution of Portugal*[5]; produced an *Ode to the Creator of the World, from* [*occasioned by*] *the Fragments of Orpheus*[6]; and brought upon the Stage an opera called *Calypso and Telemachus*, intended to shew that the English language might be very happily adapted to musick. This was impudently opposed by those who were employed in the Italian opera; and, what cannot be told without indignation, the intruders had such interest with the duke of Shrewsbury, then lord Chamberlain, who had married an Italian[7], as to obtain an obstruction of the profits, though not an inhibition of the performance[8].

There was at this time a project formed by Tonson for a trans- 11
lation of the *Pharsalia* by several hands, and Hughes englished

[1] *Ante*, ADDISON, 30.

[2] *Biog. Brit.* p. 2702; *Hughes Corres.* Preface, p. 10.

[3] *Le Misanthrope.* Of *L'Avare* he translated but the first act.

[4] For *The Lay Monastery*, which, when 'Steele abruptly dropped *The Guardian*,' Hughes and Blackmore started, see *post*, BLACKMORE, 26, and Addison's *Works*, v. 411, 414.

[5] Addison, this same year, quoted Vertot in *The Spectator*, No. 349. Gibbon describes him as 'an author whose works are read with the same pleasure as romances, to which in other respects they bear too much resemblance.' *Misc. Works*, v. 389.

[6] *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 187. The *Ode* and its 'ingenious author' are mentioned in *The Spectator*, No. 554. See also *Spectator*, No. 537, and Hughes's *Poems*, 1735, Pref. p. 19.

[7] Swift wrote to Stella on Aug. 2, 1711:—'The Duchess of Shrewsbury asked the Secretary, was not that Dr. Dr.? and she could not say my name in English, but said Dr. Presto, which is Italian for Swift.' Swift's *Works*, ii. 312. 'She was descended by the mother's side from Robert, Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth.' *Ib. n.*

[8] 'The Italians obtained from the Duke an order either to act at common prices, or not to act at all.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 2704.

Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 405, says 'the town is highly obliged to Signor Nicolini, the greatest performer in dramatic music that is now living, for that generous approbation he lately gave to an opera of our own country [*Calypso and Telemachus*].'

the tenth book[1]. But this design, as must often happen where the concurrence of many is necessary, fell to the ground; and the whole work was afterwards performed by Rowe[2].

12 His acquaintance with the great writers of his time appears to have been very general; but of his intimacy with Addison there is a remarkable proof. It is told, on good authority, that *Cato* was finished and played by his persuasion[3]. It had long wanted the last act, which he was desired by Addison to supply. If the request was sincere it proceeded from an opinion, whatever it was, that did not last long; for when Hughes came in a week to shew him his first attempt he found half an act written by Addison himself[4].

13 He afterwards published the works of Spenser, with his Life, a Glossary, and a Discourse on Allegorical Poetry, a work for which he was well qualified as a judge of the beauties of writing[5], but perhaps wanted an antiquary's knowledge of the obsolete words[6]. He did not much revive the curiosity of the publick; for near thirty years elapsed before his edition was reprinted[7]. The same year produced his *Apollo and Daphne*[8], of which the success was very earnestly promoted by Steele[9], who, when the

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 285.

[2] *Ante*, ROWE, 22, 35. See Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 185 *n.*

[3] The authority is John Duncombe. *Hughes Corres.* Preface, p. 12. *Ante*, ADDISON, 56 *n.*

[4] *Ante*, ADDISON, 56. Dr. Warton says that 'Hughes was very capable of writing this fifth act. *The Siege of Damascus* [*post*, HUGHES, 15] is a better tragedy than *Cato*.' Pope's *Works*, 1822, i. 394.

[5] 'Spenser and Hughes seem to be allied by genius. Both great poets,' &c. *Biog. Brit.* p. 2706.

Pope wrote to Hughes on Oct. 7, 1715:—'Spenser has been ever a favourite poet to me; he is like a mistress whose faults we see, but love her with them all.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 120.

[6] Johnson wrote to T. Warton, about his *Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen*:—'You have shown to all who shall hereafter attempt the study of our ancient authors the way to success; by directing them to the perusal of the books which those authors had read. Of this method Hughes, and men much greater than Hughes, seem never to have thought.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 270.

For an interesting criticism of Hughes as Spenser's editor see W. L. Phelps's *Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, p. 54.

[7] The first edition appeared in 1715, the second in 1750. 'It was followed by an edition of *The Fairy Queen* in 1751; and in 1758 three separate editions appeared.' *Ib.* p. 86.

[8] *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 215. 'It was performed at Drury Lane with success.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 32.

[9] Steele wrote to him on Jan. 8, 1715-16:—'A paper called *The Town-talk* is particularly designed to be helpful to the stage. If you have not sent the masque which is to come out on Thursday to press, if you please to send me the copy, it shall be recommended to the town, and published on Thursday night with that paper.' *Hughes Corres.* i. 135. There was no notice of the masque

rage of party did not misguide him, seems to have been a man of boundless benevolence [1].

Hughes had hitherto suffered the mortifications of a narrow 14
fortune; but in 1717 the lord chancellor Cowper set him at ease, by making him secretary to the Commissions of the Peace; in which he afterwards, by a particular request, desired his successor lord Parker to continue him [2]. He had now affluence; but such is human life, that he had it when his declining health could neither allow him long possession nor quick enjoyment.

His last work was his tragedy *The Siege of Damascus*; after 15
which *A Siege* became a popular title [3]. This play, which still continues on the Stage [4], and of which it is unnecessary to add a private voice to such continuance of approbation, is not acted or printed according to the author's original draught, or his settled intention. He had made Phocyas apostatize from his religion; after which the abhorrence of Eudocia would have been reasonable, his misery would have been just, and the horrors of his repentance exemplary. The players, however, required that the guilt of Phocyas should terminate in desertion to the enemy; and Hughes, unwilling that his relations should lose the benefit of his work, complied with the alteration [5].

in *Town-talk*, which lasted only nine numbers. It was reprinted in 1790.

[1] *Post*, SAVAGE, 29.

[2] Parker (afterwards created Earl of Macclesfield) succeeded Cowper on May 12, 1718. Burke's *Peerage*.

'Lord Cowper made Hughes Secretary a month after he read the manuscript of *The Siege of Damascus*, and when Lord Parker succeeded him, though Lord C. was too angry with him to desire him to continue any one else, he did desire him to continue Mr. Hughes. Lord Parker did so. He was never in any circumstances till his secretaryship, which was but a few years before his death.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 302. For Cowper's letter of recommendation to Parker see *Hughes Corres.* i. 190. Hughes ends an *Ode to Lord Chancellor Cowper* by wishing that on his own tombstone should be engraved:—

'Here lies his clay to earth consigned
To whom great Cowper once was kind.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxi. 238.

On Parker's birth-day he wrote:—

'Not fair July, though plenty clothe his fields,
Though golden suns make all his mornings smile,
Can boast of aught that such a triumph yields
As that he gave a Parker to our isle.' *Ib.* p. 266.

[3] In *Biog. Dram.* iii. 273 no less than thirty-seven *Sieges* are enumerated.

[4] Macready records in his *Reminiscences*, i. 49, that he played Phocyas in 1811.

[5] 'The managers of Drury Lane house pretended that Phocyas could not be a hero if he changed his religion, and that the audience would not bear the sight of him after it.' *Hughes Corres.* iii. App. p. 70. See *ib.* p. 71 for 'the original draught' of this scene.

Gibbon, in a note in *The Decline and Fall*, v. 426, says:—'On the fate of these lovers, whom he names Phocyas and Eudocia, Mr. Hughes has built the siege of Damascus, one

16 He was now weak with a lingering consumption, and not able to attend the rehearsal; yet was so vigorous in his faculties that only ten days before his death he wrote the dedication to his patron, lord Cowper[1]. On February 17, 1719–20, the play was represented, and the author died. He lived to hear that it was well received; but paid no regard to the intelligence, being then wholly employed in the meditations of a departing Christian.

17 A man of his character was undoubtedly regretted[2]; and Steele devoted an essay, in the paper called *The Theatre*, to the memory of his virtues[3]. His life is written in the *Biographia* with some degree of favourable partiality[4], and an account of him is prefixed to his works by his relation the late Mr. Duncombe[5], a man whose blameless elegance deserved the same respect.

18 The character of his genius I shall transcribe from the correspondence of Swift and Pope.

19 'A month ago,' says Swift[6], 'was sent me over by a friend of mine the works of John Hughes, Esquire. They are in prose and verse. I never heard of the man in my life, yet I find your name as a subscriber [too]. He is too grave[7] a poet for me; and I think among the *mediocrists*[8], in prose as well as verse.'

of our most popular tragedies, and which possesses the rare merit of blending nature and history, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart. The foolish delicacy of the players compelled him to soften the guilt of the hero and the despair of the heroine. Instead of a base renegado, Phocyas serves the Arabs as an honourable ally; instead of prompting their pursuit, he flies to the succour of his countrymen, and, after killing Caled and Derar, is himself mortally wounded, and expires in the presence of Eudocia, who professes her resolution to take the veil at Constantinople. A frigid catastrophe!'

[1] He wrote at the same time the Prologue and Epilogue. Spence's *Anec.* p. 302.

[2] Dr. Watts wrote on receiving a present of his Works:—'Methinks I see the very man, my old acquaintance there, with his temper and softness, his wit and sprightly genius spreading almost over every page.' *Hughes Corres.* ii. 82.

[3] Steele, the day after the performance, 'recalled,' he writes, 'into my thought a speech in the tragedy which was attended to with an awful silence. . . . The words with which the Turkish general makes his *exit* from the prisoners are:—

"Farewell, and think of death."'

Steele quotes the prisoner's speech that follows. *The Theatre*, No. xv, quoted in *Hughes Corres.* Preface, p. 21.

[4] *Ante*, MILTON, 143 *n.* 4.

[5] 'He married Hughes's sister; was the author of two tragedies and other ingenious productions, and died Feb. 26, 1769, aged 79.' MALONE, Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 314. For Johnson's praise of him as 'a pleasing man' see *ib.* [see Nichols's *Lit. Anec.* viii. 266 for a memoir of him].

[6] An edition of Hughes's *Poems*, in 2 vols. 12mo, was published in 1735. Swift wrote on September 3 of that year and Pope replied in November. Swift's *Works*, xviii. 330, 331; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 333, 335.

[7] In the first edition 'great.'

[8] Swift wrote *mediocribus*, with

To this Pope returns: 'To answer your question as to Mr. 20
Hughes; what he wanted in genius, he made up as an honest man; but he was of the class you think him.'

In Spence's collections Pope is made to speak of him with still 21
less respect, as having no claim to poetical reputation but from his tragedy[1].

## APPENDIX Z (PAGE 160)

'The first opera, properly so called, was *Arsinoe* [see *The Spectator*, No. 18], set to music by Thomas Clayton, and performed at Drury Lane in 1707.' In 1710 Handel arrived, and 'produced operas such as were performed in Italy.' 'In the adapting English words to the Italian airs' the translator only aimed at 'a correspondence in respect of measure and cadence between the words and the music.' Hawkins's *Hist. of Music*, v. 135, 148.

Dennis in 1706 attacked the Italian Opera as 'barbarous and gothick. . . . When once the Italians were fallen so low as to prefer sound to sense they quickly grew to write such sense that sound deserved to be preferred to it.' *Select Works*, i. 467.

In 1707 Tickell described how Britannia

> 'blushes on her injured stage to see
> Nonsense well tuned, and sweet stupidity.'
> *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 173.

Steele wrote on Oct. 7, 1708:—'The taste for plays is expired. We are all for operas, performed by eunuchs every way impotent to please.' G. M. Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, p. 398.

On March 22, 1708–9, Swift wrote:—'The vogue of operas holds up wonderfully, though we have had them a year; but I design to set up a party among the wits to run them down by next winter.' *Works*, xv. 323. Operas are attacked on the following April 18 in *The Tatler*, No. 4. In March and April 1711 Addison laughed at them in *The Spectator*, Nos. 5, 18, 28, 29, 31. In No. 18 he writes:—'The poetasters and fiddlers laid down an established rule, "That nothing is capable of being well set to music that is not nonsense."'

In 1712 Pope, in *The Rape of the Lock*, v. 63, mocks the opera of *Camilla* by quoting it:

> 'A mournful glance Sir Fopling upwards cast,
> "Those eyes are made so killing"—was his last.'

He attacked operas also in *The Prologue to Cato*, and *The Dunciad*, iv. 45.

reference to Horace's *Ars Poet.* l. 372. *Mediocrist* is not in Johnson's *Dictionary*. 'But,' asks Dr. Warton, 'was the author of such a tragedy as *The Siege of Damascus* one of the *mediocribus*?' Pope's *Works*, 1822, ix. 243.

[1] This paragraph is not in the first edition. 'Hughes was a good humble-spirited man, a great admirer of Mr. Addison, and but a poor writer, except his play that is very well.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 302.

On Aug. 3, 1714, Addison in *The Guardian*, No. 124, parodied them in such verses as the following:—

'Oh! the charming month of May!
Oh! the charming month of May!
When the breezes fan the treeses
Full of blossoms fresh and gay—
Full,' &c.

In 1733 Fielding described how 'we sacrificed our own native entertainments to a wanton affected fondness for foreign music.' *Works*, 1806, iii. 4.

In 1753 Chesterfield wrote:—'Whenever I go to an Opera I leave my sense and reason at the door with my half-guinea, and deliver myself up to my eyes and my ears.' *Letters to his Son*, iii. 257.

In 1759 Goldsmith, no enemy to operas, wrote:—'Some years ago the Italian Opera was the only fashionable amusement among our nobility. The managers of the playhouses dreaded it as a mortal enemy, and our very poets listed themselves in the opposition; at present the house seems deserted.' *Works*, iii. 134.

In 1763 Gray wrote:—'The truth is the Opera . . . has rather maintained itself . . . on the borrowed taste of a few men of condition, that have learned in Italy how to admire, than by any genuine love we bear to the best Italian music.' Mitford's *Gray*, iv. 18.

The Duchess of Grafton's account-book shows that in 1707–8 'the entrance money was half a guinea.' *Hanmer Corres.* p. 234. See also Hawkins's *Hist. of Music*, v. 272, for the subscription of £50,000 'for the performance of operas at the theatre in the Haymarket, to be composed by Mr. Handel, and performed under his direction.'

Macready, in 1843, in his petition to parliament against the exclusive rights of the patentees of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, said that in 1841 Drury Lane Theatre, with a patent right of preventing elsewhere the performance of Shakespeare and other great poets, was unable to present them itself, having been specially refurnished for musical concerts, announced in a foreign language, and chiefly performed by foreign musicians.' Macready's *Reminiscences*, ii. 223.

# SHEFFIELD

## BUCKINGHAMSHIRE[1]

JOHN SHEFFIELD, descended from a long series of illus- 1
trious ancestors[2], was born in 1649[3], the son of Edmund earl of Mulgrave, who died 1658. The young lord was put into the hands of a tutor, with whom he was so little satisfied that he got rid of him in a short time, and, at an age not exceeding twelve years[4], resolved to educate himself. Such a purpose, formed at such an age and successfully prosecuted, delights as it is strange, and instructs as it is real.

His literary acquisitions are more wonderful, as those years in 2
which they are commonly made were spent by him in the tumult of a military life or the gaiety of a court. When war was declared against the Dutch, he went at seventeen on board the ship in which prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle sailed, with the command of the fleet[5]; but by contrariety of winds they were restrained from action[6]. His zeal for the king's service was

[1] *The Works of the Duke of Buckingham*, 1740, 2 vols., contain his *Memoirs* by himself (vol. ii. pp. 1–40), and *A Short Character* of him (pp. 321–44).

'The life of this peer takes up fourteen pages and a half in folio in *The General Dictionary*, where it has little pretensions to occupy a couple; but his pious relict was always purchasing places for him, herself, and their son in every suburb of the Temple of Fame.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Works*, i. 435.

For his title see *post*, SHEFFIELD, 17.

[2] For his pedigree see his *Works*, ed. 1740, ii. 351. In his epitaph he is described as 'Ex illustri Sheffyldiorum stemmate (quod a Rege Hen. III haeredibus masculis directo semper gradu se invicem excipientibus ad hanc usque aetatem duravit) oriundus.' *Atterbury Corres.* iv. 315.

Walpole includes one of his ancestors, Edmund, Lord Sheffield, in his *Catalogue of Noble Authors* (*Works*, i. 306). 'He was made a baron by Edward VI, and had his brains knocked out by a butcher at an insurrection in Norfolk.' He wrote 'a book of sonnets in the Italian measure.'

[3] He was born on April 7, 1648. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[4] Johnson infers the age, incorrectly I think, from a passage in his *Works*, ii. 324.

[5] Dryden praised him for 'undergoing the hazards, and, which was worse, the company of common seamen.' *Works*, v. 193. Buckingham says that his grandfather [Sir John Sheffield, drowned in the Humber, Dec. 1614] and three of his great-uncles had been drowned at sea. *Works*, ii. 7.

[6] 'A sudden storm parted the two fleets just ready to begin.' *Ib.* p. 4.

recompensed by the command of one of the independent troops of horse, then raised to protect the coast [1].

3 Next year he received a summons to parliament, which, as he was then but eighteen years old, the earl of Northumberland censured as at least indecent, and his objection was allowed [2]. He had a quarrel with the earl of Rochester, which he has perhaps too ostentatiously related [3], as Rochester's surviving sister, the lady Sandwich [4], is said to have told him with very sharp reproaches.

4 When another Dutch war (1672) broke out, he went again a volunteer in the ship which the celebrated lord Ossory commanded; and there made, as he relates, two curious remarks:

5 'I have observed two things which I dare affirm, though not generally believed. One was, that the wind of a cannon-bullet, though flying never so near, is incapable of doing the least harm; and, indeed, were it otherwise, no man above deck would escape. The other was that a great shot may be sometimes avoided, even as it flies, by changing one's ground a little; for, when the wind sometimes blew away the smoak, it was so clear a sun-shiny day that we could easily perceive the bullets (that were half spent) fall into the water, and from thence bound up again among us, which gives sufficient time for making a step or two on any side; though, in so swift a motion, 'tis hard to judge well in what line the bullet comes, which, if mistaken, may by removing cost a man his life, instead of saving it [5].'

6 His behaviour was so favourably represented by lord Ossory [6], that he was advanced to the command of the Katherine, the best second-rate ship in the navy [7].

7 He afterwards raised a regiment of foot, and commanded it as colonel. The land-forces were sent ashore by prince Rupert,

[1] After the Dutch had burnt the ships at Chatham. *Works*, ii. 7.

[2] *Ib.* p. 8.

[3] *Ante*, ROCHESTER, 3, 16. Dryden perhaps refers to this quarrel in his Dedication (*ante*, DRYDEN, 77), when, praising Sheffield's courage, he continues: 'He who is too lightly reconciled after high provocations may recommend himself to the world for a Christian, but I should hardly trust him for a friend. The Italians have a proverb to that purpose:—"To forgive the first time shews me a good Catholic, the second time a fool."' Dryden's *Works*, v. 192.

[4] The third Earl of Sandwich married Rochester's second daughter, not his sister. Burke's *Peerage*.

[5] *Works*, ii. 16.

[6] The eldest son of the Duke of Ormond, who, when he lost him, said 'he would rather have his dead son than any living son in Christendom.' Dryden's *Works*, ix. 298 *n.* Dryden, in *Absalom and Achitophel*, l. 833, described him as

'snatched in manhood's prime
By unequal fates, and providence's crime.'

[7] *Works*, ii. 18.

and he lived in the camp very familiarly with Schomberg[1]. He was then appointed colonel of the old Holland regiment together with his own[2], and had the promise of a garter, which he obtained in his twenty-fifth year[3]. He was likewise made gentleman of the bed-chamber[4].

He afterwards went into the French service to learn the art 8
of war under Turenne[5], but staid only a short time. Being by the duke of Monmouth opposed in his pretensions to the first troop of horse-guards[6] he, in return, made Monmouth suspected by the duke of York[7]. He was not long after, when the unlucky Monmouth fell into disgrace, recompensed with the lieutenancy of Yorkshire and the government of Hull[8].

Thus rapidly did he make his way both to military and civil 9
honours and employments[9]; yet, busy as he was, he did not neglect his studies, but at least cultivated poetry: in which he must have been early considered as uncommonly skilful, if it be true which is reported, that, when he was yet not twenty years old, his recommendation advanced Dryden to the laurel[10].

[1] 'In 1672 Schomberg was invited into England to command the new-raised army on Blackheath.' *Works*, ii. 23. He was at that time in the French service. Burnet (*Hist.* i. 384) says that Charles II 'showed a design to govern by the French model. A French general was brought over to command our armies.'

Rupert, commander-in-chief of an expedition against Holland, fired upon the colours of Sheffield's regiment hung up by Schomberg on his ship 'to show the head quarters.' In the end Rupert 'commanded away all the land-forces to Yarmouth, where they lay encamped all summer by the sea-side.' *Works*, ii. 24.

[2] *Ib.* p. 33.

[3] He received the promise of the Garter when he was at Yarmouth. The refusal of it at the same time to Schomberg 'contributed to his leaving us.' *Ib.* p. 30.

[4] *Ib.* p. 325. 'It is excellently said of Charles II by a great hand which writ his character, "that he was not a king a quarter of an hour together in his whole reign."' *The Spectator*, No. 462. In a note it is stated that the 'great hand' was Sheffield, 'who said that "on premeditation Charles II could not act the part of a king for a moment."' See Sheffield's *Works*, ii. 81.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 325.

[6] Foot-guards. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 192.

[7] *Works*, ii. 33.

[8] *Ib.* p. 39.

[9] Macaulay describes how Sheffield, at the age of seventeen, served six weeks on a ship, and was then given a troop of horse. Six years later 'he was appointed captain of a ship of eighty-four guns, reputed the finest in the navy.... As soon as he came back from sea he was made colonel of a regiment of foot.' *Hist. of Eng.* i. 313.

Sheffield described his ship as 'the best of all the second-rates.' *Works*, ii. 18.

[10] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 26. Dryden, in his Dedication to Sheffield (*Works*, v. 191), mentions 'the care you have taken of my fortune; which you have rescued, not only from the power of others, but from my worst of enemies, my own modesty and laziness.' According to *Biog. Brit.* p. 3653, Dryden

10 The Moors having besieged Tangier[1] he was sent (1680) with two thousand men to its relief. A strange story is told of danger to which he was intentionally exposed in a leaky ship, to gratify some resentful jealousy of the king, whose health he therefore would never permit at his table till he saw himself in a safer place[2]. His voyage was prosperously performed in three weeks, and the Moors without a contest retired before him.

11 In this voyage he composed *The Vision*; a licentious poem, such as was fashionable in those times, with little power of invention or propriety of sentiment[3].

12 At his return he found the King kind, who perhaps had never been angry; and he continued a wit and a courtier as before.

13 At the succession of king James, to whom he was intimately known, and by whom he thought himself beloved, he naturally expected still brighter sun-shine; but all know how soon that reign began to gather clouds. His expectations were not disappointed; he was immediately admitted into the privy council, and made lord chamberlain[4]. He accepted a place in the high commission[5], without knowledge, as he declared after the Revolution, of its illegality[6]. Having few religious scruples he attended the king to mass and kneeled with the rest, but had no disposition to receive the Romish Faith or to force it upon others; for when the priests, encouraged by his appearances of compliance,

is 'acknowledging his favour for the Laureate's place.'

Malone thinks Johnson's authority is Dr. Birch, who supposed that Sheffield was at the time Lord Chamberlain, in whose department the office is. Malone's *Dryden*, i. 88.

[1] It was given in 1662 as part of the portion of the bride of Charles II. 'After an immense charge the Court grew weary of it, and in the year 1638 [1683] they sent a squadron of ships to bring away the garrison, and to destroy all the works.' Burnet's *Hist.* i. 191.

[2] 'After a week's time one of the company (thinking it was forgetfulness) put him in mind of it. He answered smiling that he knew it very well, but he must first get out of his rotten ship before he could make that health go merrily round.' One of the King's sons, the Earl of Plymouth, was on board. *Works*, ii. 325. For the Earl of Plymouth see *ante*, OTWAY, 8.

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 51.

[4] *Works*, ii. 351.

[5] In his *Character* this part of his life is briefly treated—'During the reign of James II he remained in several great posts. . . . As several unjustifiable measures were taken by the Court he constantly and zealously advised against them.' *Ib.* ii. 329. For the High Commission see *ante*, SPRAT, 10; Macaulay's *Hist.* ii. 348, iii. 11.

[6] In an undated *Letter to Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury* (afterwards Archbishop), he says:—'I was so unhappily conversant in the midst of a perpetual Court flattery as never to have heard the least word of any illegality in that Commission before I was unfortunately engaged in it.' *Works*, ii. 125. See also Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 1752, p. 146.

attempted to convert him, he told them, as Burnet has recorded, that he was willing to receive instruction, and that he had taken much pains to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it; but that he should not be easily persuaded 'that man was quits, and made God again[1].'

A pointed sentence is bestowed by successive transmission on 14
the last whom it will fit[2]: this censure of transubstantiation, whatever be its value, was uttered long ago by Anne Askew, one of the first sufferers for the Protestant Religion, who in the time of Henry VIII was tortured in the Tower[3]; concerning which there is reason to wonder that it was not known to the Historian of the Reformation[4].

In the Revolution he acquiesced, though he did not promote 15
it. There was once a design of associating him in the invitation of the prince of Orange[5]; but the earl of Shrewsbury discouraged the attempt, by declaring that Mulgrave would never concur. This king William afterwards told him, and asked what he would have done if the proposal had been made. 'Sir,' said he, 'I would have discovered it to the king whom I then served.' To which King William replied, 'I cannot blame you[6].'

Finding king James irremediably excluded he voted for the 16
conjunctive[7] sovereignty, upon this principle, that he thought the titles of the prince and his consort equal, and it would please the prince their protector to have a share in the sovereignty. This

[1] 'He heard the priests gravely arguing for transubstantiation; he told them he was willing to receive instruction; he had taken much pains to bring himself to believe in God, who had made the world and all men in it; but it must not be an ordinary force of argument that could make him believe that man was quits with God, and made God again.' Burnet's *Hist.* ii. 306.

[2] *Ante*, WALLER, 82.

[3] ['*Lord Mayor.* Thou foolish woman, sayest thou that the priests cannot make the body of Christ?

'*A. Ascough.* I say so, my lord, for I have read, that God made man; but that man can make God, I never yet read, nor, I suppose, ever shall read it.' Strype's *Works*, 1822; *Eccl. Mem.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 598.] This saying is not mentioned in *The Two Examinations of Anne Askewe* said to be written by herself.

[4] Burnet (*Hist.* ii. 306) says of this and other like sayings:—'Whether true or false, they were much repeated, and were heard with great satisfaction.'

[5] For the invitation to the Prince to invade England, 'signed in cipher by the seven chiefs of the conspiracy,' see Macaulay's *Hist.* iii. 146.

[6] 'The King asked with a smile, "Pray, my Lord, what would you have done if my agent had acquainted you with the whole business?" "Sir, I should have discovered it to the Master I served." The King replied, "I cannot blame you."' *Works*, ii. 333.

[7] Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, defining *conjunctive* as 'closely united,' adds, 'a sense not in use.'

vote gratified king William; yet, either by the king's distrust or his own discontent, he lived some years without employment [1]. He looked on the king with malevolence, and, if his verses or his prose may be credited, with contempt [2]. He was, notwithstanding this aversion or indifference, made marquis of Normanby (1694), but still opposed the court on some important questions; yet at last he was received into the cabinet council, with a pension of three thousand pounds [3].

17 At the accession of queen Anne, whom he is said to have courted when they were both young, he was highly favoured [4]. Before her coronation (1702) she made him lord privy seal, and soon after lord lieutenant of the North-riding of Yorkshire. He was then named commissioner for treating with the Scots about the Union [5], and was made next year first duke of Normanby, and then of Buckinghamshire; there being suspected to be somewhere a latent claim to the title of Buckingham [6].

18 Soon after, becoming jealous of the duke of Marlborough, he resigned the privy seal, and joined the discontented Tories in a motion extremely offensive to the Queen for inviting the princess Sophia to England [7]. The Queen courted him back with

[1] *Works*, ii. 330.

[2] In his poems in *Eng. Poets* I can only find one which in the least answers this description. It is entitled *Stanzas*. He tells how he shall

'Boast of succeeding in my country's cause
Ev'n against some almost too high to blame;
Whom, when advanc'd beyond the reach of laws,
I oft had ridicul'd to sense and shame.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 102.

In his *Feast of the Gods*, written in 1708, 'all the gods admired that odd mixture of which his successor [William III] was composed; so very lazy, heavy, and easily imposed on by favourites; and yet so very ambitious and enterprising.' The author goes on to insinuate an odious charge against the King. *Works*, ii. 191.

[3] *Ib.* ii. 332.

[4] Abel Boyer, in his *History of Queen Anne*, 1735, p. 14, says that 'though his addresses to her were checked as soon as discovered, yet the Princess had ever an esteem for him.'

'The Duke was immediately rewarded on her accession for having made love to her before her marriage.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Works*, i. 436.

[5] For these appointments see *Works*, ii. 333, and Boyer's *Queen Anne*, 1735, p. 14.

[6] See Appendix AA.

[7] The Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, was heir-apparent to the throne: 'She was then 75, but... seemed willing to change her scene, and to come and shine among us here in England.' Burnet's *Hist.* iv. 109.

On Nov. 15, 1705, a motion in the House of Lords for inviting her was lost. The Duke and some other peers entered their protest. *Parl. Hist.* vi. 457, 468. The Duchess of Marlborough, in the *Account of her Own Conduct* (1742, p. 159), says that 'the Queen was present at the debates, and heard the Duke treat her with great disrespect; urging... that she might live till she did not know what she did, and be like a child in the hands of others.'

an offer no less than that of the chancellorship, which he refused [1]. He now retired from business, and built that house in the Park, which is now the Queen's, upon ground granted by the Crown.

When the ministry was changed (1710) he was made lord 19
Chamberlain of the household [2], and concurred in all transactions of that time, except that he endeavoured to protect the Catalans [3]. After the Queen's death he became a constant opponent of the Court [4]; and, having no public business, is supposed to have amused himself by writing his two tragedies [5]. He died February 24, 1720–21.

He was thrice married [6]: by his two first wives he had no 20
children; by his third, who was the daughter of king James by the countess of Dorchester [7] and the widow of the earl of Anglesey [8], he had, besides other children that died early, a son born in 1716, who died in 1735 [9], and put an end to the line of Sheffield [10]. It is observable that the Duke's three wives were all widows [11]. The Dutchess died in 1742 [12].

[1] The day after he resigned the seals the Queen offered to make him Lord Chancellor. 'It was a revenue of £9,000 per ann. He did not accept it.' *Works*, ii. 336.

It was in March, 1705, he threw up the seals, some months before the motion about the Princess Sophia.

[2] According to Boyer he was made Lord Steward on Sept. 21, 1710, and Lord President of the Council on June 12, 1711. *Hist. of Queen Anne*, pp. 476, 514. For the change of ministry see *ante*, PARNELL, 5.

[3] See Appendix BB.

[4] Lady Cowper recorded in her *Diary*, p. 45, on Feb. 12, 1714–15:—'The Duke of Buckingham, upon what consideration I know not, has refused his pension.'

[5] Pope, declining to write a Prologue for Fenton's *Mariamne* (*post*, FENTON, 11), says:—'I have actually refused doing it for the Duke of Buckingham's play.' The two tragedies were *Julius Caesar*, altered from Shakespeare, and *The Death of Marcus Brutus*. *Works*, i. 211, 303. *Julius Caesar* thus ends:—

'Ambition, when unbounded, brings a curse,
But an assassinate deserves a worse.'

Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), viii. 58.

[6] In his will he says that he had had 'the most extraordinary blessing of three kind and excellent wives.' *Works*, ii. 364. For his wives see Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 196.

[7] Daughter of Sir Charles Sedley. *Ante*, DORSET, 3. Horace Walpole mentions her daughter's pride in her birth. '"You need not be so vain," said the old profligate [the Countess]; "for you are not the King's daughter, but Colonel Graham's."' Walpole's *Letters*, Preface, p. 141.

[8] *Ante*, KING, 8. 'She married the Duke in 1705, by whom she had three sons and two daughters, of whom four died infants.' *Atterbury Corres.* iv. 309.

[9] For his epitaph see *post*, POPE, 440.

[10] For his will see Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 195. 'The Duke's natural son, Charles Herbert, taking the name of Sheffield, entered, after the death of the Duchess, into possession of the house in St. James's Park, which he enjoys with a fair character.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 3665.

[11] *Ante*, MILTON, 104.

[12] She died on March 13, 1742–3. *Gent. Mag.* 1743, p. 163. For her pompous funeral see *ib.* p. 191.

21 His character is not to be proposed as worthy of imitation. His religion he may be supposed to have learned from Hobbes[1], and his morality was such as naturally proceeds from loose opinions. His sentiments with respect to women he picked up in the court of Charles, and his principles concerning property were such as a gaming-table supplies. He was censured as covetous[2], and has been defended by an instance of inattention to his affairs[3], as if a man might not at once be corrupted by avarice and idleness[4]. He is said, however, to have had much tenderness, and to have been very ready to apologise for his violences of passion[5].

22 He is introduced into the late collection only as a poet[6]; and, if we credit the testimony of his contemporaries, he was a poet of no vulgar rank[7]. But favour and flattery are now at an end;

Horace Walpole wrote the day after her death:—'She made her *ladies* vow to her that, if she should lie senseless, they would not sit down in the room before she was dead.' *Letters*, i. 234.

In the *Character*, probably written by herself but ascribed by her to Pope, she described her person as 'most amiably majestic.' Warburton's *Pope*, viii. 184. For Atossa, a character Pope probably drew from her, see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 77, 84, 90, 103; *post*, POPE, 208. See also Dr. William King's *Anecdotes*, p. 37.

[1] See Appendix CC.

[2] Ruffhead, in his *Life of Pope*, p. 487, says that 'the Duke persuaded the poet to buy an annuity of him, when, in the general opinion, there was not the least probability that Pope could survive his youth.' See *post*, POPE, 92.

'He was thought to be too saving in his money matters.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 3664. Dryden praised his generosity. *Works*, xiv. 233. For a mason making him pay his debt by threatening to throw him from the roof of his house see Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 125.

[3] *Works*, ii. 343.

[4] 'He was extremely fond of bowling, and is said to have lost large sums of money in betting at this game. He is supposed to be alluded to by Pope in *The Basset Table*:—

"At the Groom-porter's batter'd bullies play,
Some Dukes at Marybone bowl time away."'

Malone's *Dryden*, i. 499.

This poem, though attributed to Pope (Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 473), is shown in *N. & Q.* 7 S. ix. 225, 515; 9 S. ii. 141, to be by Lady M. W. Montagu, but corrected by Pope.

[5] 'He often said to his servants, "I don't mean half the things I say in a passion."' *Works*, ii. 340. In Macky's *Characters* he is described as 'a nobleman of learning and good natural parts, but of no principles; violent for the High Church, yet seldom goes to it; very proud, insolent and covetous, and takes all advantages.' Swift remarks on this:—'This character is the truest of any.' *Works*, xii. 224. In *The Examiner*, No. 26, Swift wrote of him:—'He is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs; has continued constant to the true interests of the nation.' *Ib.* iii. 366.

[6] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 77.

[7] 'Where Buckingham will condescend to give,
That honoured piece to distant times must live.'

GAY, *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 220. See also POPE, 270 *n.*

criticism is no longer softened by his bounties or awed by his splendour[1], and, being able to take a more steady view, discovers him to be a writer that sometimes glimmers, but rarely shines, feebly laborious, and at best but pretty[2]. His songs are upon common topicks; he hopes, and grieves, and repents, and despairs, and rejoices, like any other maker of little stanzas: to be great he hardly tries; to be gay is hardly in his power.

In the *Essay on Satire* he was always supposed to have had the 23
help of Dryden[3]. His *Essay on Poetry* is the great work, for which he was praised by Roscommon[4], Dryden[5], and Pope[6], and doubtless by many more whose eulogies have perished[7].

Upon this piece he appears to have set a high value; for he was 24
all his life improving it by successive revisals, so that there is scarcely any poem to be found of which the last edition differs more from the first[8]. Amongst other changes, mention is made of some compositions of Dryden, which were written after the first appearance of the *Essay*[9].

At the time when this work first appeared, Milton's fame was 25
not yet fully established, and therefore Tasso and Spenser were set before him. The two last lines were these. The Epick Poet, says he,

'Must above Milton's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where great Torquato, and where greater Spenser fail.'

[1] 'But let a lord once own the happy lines,
How the wit brightens! how the style refines!'
POPE, *Essay on Criticism*, l. 420.

[2] For Macaulay's estimate of him see his *History*, iii. 11.

[3] See Appendix DD.

[4] 'Happy that author whose correct *Essay* [way.'
Repairs so well our old Horatian
ROSCOMMON, *Eng. Poets*, xv. 79.

[5] Dryden describes the author as 'a poet and a critic of the first magnitude.' *Works*, xiv. 233. In *Absalom and Achitophel*, l. 877, he calls him
'the Muses' friend,
Himself a Muse.'
For Sheffield's sneer at Dryden see *ante*, DRYDEN, 105.

[6] 'Such was the Muse whose rules and practice tell,
"Nature's chief master-piece is writing well."'
*Essay on Criticism*, l. 723.
The line quoted is the second in the *Essay on Poetry*. *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 69. Pope introduces him also in *Prol. Sat.* l. 139:
'The courtly Talbot, Somers, Sheffield read.'

[7] See Appendix EE.

[8] 'Mr. Pope altered some verses in it.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 292.

[9] In the first edition of the *Lives*, 'written after the *Essay*.'
The first edition of the poem appeared in 1682. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 197. It is not in the Brit. Mus. In the second edition (1691) *Mac Fleeknoe* and *The Hind and the Panther* are mentioned. See also *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 74.

The last line in succeeding editions was shortened [1], and the order of names continued; but now Milton is at last advanced to the highest place, and the passage thus adjusted,

> 'Must above Tasso's lofty flights prevail,
> Succeed where Spenser, and ev'n Milton fail [2].'

Amendments are seldom made without some token of a rent: *lofty* does not suit Tasso so well as Milton.

26 One celebrated line seems to be borrowed. The *Essay* calls a perfect character

> 'A faultless monster which the world ne'er saw [3].'

Scaliger in his poems terms Virgil '*sine labe monstrum* [4].' Sheffield can scarcely be supposed to have read Scaliger's poetry; perhaps he found the words in a quotation.

27 Of this *Essay*, which Dryden has exalted so highly [5], it may be justly said that the precepts are judicious, sometimes new, and often happily expressed; but there are, after all the emendations, many weak lines and some strange appearances of negligence; as when he gives the laws of elegy he insists upon connection and coherence, without which, says he,

> 'Tis epigram, 'tis point, 'tis what you will;
> But not an elegy, nor writ with skill,
> No *Panegyrick*, nor a *Cooper's Hill* [6].'

Who would not suppose that Waller's *Panegyrick* [7] and Denham's *Cooper's Hill* [8] were Elegies?

[1] In the edition of 1691, p. 31:—
'Must above Cowley, nay and Milton too prevail,
Succeed where great Torquato and our greater Spenser fail.'
In a copy in the Brit. Mus. dated 1713 bound up with Roscommon's and Duke's *Poems*, the whole volume bearing date 1717, p. 317:—
'Must above Milton's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where Spenser and Torquato fail.'

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 81.

[3] 'That admirable verse,' Dryden calls it, misquoting it by substituting *knew* for *saw*. *Works*, xvii. 303. The lines run (*Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 77):—
'Reject that vulgar error which appears
So fair, of making perfect characters;
There 's no such thing in nature, and you'll draw
A faultless monster, which the world ne'er saw.'

[4] [I cannot find 'sine labe monstrum,' but Mr. John Marshall of Lewes informs me that in *De Virgilii inaccessa divinitate*, which begins 'Dulcis Virgilius, Latina Siren,' is a line
'O monstrum vitio carens.'
Julii Caesaris Scaligeri *Poemata* (ed. 1600), p. 597.]

[5] 'Your *Essay of Poetry* I read over and over with much delight and as much instruction, and, without flattering you, or making myself more moral than I am—not without some envy.' DRYDEN, *Works*, xiv. 140.

[6] *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 73.

[7] *Ante*, WALLER, 128.

[8] *Ante*, DENHAM, 20.

His verses are often insipid, but his memoirs are lively and 28
agreeable; he had the perspicuity and elegance of an historian, but not the fire and fancy of a poet [1].

## APPENDIX AA (PAGE 172)

In a note on Johnson's *Works*, vii. 482, it is stated that 'in the earliest editions of the Duke's *Works* he is styled Duke of Buckingham; and Walpole, in his *Catalogue of Noble Authors* [*Works*, i. 436], mentions a wish, cherished by Sheffield, to be confounded with his predecessor in the title; "but he would more easily," remarks Walpole sarcastically, "have been mistaken with the other Buckingham if he had not written at all." Burnet also, and other authorities, speak of him under the title of Duke of Buckingham. His epitaph, being in Latin, will not settle the point. It is to be regretted therefore that Johnson adduced no better evidence for his doubt than his own unsupported assertion.'

Johnson's assertion is not unsupported. Salmon, in his *Chronological Historian*, 1733, p. 278, enters under March 9, 1702:—'John Sheffield, Marquis of Normanby, created Duke of the County of Bucks and of Normanby.' The same title is given him in Cockayne's *Hist. Peerage*. Crull, in *The Antiquities of St. Peter's*, ii. 48, says that at the Duke's funeral Garter King at Arms proclaimed his title as Duke of Buckinghamshire. In *An Account of the Pedigree of the Sheffield Family* in the Duke's *Works*, ii. 351, he is so styled, though he signed his will Buckingham. *Ib.* p. 366. In the list of Peers in 1715 in *Parl. Hist.* vii. 28, he is entered as Duke of Buckinghamshire and Normanby. Bolingbroke, in 1722, wrote of him as Duke of Buckinghamshire (Swift's *Works*, xvi. 378), and so did Pope in 1723. SHEFFIELD, 28 *n.* Jacob, in 1720, so described the Duke in dedicating to him his *Poetical Register*. In Macky's *Characters* (1733) the first Duke is so described. Swift's *Works*, xii. 224. In *Brit. Mus. Catu.* the same title is given at the head of the article. The title expired in 1735. See also SHEFFIELD, 21 *n.*

In Dodsley's *London*, ii. 41, is a letter of the Duke's describing

[1] Pope wrote to Caryl in 1722:—'I have the care of overlooking the Duke of Buckingham's papers, and correcting the press. That will be a very beautiful book.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 280.

Lord Carteret on April 18, 1722, 'signed a royal licence to protect the copyright of the Duke's *Works*. Before the book appeared the ministers learnt that it contained passages in favour of the Pretender. The impression was seized and the obnoxious leaves cut out.' Pope wrote to Carteret on Feb. 16, 1722-3:—'I am told . . . that I've been suspected of putting that vile thing a trick upon you, in being the procurer of your licence to the Duke of Buckinghamshire's book. . . . I now think myself obliged to assure you that I never look'd into those papers, or was privy to the contents of them, when that licence was procured by Mr. Barber, to secure his own property.' *Ib.* viii. 191, x. 139. See also *ib.* v. 193, x. 198.

In the copy of this edition in the British Museum these passages are not cut out. The edition of 1729 contains 'The Castrations' in an Appendix.

Buckingham House. From the roof there is 'a far distant prospect of hills and dales, and a near one of parks and gardens.'

In *Biog. Brit.* p. 3661 it is stated that through his gaming 'a good part of the garden came into the hands of a person who insultingly grazed his sheep and oxen close under his Grace's window.'

The house (the site of Buckingham Palace) was bought by George III in 1761, and settled on Queen Charlotte. It was in the library that Johnson met the King. Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 33 *n.*

## APPENDIX BB (PAGE 173)

The Duke of Buckingham thought that the 'interests of the Catalans were too much sacrificed to the peace with Spain. He thought no sort of terms ought to be agreed on without first securing the lives and liberties of those poor people, who had entirely relied on England for protection.' *Works*, ii. 338.

In 1705, in the War of the Succession in Spain, Catalonia had risen against Philip V in favour of the Archduke Charles. Macaulay's *Essays*, ii. 73. In 1712, in the stipulations of the Peace of Utrecht, they were neglected. Swift, in *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*, answering Steele's *Crisis*, writes:—'Having mentioned the Catalonians Mr. Steele puts the question, "Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?" That can I.' Swift's *Works*, iv. 262. See also *Parl. Hist.* vi. 1308, for Steele's quotation of this passage in his *Apology*. Their abandonment made the sixth article in the impeachment of the Earl of Oxford in 1715. *Parl. Hist.* vii. 124.

## APPENDIX CC (PAGE 174)

For the Duke of Buckingham's lines *On Mr. Hobbes and his Writings* see *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 94. In his will he directed the following lines to be put on his monument:—'In one place:—

"Pro Rege saepe, Pro Republica semper."

In another place:—

"Dubius, sed non improbus, vixi,
Incertus morior, sed inturbatus;
Humanum est nescire et errare:
Christum adveneror, Deo confido
Omnipotenti, benevolentissimo:
Ens entium, miserere mei."' *Works*, ii. 364.

This epitaph gave rise to controversey. In 1721 Richard Fiddes, in an *Answer to a Letter from a Freethinker occasioned by the late Duke of Buckinghamshire's Epitaph*, quotes the letter of 'a Lady of the first Quality,' testifying to the frequency with which the Duke had taken the Sacrament.

'I like the Duke's epitaph,' wrote Erasmus Darwin. C. Darwin's *Life of E. Darwin*, 1887, p. 15. For Prior's epigram *On Bishop Atterbury's Burying the Duke of Buckingham* see *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 63.

## APPENDIX DD (PAGE 175)

The *Essay on Satire* is included in Dryden's *Works*, xv. 200, and *Eng. Poets*, xviii. 124, where it is attributed to both poets. It is in Sheffield's *Works*, 1729, i. 111: Wood says that after a time Sheffield 'was generally thought to be the author.' *Ath. Oxon.* iv. 210.

Dean Lockier, who first met Dryden in 1685, said that 'Sheffield's *Essay* was a good deal corrected by Dryden. Could anything,' he continues, 'be more impudent than his publishing that satire, for writing which Dryden was beat in Rose Alley (and which was known as the *Rose Alley Satire*), as his own? He made, indeed, a few alterations in it first; but these were only verbal.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 63. Lockier seems to say that Dryden and Sheffield corrected the poem of some unknown author.

Malone shows that the defective versification proves that it is not Dryden's. 'If it be compared with the first copy of the *Essay on Poetry*, which is Sheffield's, a great similarity may be observed between them.' Malone's *Dryden*, i. 129. See *ante*, DRYDEN, 105.

## APPENDIX EE (PAGE 175)

Rochester praised him in *An Epistolary Essay: Eng. Poets*, xv. 38.

Walsh described him as 'a great modern critic.' *Ib.* xvii. 338.

Garth, in the first edition of *The Dispensary*, paid him a compliment which he afterwards suppressed:

> 'The Tiber now no courtly Gallus sees,
> But smiling Thames enjoys his Normanbys.'
> Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ii. 80.

Addison, in *The Spectator*, No. 253, calls the *Essay* 'a masterpiece.'

The Hon. Simon Harcourt (*post*, POPE, 401) begins his lines *To Mr. Pope*:—

> 'He comes, he comes! bid every bard prepare
> The song of triumph, and attend his car.
> Great Sheffield's muse the long procession heads
> And throws a lustre o'er the pomp she leads.'
> Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 30.

Prior exclaims in *Alma*, ii. 305:—

> 'Happy the poet, blest the lays,
> Which Buckingham has deigned to praise.'

Gay, in *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece*, describes him as

> 'Sheffield, who knows to strike the living lyre,
> With hand judicious, like thy Homer skilled.'
> Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 174.

Goldsmith writes of the *Essay*:—'It is enrolled among our great English productions. The precepts are sensible, the poetry not indifferent, but it has been praised more than it deserves.' *Works*, iii. 439.

# PRIOR

1 MATTHEW PRIOR is one of those that have burst out from an obscure original to great eminence. He was born July 21, 1664, according to some, at Winburne in Dorsetshire, of I know not what parents; others say that he was the son of a Joiner of London[1]: he was perhaps willing enough to leave his birth unsettled[2], in hope, like Don Quixote, that the historian of his actions might find him some illustrious alliance[3].

2 He is supposed to have fallen by his father's death into the hands of his uncle, a vintner[4] near Charing-cross, who sent him

[1] 'The son of Mr. George Prior, Citizen of London, by trade a joiner, and was born there in 1664.' *Life of Prior*, by Samuel Humphreys; Prior's *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1733, iii. 1.

'He was the son of a reputable citizen of London, where he was born July 21, 1664.' Prior's *History of my own Time*, 1740, p. 2; a work, says the title-page, 'compiled from the original MSS. of Prior, revised and signed by himself, and copied fair for the press by Adrian Drift, his executor.' It was published after the death of Drift, who was his Secretary. With the exception of Prior's account of his examination before a Parliamentary Committee (*post*, PRIOR, 34) it contains little but State Papers. The editor was so ignorant that he calls this Committee a Committee of the Privy Council.

[2] The difficulty of settling Prior's birth-place is great. In the register of his College he is called, at his admission by the President, Matthew Prior of Winburn in Middlesex; by himself next day Matthew Prior of Dorsetshire, in which county, not in Middlesex, Winborn, or Wimborne, as it stands in the *Villare* [*ante*, ROWE, 1 *n.*], is found. When he stood candidate for his fellowship five years afterwards he was registered again by himself as of Middlesex. The last record ought to be preferred, because it was made upon oath. It is observable that, as a native of Winborne, he is styled *Filius Georgii Prior, generosi*; not consistently with the common account of the meanness of his birth. JOHNSON.

'In the Admission Register of St. John's, ii. 92, we read "Matthaeus Prior Dorcestr," altered by a later hand to "Middlesexiensis."' *N. & Q.* 6 S. ix. 209. For the 'local tradition in favour of his having been born at Wimborne' see Mr. Austin Dobson's *Prior*, 1889, p. 205.

[3] 'Perhaps the sage who writes my history may so brighten up my kindred and genealogy that I may be found the fifth or sixth in descent from a king.' *Don Quixote*, 1820, i. 234.

'Burns,' wrote Cowper, 'is, I believe, the only poet these kingdoms have produced in the lower rank of life since Shakespeare (I should rather say since Prior) who need not be indebted for any part of his praise to a charitable consideration of his origin, and the disadvantages under which he has laboured.' Southey's *Cowper*, vi. 54.

[4] 'My uncle, rest his soul! when living
Might have contrived me ways of thriving;

for some time to Dr. Busby[1] at Westminster; but, not intending to give him any education beyond that of the school, took him, when he was well advanced in literature, to his own house, where the earl of Dorset, celebrated for patronage of genius[2], found him by chance, as Burnet relates, reading Horace, and was so well pleased with his proficiency that he undertook the care and cost of his academical education[3].

He entered his name in St. John's College at Cambridge in 3
1682, in his eighteenth year; and it may be reasonably supposed that he was distinguished among his contemporaries[4]. He became a Bachelor, as is usual, in four years[5]; and two years afterwards wrote the poem on the *Deity*, which stands first in his volume[6].

It is the established practice of that College to send every year 4
to the earl of Exeter some poems upon sacred subjects, in acknowledgment of a benefaction enjoyed by them from the bounty of his ancestor[7]. On this occasion were those verses

Taught me with cyder to replenish
My vats, or ebbing tide of Rhenish.'
PRIOR, *An Epistle to F. Shephard*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 160.

[See Wheatley's *Pepys*, i. 42, Feb. 3, 1660, for Pepys taking his cousin, a barrister, out of Westminster Hall 'to Prior's, the Rhenish Wine House.' See also Prior's *Selected Poems*, 1889, p. 207, where the question of the locality of the tavern in which Prior was employed is exhaustively treated by Mr. Austin Dobson. The old Rummer Tavern near Charing Cross was kept by one Samuel Prior in 1685. NICHOLS, Johnson's *Works*, viii. 1.]

[1] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 4.

[2] *Ante*, DORSET, 13.

[3] Burnet describes him as 'one Prior,' and continues:—'He had been taken a boy out of a tavern by the Earl of Dorset, who found him reading Horace, and he, being very generous, gave him an education in literature.' *History*, iv. 276.

'He probably was the Duke of Dorset's brother.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, ii. 160. 'There is no evidence to support this probability.' CUNNINGHAM. The Duke was the Earl's son.

'I scarce knew what life was,' writes Prior, 'sooner than I found myself obliged to his [the Earl's] favour.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 137.

He had been removed from school when he was in the third form. He was sent back, 'the Earl paying for his books and his uncle for his clothes,' until he became a King's scholar in 1681. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlvi. 397.

[4] Malone quotes the following from an unpublished MS. in Prior's writing:—'I felt this impulse [to write verses] very soon, and shall continue to feel it as long as I can think. I remember nothing farther in life than that I made verses. I chose Guy of Warwick for my first hero, and killed Colborn the Giant before I was big enough for Westminster. . . . I was bred in a College where prose was more in fashion than verse.' Malone's *Dryden*, i. 546.

[5] He obtained a scholarship on entering, and a fellowship (*post*, PRIOR, 40) in 1688. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlvi. 397–8.

[6] *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 145.

[7] [Lord Burghley founded in 1581 two exhibitions at St. John's College. A sermon in which the gift is to be declared is preached annually by a member of the College at Hatfield

written, which, though nothing is said of their success, seem to have recommended him to some notice; for his praise of the countess's musick[1] and his lines on the famous picture of Seneca[2] afford reason for imagining that he was more or less conversant with that family.

5 The same year he published *The City Mouse and Country Mouse*[3], to ridicule Dryden's *Hind and Panther*, in conjunction with Mr. Montague. There is a story of great pain suffered and of tears shed on this occasion by Dryden, who thought it hard that 'an old man should be so treated by those to whom he had always been civil.' By tales like these is the envy raised by superior abilities every day gratified: when they are attacked, every one hopes to see them humbled; what is hoped is readily believed, and what is believed is confidently told. Dryden had been more accustomed to hostilities than that such enemies should break his quiet, and if we can suppose him vexed it would be hard to deny him sense enough to conceal his uneasiness[4].

6 *The City Mouse and Country Mouse* procured its authors more solid advantages than the pleasure of fretting Dryden; for they were both speedily preferred. Montague, indeed, obtained the first notice[5], with some degree of discontent, as it seems, in Prior, who probably knew that his own part of the performance was the best[6]. He had not, however, much reason to complain; for he

and at Stamford. The preacher presents copies of Latin and Greek verses written by scholars. *Camb. Univ. Cal.* 1902–3, p. 821.]

[1] *To the Countess of Exeter playing on the Lute.* It contains the following couplet:—

'Some cherub finishes what you begun,
And to a miracle improves a tune.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 155.

[2] *On a Picture of Seneca dying in a Bath.* By Jordain [Jordaens]. At the Earl of Exeter's at Burleigh House. *Ib.* p. 156.

[3] *The Deity* was written in 1688, but *The City Mouse* in 1687. *Ante*, HALIFAX, 5. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 127, 288; Prior's *Poems*, 1733, iii. 169.

[4] 'This,' writes Malone, 'is not a traditional tale. Dr. Lockier related it to Spence. His words were:—"I have heard Dryden say:—'For two young fellows that I have always been very civil to, to use an old man in misfortunes in so cruel a manner!'—and he wept as he said it" [Spence's *Anec.* p. 61].' Malone's *Dryden*, i. 199. Dryden was fifty-seven years old in 1688.

In the MS. quoted above Prior writes:—'From the prospect of some little fortune to be made, and friendship to be cultivated with the great men, I did not launch much into satire, which, however agreeable for the present to the writers or encouragers of it, does in time do neither of them good.' *Ib.* i. 545.

[5] *Ante*, HALIFAX, 5.

[6] Prior ends his first *Epistle to Shephard* (*Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 161) as follows:—

'There's one thing more I had almost slipt, [script:
But that may do as well in post-
My friend Charles Montague's preferr'd;

came to London, and obtained such notice that (in 1691) he was sent to the Congress at the Hague as secretary to the embassy. In this assembly of princes and nobles, to which Europe has perhaps scarcely seen any thing equal, was formed the grand alliance against Lewis[1]; which at last did not produce effects proportionate to the magnificence of the transaction.

The conduct of Prior in this splendid initiation into public 7
business was so pleasing to king William, that he made him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber[2]; and he is supposed to have passed some of the next years in the quiet[3] cultivation of literature and poetry.

The death of queen Mary (in 1695) produced a subject for all 8
the writers: perhaps no funeral was ever so poetically attended. Dryden, indeed, as a man discountenanced and deprived, was silent; but scarcely any other maker of verses omitted to bring his tribute of tuneful sorrow[4]. An emulation of elegy was universal. Maria's praise was not confined to the English language, but fills a great part of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*[5].

Prior, who was both a poet and a courtier, was too diligent 9
to miss this opportunity of respect. He wrote a long ode, which was presented to the king, by whom it was not likely to be ever read[6].

In two years he was secretary to another embassy at the treaty 10
of Ryswick (in 1697)[7]; and next year had the same office at the

Nor would I have it long observ'd
That one mouse eats, while t'other's starv'd.'

[1] Macaulay's *Hist.* vi. 6.

[2] *Biog. Brit.* p. 3440.

[3] 'Quiet' is not in the first edition. Prior was at the Hague on April 2, N.S. 1694. *Cata. of MSS. in Record Office Museum*, p. 85. In *The Secretary* (1696) he describes himself as

'In a little Dutch chaise on a Saturday night;
On my left hand my Horace, a Nymph on my right.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 232.

In June 1697 he wrote from the Hague:—'The King has named me his secretary in Ireland.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 426; *post*, PRIOR, 44.

[In the third volume of Dryden's *Miscellany Poems*, 1693, are included six poems under Prior's name. Two more appear in the fourth volume, 1694. All these eight poems are included in *English Poets*.]

[4] It was lamented by Pomfret (*Eng. Poets*, xvii. 48); Stepney (*ib.* xvii. 193); Prior (*ib.* xxxii. 206); Congreve (*ib.* xxxiv. 131; *post*, CONGREVE, 13); Addison (*ante*, ADDISON, 14); A. Philips (*post*, PHILIPS, 1); and by Steele (H. R. Montgomery's *Steele*, i. 6).

[5] In the three volumes there are six elegies on Mary, eight on Anne, and eight on her son, the Duke of Gloucester.

[6] *Ante*, ADDISON, 17; *post*, BLACKMORE, 12; YALDEN, 4. 'Prior,' wrote Hughes in 1718, 'omitted this ode in the late edition of his poems.' *Hughes Corres.* i. 205.

[7] The treaty was signed on Sept. 11, 1697. 'A sloop was in waiting for Prior. He hastened on board,

court of France, where he is said to have been considered with great distinction.

11 As he was one day surveying the apartments at Versailles, being shewn the Victories of Lewis painted by Le Brun, and asked whether the king of England's palace had any such decorations, 'The monuments of my Master's actions,' said he, 'are to be seen everywhere but in his own house[1].' The pictures of Le Brun are not only in themselves sufficiently ostentatious, but were explained by inscriptions so arrogant, that Boileau and Racine thought it necessary to make them more simple[2].

12 He was in the following year at Loo[3] with the king, from whom, after a long audience, he carried orders to England, and upon his arrival became under-secretary of state in the earl of Jersey's office[4]; a post which he did not retain long, because Jersey was removed: but he was soon made commissioner of Trade[5].

13 This year (1700) produced one of his longest and most splendid

and on the third day... landed on the coast of Suffolk.... In the afternoon of the thirteenth of September some speculators in the City received by a private channel, certain intelligence that the treaty had been signed before dawn on the morning of the eleventh. ... On the next day Prior, with the treaty, presented himself before the Lords Justices at Whitehall.' Macaulay's *Hist.* vii. 437. 'Prior received from them a reward of 200 guineas.' NICHOLS, Johnson's *Works*, viii. 3.

[1] 'The French courtier asked Mr. Prior whether King William's actions were also to be seen in his palace. "No, Sir," replied the English Secretary, "the monuments, &c."' OLDMIXON, *Hist. of Eng.* 1735, 178.

[2] 'Les inscriptions doivent être simples, courtes, et familières. La pompe, ni la multitude des paroles n'y valent rien, et ne sont point propres au style grave, qui est le vrai style des inscriptions.... "Le passage du Rhin" dit beaucoup plus que "le merveilleux passage du Rhin."' BOILEAU, *Œuvres*, iii. 73.

[3] For Loo see Macaulay's *Hist.* ii. 440, and for the Second Treaty of Partition negotiated there in 1699 see *ib.* viii. 186.

[4] Prior wrote to Dorset from Paris in Dec. 1698:—'I am weary of this dancing on the high-rope in spangled breeches; and if my Lord Jersey be Secretary of State I'll endeavour to get home, and seat myself in a desk in his office.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 428.

In his *Carmen Seculare for the Year* 1700, he foretells that Jersey shall receive the Garter. Addressing Windsor he says:—

'Jersey shall at thy altars stand;
Shall there receive thy azure band.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 307.

In Collins's *Peerage* there is no mention of a Garter conferred on the Earl.

[5] In 1700. *Post*, PRIOR, 44.

Burke, speaking in 1780 on the clause in his Establishment Bill for abolishing the Board of Trade, exclaimed:—'Alas, poor clause! if it be thy fate to be put to death, thou shalt be gloriously entombed; thou shalt lie under a splendid mausoleum. The corners of thy cenotaph shall be supported by Locke, by Addison [*ante*, ADDISON, 25], by Prior, and by Molesworth.' *Parl. Hist.* xxi. 236. For Gibbon as a Lord of Trade see his *Memoirs*, pp. 207, 322.

compositions, the *Carmen Seculare*, in which he exhausts all his powers of celebration. I mean not to accuse him of flattery; he probably thought all that he writ, and retained as much veracity as can be properly exacted from a poet professedly encomiastick[1]. King William supplied copious materials for either verse or prose[2]. His whole life had been action, and none ever denied him the resplendent qualities of steady resolution and personal courage[3]. He was really in Prior's mind what he represents him in his verses; he considered him as a hero, and was accustomed to say that he praised others in compliance with the fashion, but that in celebrating king William he followed his inclination. To Prior gratitude would dictate praise, which reason would not refuse.

Among the advantages to arise from the future years of William's 14
reign, he mentions Societies for useful Arts, and among them

'Some that with care true eloquence shall teach,
And to just idioms fix our doubtful speech;
That from our writers distant realms may know
The thanks we to our monarch owe,
And schools profess our tongue through every land
That has invok'd his aid, or bless'd his hand[4].'

Tickell, in his *Prospect of Peace*, has the same hope of a new 15
academy:

'In happy chains our daring language bound,
Shall sport no more in arbitrary sound[5].'

Whether the similitude of those passages which exhibit the same thought on the same occasion proceeded from accident or imitation, is not easy to determine. Tickell might have been impressed with his expectation by Swift's *Proposal for ascertaining the English Language*, then lately published[6].

In the parliament that met in 1701 he was chosen representative 16
of East Grinstead[7]. Perhaps it was about this time that he changed his party[8]; for he voted for the impeachment of those

[1] *Post*, PRIOR, 58. In the last stanza but one he says (*Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 311):—
'Snatched from her arms, Britannia once must mourn
The Demi-God; the earthly half must die.'

[2] *Ante*, ROWE, 5; *post*, CONGREVE, 37.

[3] For Johnson's estimate of William see *ante*, ROWE, 5 *n.*

[4] *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 308.

[5] *Ib.* xxxix. 171.

[6] Twelve years later. *Post*, SWIFT, 40.

[7] Two new parliaments met in 1701. Prior was elected for the first only. *Parl. Hist.* v. 1228, 1324.

[8] *Post*, PRIOR, 45. The Earl of Jersey, under whom he had served (*ante*, PRIOR, 12), was 'a moderate Tory.' Macaulay's *Hist.* viii. 182.

lords who had persuaded the king to the Partition-treaty, a treaty in which he had himself been ministerially employed [1].

17 A great part of queen Anne's reign was a time of war, in which there was little employment for negotiators, and Prior had therefore leisure to make or to polish verses. When the battle of Blenheim called forth all the verse-men [2], Prior among the rest took care to shew his delight in the increasing honour of his country by an *Epistle to Boileau* [3].

18 He published soon afterwards a volume of poems [4], with the encomiastick character of his deceased patron the duke of Dorset [5]: it began with the *College Exercise* [6] and ended with the *Nut-brown Maid* [7].

19 The battle of Ramillies soon afterwards (in 1706) excited him to another effort of poetry [8]. On this occasion he had fewer or less formidable rivals; and it would be not easy to name any other composition produced by that event which is now remembered.

20 Every thing has its day. Through the reigns of William and Anne no prosperous event passed undignified by poetry. In the last war, when France was disgraced and overpowered in every quarter of the globe, when Spain, coming to her assistance, only shared her calamities, and the name of an Englishman was reverenced through Europe [9], no poet was heard amidst the

[1] *Ante*, HALIFAX, 9; ROWE, 20 *n.* For Sir James Montagu's explanation of his conduct see Mr. Austin Dobson's *Prior*, p. 217.

[2] *Ante*, J. PHILIPS, 5; ADDISON, 25, 130. Congreve also in his *Pindaric Ode* celebrated the victory. *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 286. Wesley's father was one of the verse-men, and was rewarded by Marlborough with 'a chaplain's place in one of the new regiments.' Hearne's *Remains*, i. 39. John Dennis was another, in his *Britannia Triumphans. Select Works*, 1718, i. 417. See also *post*, FENTON, 6.

[3] *A Letter to Monsieur Boileau Despreaux, occasion'd by the Victory at Blenheim*, 1704, *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 9; *post*, PRIOR, 58.

[4] An unauthorized version was published in 1707, and Prior's own edition in 1709. See Mr. Austin Dobson's *Prior*, p. 219.

[5] The Earl of Dorset, who died on Jan. 19, 1705-6. *Ante*, DORSET, 12. For the character see *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 125; *ante*, DORSET, 1. For Johnson's mistake about his title see *ante*, DRYDEN, 27; *post*, A. PHILIPS, 3.

[6] *Ante*, PRIOR, 4.

[7] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 28; *post*, POPE, 63.

[8] *An Ode to the Queen. Post*, PRIOR, 59; *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 68.

Prior, sending it to Sir Thomas Hanmer, wrote:—'Prose you see, Sir, is below me. I have left method for rage, and common sense for enthusiasm.' *Hanmer Corres.* p. 100.

[9] Gibbon says of his visit to Paris in 1763:—'The moment was happily chosen. At the close of a successful war the British name was respected on the Continent.

Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus.

Our opinions, our fashions, even

general acclamation: the fame of our counsellors and heroes was intrusted to the Gazetteer[1].

The nation in time grew weary of the war, and the queen grew 21
weary of her ministers. The war was burdensome, and the ministers were insolent. Harley and his friends began to hope that they might, by driving the Whigs from court and from power, gratify at once the queen and the people. There was now a call for writers, who might convey intelligence of past abuses, and shew the waste of publick money, the unreasonable *Conduct of the Allies*[2], the avarice of generals, the tyranny of minions, and the general danger of approaching ruin[3].

For this purpose a paper called *The Examiner* was periodically 22
published, written, as it happened, by any wit of the party[4], and sometimes, as is said, by Mrs. Manley. Some are owned by Swift[5]; and one, in ridicule of Garth's verses to Godolphin upon the loss of his place, was written by Prior, and answered by Addison, who appears to have known the author either by conjecture or intelligence[6].

our games, were adopted in France, a ray of national glory illuminated each individual, and every Englishman was supposed to be born a patriot and a philosopher.' *Memoirs*, p. 151.

[1] 'GAZETTEER. A writer of news. It was lately a term of the utmost infamy, being usually applied to wretches who were hired to vindicate the Court.' JOHNSON, *Dictionary*.

[2] Johnson, by the italics, refers to Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*. *Post*, SWIFT, 45.

[3] For the change of ministry see *ante*, PARNELL, 5.

[4] *Ante*, KING, 13; *post*, SWIFT, 39.

[5] Steele wrote in *The Guardian*, No. 53:—'It is nothing to me whether *The Examiner* writes against me in the character of an estranged friend [Swift], or an exasperated mistress [Mrs. Manley].' See *post*, SWIFT, 39.

Swift wrote of her on Jan. 28, 1711–12 (*Works*, ii. 467):—'She has very generous principles for one of her sort, and a great deal of good sense and invention.' Earlier in the month he and 'several hands' had written a gross ballad on her. *Ib.* ii. 447, xii. 289, and Swift's *Works*, 1803, x. 94 *n*. Jacob, in *The Poetical Register*, i. 167, says that 'she is now called the Atalantic Lady, from her inimitable *Atalantis*, being deservedly esteemed for her affability, wit and loyalty.' Pope mentions the book in *The Rape of the Lock*, iii. 165:—

'As long as *Atalantis* shall be read,
Or the small pillow grace a lady's bed.'

On which Warburton remarks in a note:—'A famous book written about that time [1711] by a woman; full of Court and party scandal, and in a loose effeminacy of style and sentiment, which well suited the debauched taste of the better vulgar.'

[6] *Ante*, GARTH, 12. Addison wrote (*Works*, iv. 371):—'In what follows there is such a shocking familiarity both in his railleries and civilities, that one cannot long be in doubt who is the author.'

On Feb. 9, 1710–11 Swift wrote (*Works*, ii. 168):—'Prior was like to be insulted in the street for being supposed the author of it [an *Examiner*].'

23 The Tories, who were now in power, were in haste to end the war, and Prior, being recalled (1710) to his former employment of making treaties, was sent (July 1711) privately to Paris with propositions of peace[1]. He was remembered at the French court[2]; and, returning in about a month, brought with him the Abbé Gaultier, and M. Mesnager, a minister from France, invested with full powers[3].

24 This transaction not being avowed, Mackay, the master of the Dover packet-boat, either zealously or officiously, seized Prior and his associates at Canterbury[4]. It is easily supposed that they were soon released.

25 The negotiation was begun at Prior's house, where the Queen's ministers met Mesnager (September 20, 1711), and entered privately upon the great business[5]. The importance of Prior appears from the mention made of him by St. John in his Letter to the Queen[6].

26 'My Lord Treasurer moved, and all my Lords were of the same opinion, that Mr. Prior should be added to those who are empowered to sign; the reason for which is, because he, having personally treated with Monsieur de Torcy[7], is the best witness we can produce of the sense in which the general preliminary

[1] *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. p. 4; Swift's *Works*, v. 73.

Swift wrote on Aug. 24, 1711:—'People confidently affirm Mr. Prior has been in France, and I half believe it.' For Swift's 'formal relation of Prior's journey, all pure invention,' of which 1,000 copies were sold in one day, see his *Works*, ii. 325, 335, 345, iv. 58.

[2] Prior's *Hist. of my Own Time*, p. 348.

[3] 'Sept. 28, 1711. I supped with Mr. Secretary and Prior, and two private ministers from France, and a French priest. I know not the two ministers' names; but they are come about the peace. The names the Secretary called them, I suppose, were feigned.' SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 361. The second minister was the Abbé Du Bois. See also *ib.* xv. 458. For Gaultier and Mesnager see *ib.* v. 61, 76.

[4] 'They were seized at Canterbury in their way to London by Mr. Macky, the Master of the Packet-Boats, who had got information of Mr. Prior's journey.' Prior's *History*, p. 348.

Swift wrote on Sept. 11 (*Works*, ii. 344):—'It seems he was discovered by a rascal at Dover, who had positive orders to let him pass.' See also *ib.* v. 76.

[5] Johnson's authority is Walpole's *Report from the Committee of Secrecy* appointed by the House of Commons to examine the negotiations for the Peace. *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. p. 105.

[6] Dated Sept. 20, 1711. *Ib.* p. 106. On Sept. 30 Swift wrote:—'Prior went away yesterday with his Frenchmen.... The Whigs are in a rage about the peace, but we'll wherret them, I warrant, boys.' *Works*, ii. 362.

[7] Colbert's nephew. 'Il joignit la dextérité à la probité, ne donna jamais de promesses qu'il ne tînt, fut aimé et respecté des étrangers.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xvii. 35. Macaulay calls him 'a minister of eminent ability.' *History*, viii. 103.

engagements are entered into: besides which, as he is the best versed in matters of trade of all your Majesty's servants who have been trusted in this [the] secret[1], if you shall think fit to employ him in the future treaty of commerce, it will be of consequence that he has been a party concerned in concluding that convention which must be the rule of this treaty[2].'

The assembly of this important night was in some degree 27
clandestine, the design of treating not being yet openly declared, and, when the Whigs returned to power, was aggravated to a charge of high treason[3]; though, as Prior remarks in his imperfect answer to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, no treaty ever was made without private interviews and preliminary discussions[4].

My business is not the history of the peace, but the life of Prior. 28
The conferences began at Utrecht on the first of January (1711-12), and the English plenipotentiaries arrived on the fifteenth[5]. The ministers of the different potentates conferred and conferred; but the peace advanced so slowly that speedier methods were found necessary, and Bolingbroke was sent to Paris to adjust differences with less formality[6]; Prior either accompanied him or followed him[7], and after his departure had the appointments and authority of an ambassador, though no publick character.

By some mistake of the Queen's orders the court of France 29
had been disgusted; and Bolingbroke says in his Letter,

'Dear Mat, hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets.'

[1] He had gained his experience as a Commissioner of Trade. *Ante*, PRIOR, 12. In January, 1711-12, he became a Commissioner of Customs. Swift's *Works*, ii. 471. On March 13 Swift wrote:—'Prior hates his Commission of the Customs, because it spoils his wit. He says he dreams of nothing but cockets and dockets and drawbacks and other jargon, words of the Custom House.' *Ib.* iii. 8.

For Bolingbroke's testimony to the knowledge of commerce possessed by Gibbon's grandfather, 'who sat at that Board with Prior,' see Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 16.

[2] The Queen wrote to Lord Oxford on Nov. 16, 1711:—'I doubt his birth will not entitle him to the character of Envoy.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 201.

[3] *Parl. Hist.* vii. 132.

[4] *Ib.* App. p. 226.

[5] *Ib.* App. pp. 12, 14.

[6] *Ib.* App. p. 51.

[7] 'Aug. 7, 1712. Lord Bolingbroke and Prior set out for France last Saturday. My Lord's business is to hasten the peace before the Dutch are too much mauled, and hinder France from carrying the jest of beating them too far.' SWIFT, *Works*, iii. 44. See also *ib.* v. 204; *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. p. 191.

The Peace of Utrecht 'was popularly known as "Matt's Peace."' *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlvi. 399.

30 Soon after the duke of Shrewsbury went on a formal embassy to Paris. It is related by Boyer that the intention was to have joined Prior in the same commission, but that Shrewsbury refused to be associated with a man so meanly born[1]. Prior therefore continued to act without a title till the duke returned next year to England, and then he assumed the style and dignity of ambassador.

31 But, while he continued in appearance a private man, he was treated with confidence by Lewis, who sent him with a letter to the Queen, written in favour of the elector of Bavaria. 'I shall expect,' says he, 'with impatience, the return of Mr. Prior, whose conduct is very agreeable to me[2].' And while the Duke of Shrewsbury was still at Paris, Bolingbroke wrote to Prior thus[3]:

'Monsieur de Torcy has a confidence in you; make use of it, once for all, upon this occasion, and convince him thoroughly, that we must give a different turn to our parliament and our people, according to their resolution at this crisis'

32 Prior's publick dignity and splendour commenced in August 1713, and continued till the August following; but I am afraid that, according to the usual fate of greatness, it was attended with some perplexities and mortifications. He had not all that

[1] It was not the Duke of whom this story was told, but the Earl of Strafford. Johnson misread Boyer's account (*History of Queen Anne*, p. 556, quoted in *Biog. Brit.* p. 3444). The *Biog. Brit.* adds:—'Prior was sent again on Aug. 1, 1712, to France. ... From the end of this month he had the appointments and authority of an ambassador, and, though he did not assume the public character till after the Duke's departure, yet the burthens of the embassy lay upon him.' It was in the embassy to Utrecht that Strafford refused to be associated with him. Swift wrote on Nov. 20, 1711:—'I hear Prior's commission is passed to be Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary for the peace; my Lord Privy Seal, who you know is Bishop of Bristol, is the other, and Lord Strafford, already Ambassador at the Hague, the third. Lord Strafford is as proud as Hell, and how he will bear one of Prior's mean birth on an equal character with him I know not.' *Works*, ii. 408. Later on Swift described him as 'infinitely proud and wholly illiterate.' *Ib.* ii. 483.

For the wish of the ministry to make Prior a plenipotentiary at Utrecht see *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. p. 106.

The Earl of Oxford was charged with sending 'Prior, an instrument and creature of his own,' into France, 'with the character of plenipotentiary.' *Ib.* vii. 118.

John Robinson, Bishop first of Bristol and then of London, was the last ecclesiastic in England to hold one of the offices of state.

For *Mr. Prior's Journal at the Court of France*, 'found among his papers in the handwriting of his secretary,' see Prior's *History*, p. 388, 389.

[2] The letter is dated Oct. 28, 1712 [N.S.]. *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. p. 198. With the same date [O.S.] Swift wrote:—'Prior is just come over from France for a few days.' *Works*, iii. 55.

[3] On Jan. 19, 1712-3. *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. p. 64.

is customarily given to ambassadors: he hints to the Queen, in an imperfect poem, that he had no service of plate[1]; and it appeared, by the debts which he contracted, that his remittances were not punctually made[2].

On the first of August, 1714, ensued the downfall of the Tories and the degradation of Prior[3]. He was recalled; but was not able to return, being detained by the debts which he had found it necessary to contract, and which were not discharged before March, though his old friend Montague was now at the head of the treasury[4]. 33

He returned then as soon as he could, and was welcomed on the 25th of March by a warrant[5], but was, however, suffered to live in his own house, under the custody of the messenger, till he was examined before a committee of the Privy Council, of which Mr. Walpole was chairman, and lord Coningsby, Mr. Stanhope, and Mr. Lechmere, were the principal interrogators[6]; who, in this examination, of which there is printed an account[7] not unentertaining, behaved with the boisterousness of men elated by recent authority. They are represented as asking questions sometimes vague, sometimes insidious, and writing answers different from those which they received. Prior, however, seems to have been overpowered by their turbulence; for he confesses that he signed what, if he had ever come before a legal judicature, he should have contradicted or explained away[8]. The oath was administered by Boscawen, a Middlesex justice, who at last was going to write his attestation on the wrong side of the paper[9]. 34

[1] '*An Epistle desiring the Queen's Picture*: written at Paris 1714; but left unfinished by the sudden news of her Majesty's death.' It begins:—

'The train of equipage and pomp of state,
The shining side-board and the burnish'd plate,
Let other ministers, great Anne, require,
And partial fall thy gift to their desire.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 103.

[2] Prior's *History*, p. 414; *Parl. Hist.* vii. 118.

[3] On this day Queen Anne died. Swift wrote many years later:—'I confess the Queen's death cured all ambition in me.' *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 250.

[4] Prior, in 1701, had voted for his impeachment (*ante*, PRIOR, 16); nevertheless Halifax supported his claim. Prior's *History*, p. 414.

[5] *Ib.* p. 416. It is likely that his debts were paid to bring him back to England, as it was hoped that by his evidence Lord Oxford would be convicted.

[6] It was before the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons that he was examined. He was confined in close custody on June 17, 1715. *Parl. Hist.* vii. 57, 68.

[7] Prior's *History*, &c., p. 417; *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. p. 221. It was written by Prior.

[8] *Ib.* p. 232.

[9] Hugh Boscawen, first Viscount Falmouth; father of the Admiral.

35 They were very industrious to find some charge against Oxford, and asked Prior with great earnestness who was present when the preliminary articles were talked of or signed at his house? He told them that either the earl of Oxford or the duke of Shrewsbury was absent, but he could not remember which[1]; an answer which perplexed them because it supplied no accusation against either.

'Could any thing be more absurd,' says he, 'or more inhuman, than to propose to me a question by the answering of which I might, according to them, prove myself a traitor? And notwithstanding their solemn promise that nothing which I could say should hurt myself, I had no reason to trust them: for they violated that promise about five hours after. However, I owned I was there present. Whether this was wisely done or no I leave to my friends to determine.'

36 When he had signed the paper he was told by Walpole that the committee were not satisfied with his behaviour, nor could give such an account of it to the Commons as might merit favour; and that they now thought a stricter confinement necessary than to his own house. 'Here,' says he, 'Boscawen played the moralist, and Coningsby the christian, but both very awkwardly.' The messenger, in whose custody he was to be placed, was then called, and very decently asked by Coningsby 'if his house was secured by bars and bolts?' The messenger answered, 'No,' with astonishment[2]; at which Coningsby very angrily said, 'Sir, you must secure this prisoner; it is for the safety of the nation: if he escape, you shall answer for it.'

37 They had already printed their report; and in this examination were endeavouring to find proofs.

38 He continued thus confined for some time; and Mr. Walpole (June 10, 1715) moved for an impeachment against him[3]. What

[1] 'He was just going to set his name on the left hand of the paper, where I was to have set mine; and if he had not been timely cautioned by the Chairman, it would have been the deposition of "Hugh Boscawen iurat coram me Matthew Prior."' *Parl. Hist.* vii. App. p. 232.

[1] *Ib.* p. 228.

[2] 'The messenger, who is by birth a gentleman, answered that he never had any in his custody but parliament prisoners.' *Ib.* p. 232. Prior introduces Coningsby into *Down Hall*:—

'And if with a garden and house I am blest,
Let the Devil and Coningsby go with the rest.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 20.

See also *ib.* p. 74 for a ballad on him entitled *The Viceroy*.

[3] This is stated in the Life of Prior prefixed to vol. iii of his *Poems*, 1733, p. 9, but is a mistake.

On June 10 Walpole impeached Bolingbroke, and Coningsby im-

made him so acrimonious does not appear: he was by nature no thirster for blood[1]. Prior was a week after committed to close custody, with orders that 'no person should be admitted to see him without leave from the Speaker[2].'

When, two years after, an Act of Grace was passed he was 89
excepted[3], and continued still in custody, which he had made less tedious by writing his *Alma*[4]. He was, however, soon after discharged.

He had now his liberty, but he had nothing else. Whatever 40
the profit of his employments might have been he had always spent it[5], and at the age of fifty-three was with all his abilities in danger of penury, having yet no solid revenue but from the fellowship of his college, which, when in his exaltation he was censured for retaining it, he said, he could live upon at last[6].

peached Oxford. *Parl. Hist.* vii. 66. Prior was arrested on June 9. *Ib.* p. 65.

He was examined on June 16, and committed to close custody the next day. *Ib.* p. 68. On Sept. 20 Walpole reported to the House that 'Mr. Prior did behave himself with such contempt of the authority of Parliament, and prevaricate in so gross a manner, as most justly to deserve the highest displeasure of the House.' *Ib.* p. 214.

The publication of Pope's *Iliad* was delayed by the Report; both were published by Lintot. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 541.

[1] 'My father could for ever wage war with knaves and malice, and preserve his temper; could know men, and yet feel for them; could smile when opposed, and be gentle after triumph.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, v. 509.

Hawkins says that 'Johnson honoured Walpole's memory for the goodness and placability of his temper.' *Life of Johnson*, p. 514. See also *post*, SAVAGE, 114 *n.*

[2] Prior, in *Down Hall*, describes himself this year as riding into Essex with a friend:—

'But what did they talk of from morning till noon?
Why of spots in the sun, and the man in the moon,
Of the Czar's gentle temper, the stocks in the City,
The Wise Men of Greece, and the Secret Committee.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 23.

[3] It was passed in July, 1717. Among those excepted was 'the Clan of Macgregor in Scotland.' Smollett's *Hist.* ii. 357; *post*, MALLET, 2.

[4] *Post*, PRIOR, 64 *n.*

[5] Lewis wrote to Swift on Jan. 12, 1716-7:—'Our friend Prior, not having had the vicissitude of human things before his eyes, is likely to end his days in as forlorn a state as any other poet has done before him, if his friends do not take more care of him than he did of himself.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 269.

[6] 'When all failed, that,' he said, 'would be bread and cheese.' Prior's *Poems*, 1779, Preface, p. 14. 'He lef the College books to the value of £200, and his picture by La Belle, a present to him from Lewis XIV.' *Ib. n.*

Shortly after his return to England from the Peace negotiations he called on the Master, 'who knew his own dignity too well to suffer a Fellow of his College to sit down in his presence. He kept his seat himself, and let the Queen's ambassador stand. Prior struck off an epigram, as he was walking from the College to the Rose, where we dined.' *Gent. Mag.* 1774, p. 16. For the epigram see *ib.* and *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 46.

41 Being, however, generally known and esteemed he was encouraged to add other poems to those which he had printed, and to publish them by subscription. The expedient succeeded by the industry of many friends, who circulated the proposals[1], and the care of some, who, it is said, withheld the money from him, lest he should squander it. The price of the volume was two guineas[2]; the whole collection was four thousand, to which lord Harley, the son of the earl of Oxford, to whom he had invariably adhered, added an equal sum for the purchase of Down-hall, which Prior was to enjoy during life, and Harley after his decease[3].

42 He had now, what wits and philosophers have often wished, the power of passing the day in contemplative tranquillity. But it seems that busy men seldom live long in a state of quiet. It is not unlikely that his health declined[4]. He complains of deafness; 'for,' says he, 'I took little care of my ears while I was not sure if my head was my own[5].'

43 Of any occurrences in his remaining life I have found no account. In a letter to Swift, 'I have,' says he, 'treated lady

[1] Swift obtained *many* subscriptions for him in Ireland. JOHNSON. See Swift's *Works*, xvi. 284–5, 289.

'There are no advertisements to be published,' wrote Lewis; 'for the whole matter is to be managed by friends in such a manner as shall be least shocking to the dignity of a plenipotentiary.' *Ib.* p. 270. Swift took five copies. Among the Whigs Steele and Garth subscribed, but not Addison. In the list are two dancing masters. See also *post*, POPE, 75 *n.*

[2] 'One guinea to be paid in hand, the other at the delivery of the book.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 269. In the Duchess of Grafton's accounts is entered under March, 1719:—'To Mr. Barber for Prior's *Poems*, £3. 0. 0.' *Hanmer Corres.* p. 241. She and the Dowager Duchess took three copies. Scott wrote, nearly ninety years ago:—'This splendid edition is usually sold at a very trifling price.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 270 *n.* 'It is a noble folio, and, I believe, the largest sized volume in the whole range of English poetry.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 213. It can still be had 'at a very trifling price.'

[3] Mr. Elwin, quoting Bolingbroke's letter to Swift of Jan. 1, 1721–2 (Swift's *Works*, xvi. 378), where Lord Harley is accused of having let 'our old acquaintance Matt live so poor as you represent him,' continues:—'Lord Harley's generosity is acknowledged with gratitude in Prior's will, and Prior did not "live poor." He had a house in town, a house in the country, and the run of the houses of Lord Harley, with whom he resided a large part of the year.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 193. Prior described Down Hall as 'a place where to bait 'twixt the Court and the grave.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 20. For an account of Down Hall see Mr. Austin Dobson's *Prior*, p. 230.

[4] Swift wrote of him on Feb. 21, 1710–11:—'Mr. Prior walks to make himself fat, and I to bring myself down; he has generally a cough which he only calls a cold.' Swift's *Works*, ii. 180.

[5] 'I did not take care of my ears till I knew if my head was my own or not.' *Ib.* xvi. 331.

Harriot at Cambridge. [Good God!] A Fellow of a College treat! and spoke verses to her in a gown and cap! What, the plenipotentiary, so far concerned in the damned peace at Utrecht! the man that makes up half the volume of terse prose, that makes up the report of the committee, speaking verses! *Sic est, homo sum*[1].'

He died at Wimpole[2], a seat of the earl of Oxford, on the 44
eighteenth of September, 1721[3], and was buried in Westminster; where on a monument, for which, as the 'last piece of human vanity[4],' he left five hundred pounds, is engraven this epitaph[5]:

Sui Temporis Historiam meditanti[6]
Paulatim obrepens Febris

[1] Swift's *Works*, xvi. 321. In *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 26, the lines are entitled *Verses spoken to the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley, Countess of Oxford. In the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. November* 9, 1719. 'Lady Harley, who was christened Henrietta, grew up with the name of Harriet.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 190. She said that 'Prior made himself beloved by every living thing in the house.' *Letters of M. W. Montagu*, i. 66. His verses to her have seven bad rhymes in the first nine couplets; but that would matter the less as 'the gods never made anybody less poetical than Lady Oxford.' *Ib.*

[2] On the road to Huntingdon, forty-six miles from London. 'It is,' wrote E. FitzGerald in 1839, 'a very noble old Queen Anne's building of red brick, looking down two miles of green sward as broad as itself, skirted on each side with fine elms.' *More Letters of FitzGerald*, p. 5.

[3] Swift wrote on Sept. 28:—'I am just now told from some newspapers that one of the King's enemies and my excellent friend, Mr. Prior, is dead; I pray God deliver me from many such trials. I am neither old nor philosopher enough to be indifferent at so great a loss.' *Works*, xvi. 370.

[4] Prior's own words. Prior's *Poems*, 1733, Preface, p. 24.

[5] For his will, in which 'this last piece of human vanity' is found, see his *Poems*, 1733, iii. Pref. 24. He desired Dr. Freind, Head Master of Westminster School (*ante*, JOHN PHILIPS, 8), to write his epitaph.

Atterbury wrote to Pope:—'I had not strength enough to attend Mr. Prior to his grave; else I would have done it, to have shown his friends that I had forgot and forgiven what he wrote on me. He is buried, as he desired, at the feet of Spenser; and I will take care to make good in every respect what I said to him; particularly as to the triplet he wrote for his own epitaph; which, while we were on good terms, I promised him should never appear on his tomb while I was Dean of Westminster.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 29.

For Prior's epigrams on Atterbury see *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 62, 63. The triplet, entitled *For My Own Tombstone*, is as follows:—

'To me 'twas given to die, to thee 'tis given
To live: alas! one moment sets us even.
Mark! how impartial is the will of Heaven!' *Ib.* xxxiii. 121.

'Gibbs received £100 apiece from Lord Oxford for the statues on Prior's monument, yet paid Rysbach [who sculptured them] but £35 each.' Walpole's *Anec. of Painting*, iv. 205.

[6] 'What a simple thing was it to say upon his tombstone that he was writing a history of his own times! He could not write in a style fit for history; and, I dare say, he never

Operi simul et Vitæ filum abrupit,
Sept. 18. An. Dom. 1721. Ætat. 57.
H. S. E.
Vir Eximius
Serenissimis
Regi GULIELMO Reginæque MARIÆ
In Congressione Fœderatorum
Hagæ anno 1690 celebrata,
Deinde Magnæ Britanniæ Legatis
Tum iis,
Qui anno 1697 Pacem RYSWICKI confecerunt,
Tum iis,
Qui apud Gallos annis proximis Legationem obierunt;
Eodem etiam anno 1697 in Hibernia
SECRETARIUS;
Nec non in utroque Honorabili consessu
Eorum,
Qui anno 1700 ordinandis Commercii negotiis[1],
Quique anno 1711 dirigendis Portorii rebus[2],
Præsidebant,
COMMISSIONARIUS;
Postremo
Ab ANNA
Felicissimæ memoriæ Reginâ
Ad LUDOVICUM XIV. Galliæ Regem
Missus anno 1711
De Pace stabilienda,
(Pace etiamnum durante
Diuque ut boni jam omnes sperant duratura)
Cum summa potestate Legatus.
MATTHÆUS PRIOR Armiger;
Qui
Hos omnes, quibus cumulatus est, Titulos
Humanitatis, Ingenii, Eruditionis laude
Superavit;
Cui enim nascenti faciles arriserant Musæ.
Hunc Puerum Schola hic Regia perpolivit;
Juvenem in Collegio Sancti Johannis
Cantabrigia optimis Scientiis instruxit;
Virum denique auxit; et perfecit
Multa cum viris Principibus consuetudo;

had set down a word toward any such thing.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 175. Out of *meditanti* Pope gets *writing*. In 1740 was published what professed to be this *History*. Dr. Warton, who had read some unpublished essays by Prior, says: —'If these pieces were published he would appear to be as good a prose writer as a poet.' Pope's *Works*, vi. 27.

[1] A Commissioner of Trade. *Ante*, PRIOR, 12. He was deprived of the office in 1707. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] A Commissioner of Customs.

Ita natus, ita institutus,
A Vatum Choro avelli nunquam potuit,
Sed solebat sæpe rerum Civilium gravitatem
Amœniorum Literarum Studiis condire:
Et cum omne adeo Poetices genus
Haud infeliciter tentaret,
Tum in Fabellis concinne lepideque texendis
Mirus Artifex
Neminem habuit parem.
Hæc liberalis animi oblectamenta;
Quam nullo Illi labore constiterint,
Facile ii perspexere, quibus usus est Amici;
Apud quos Urbanitatum et Leporum plenus
Cum ad rem, quæcunque forte inciderat,
Aptè variè copiosèque alluderet,
Interea nihil quæsitum, nihil vi expressum
Videbatur,
Sed omnia ultro effluere,
Et quasi jugi è fonte affatim exuberare,
Ita Suos tandem dubios reliquit,
Essetne in Scriptis, Poeta Elegantior,
An in Convictu, Comes Jucundior.

Of Prior, eminent as he was both by his abilities and station, very few memorials have been left by his contemporaries[1]; the account therefore must now be destitute of his private character and familiar practices. He lived at a time when the rage of party detected all which it was any man's interest to hide; and as little ill is heard of Prior it is certain that not much was known. He was not afraid of provoking censure; for when he forsook the Whigs, under whose patronage he first entered the world, he became a Tory so ardent and determinate that he did not willingly consort with men of different opinions[2]. He was one of the sixteen Tories who met weekly, and agreed to address each other by the title of *Brother*[3]; and seems to 45

[1] In *The Characters of the Court of Queen Anne* he is described as 'one of the best poets in England, but very factious in conversation; a thin, hollow-looked man.' *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.* Of this character Swift wrote: —'This is near the truth.' *Works*, xii. 235.

In *News from Parnassus*, *ib.* xiv. 126, Swift praises 'his wit and his breeding.'

[2] 'He turned from a strong Whig (which he had been when most with Lord Halifax) to a violent Tory; and did not care to converse with any Whigs after, any more than Rowe did with Tories.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 3. *Ante*, ROWE, 20; PRIOR, 16.

[3] Swift, in his *Journal to Stella*, thus describes the Club:—'June 21, 1711. In my absence they had erected a Club, and made me one. Our meetings are to be every Thursday; we are yet but twelve. The end of our Club is to advance con-

have adhered, not only by concurrence of political designs but by peculiar affection, to the earl of Oxford and his family. With how much confidence he was trusted has been already told [1].

46 He was, however, in Pope's opinion fit only to make verses, and less qualified for business than Addison himself [2]. This was surely said without consideration. Addison, exalted to a high place, was forced into degradation by the sense of his own incapacity; Prior, who was employed by men very capable of estimating his value, having been secretary to one embassy, had, when great abilities were again wanted, the same office another time, and was, after so much experience of his knowledge and dexterity, at last sent to transact a negotiation in the highest degree arduous and important; for which he was qualified, among other requisites, in the opinion of Bolingbroke, by his influence upon the French minister, and by skill in questions of commerce above other men [3].

47 Of his behaviour in the lighter parts of life, it is too late to get much intelligence. One of his answers to a boastful Frenchman has been related [4], and to an impertinent he made another equally proper. During his embassy he sat at the opera by a man, who in his rapture accompanied with his own voice the principal singer. Prior fell to railing at the performer with all the terms of reproach that he could collect, till the Frenchman, ceasing from his song, began to expostulate with him for his harsh censure of a man who was confessedly the ornament of the stage. 'I know

versation and friendship, and to reward deserving persons with our interest and recommendation. We take in none but men of wit or men of interest.' 'Aug. 22. Our society, you must know, are all brothers.'

'Jan. 7, 1711–12. I was this morning to give the Duke of Ormond notice of the honour done him to make him one of our society.'

'March 6, 1711–12. We are now in all nine lords and ten commoners. . . . We want but two to make up our number.' *Works*, ii. 280, 324, 449, 497; *post*, SWIFT, 38.

The number of the Brothers therefore was at least nineteen, not sixteen as Johnson says. The form of intimation of election to the Literary Club, drawn up by Gibbon, was perhaps copied from Swift. It runs: —'I have to intimate to you that you have had the honour of being elected a member of "The Club."' Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 313.

[1] *Ante*, PRIOR, 35.

[2] 'Lord Bathurst used to call Prior his verse-man and Lewis his prose-man. Prior, indeed, was nothing out of verse; and was less fit for business than even Addison, though he piqued himself much upon his talents for it.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 175. For Addison, see *ante*, ADDISON, 86, and for Lewis, *post*, GAY, 13.

Prior writes of himself in the verses entitled *For My own Monument* (*Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 122):—

'In public employments industrious and grave,
And alone with his friends, Lord, how merry was he!'

[3] *Ante*, PRIOR, 26, 31.

[4] *Ante*, PRIOR, 11.

all that,' says the ambassador, 'mais il chante si haut, que je ne sçaurois vous entendre.'

In a gay French company, where every one sung a little song 48
or stanza, of which the burden was *Bannissons la Mélancholie*, when it came to his turn to sing, after the performance of a young lady that sat next him, he produced these extemporary lines:

'Mais cette voix, et ces beaux yeux,
Font Cupidon trop dangereux,
Et je suis triste quand je crie
Bannissons la Mélancholie[1].'

Tradition represents him as willing to descend from the dignity 49
of the poet and the statesman to the low delights of mean company[2]. His Chloe[3] probably was sometimes ideal; but the woman with whom he cohabited was a despicable drab of the lowest species[4]. One of his wenches, perhaps Chloe, while he was

[1] 'From your charming voice and eyes
Cupid's darts more mischief borrow;
And my bosom heaves with sighs
Whilst I sing, let 's banish sorrow.'
MRS. PIOZZI, *Auto.* ii. 149.

[2] He would have scarcely ventured to descend so low from the dignity of the Provost of Eton, had he succeeded in being appointed. Addison wrote in 1706:—'I am told that Mr. Prior has been making an interest privately for the headship of Eton, in case Dr. Godolphin goes off in this removal of bishops.' Lucy Aikin's *Addison*, i. 192. For Waller's attempt to get the post see *ante*, WALLER, 77.

[3] 'Dick, I have seen you with delight
For Georgy make a paper kite;
And simple odes too many show ye
My servile complaisance to Chloe.'
PRIOR, *Alma*, iii. 465.

[4] Spence, [*Anec.* 49]. JOHNSON. Prior wrote to Hanmer in 1709:—'One of Cloe's scrawls fortifies my mind more against affliction than all Epictetus, with Simplicius's comments into the bargain.' *Hanmer Corres.* p. 120. In 1715 he wrote from Paris:—'Cloe's place being *quam diu bene se gesserit*, the Gypsy behaves herself so obstinately well that I am afraid she will hold it for life.' *Ib.* p. 173.

'Prior used to bury himself for whole days and nights together with a poor mean creature, and often drank hard. . . . Everybody knows what a wretch she was.' POPE. Spence adds in a note:—'This celebrated lady is now married to a cobbler at – –.' Spence's *Anec.* pp. 2, 49.

Arbuthnot wrote in 1721:—'Prior has had a narrow escape by dying; for if he had lived he had married a brimstone bitch, one Bessy Cox, that keeps an alehouse in Longacre. Her husband died about a month ago, and Prior has left his estate between his servant Jonathan [? Adrian] Drift and Bessy Cox. Lewis got drunk with punch with Bess last night.... Oct. 10. There is great care taken, now it is too late, to keep Prior's will secret; for it is thought not to be too reputable for Lord Harley to execute. . . . We are to have a bowl of punch at Bessy Cox's.' *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 1039. For Arbuthnot 'venerable for his piety' see *post*, POPE, 212.

'In two lines of *Solomon*, ii. 489, the poet seems to have an eye to his own case, where he makes the King say of his slave Abra:—
"Use made her person easy to my sight;
That ease insensibly produc'd delight."
Prior told his friends that he had

absent from his house, stole his plate, and ran away; as was related by a woman who had been his servant. Of this propensity to sordid converse I have seen an account so seriously ridiculous that it seems to deserve insertion [1].

50 'I have been assured that Prior, after having spent the evening with Oxford, Bolingbroke, Pope, and Swift [2], would go and smoke a pipe and drink a bottle of ale with a common soldier and his wife, in Long-Acre, before he went to bed; not from any remains of the lowness of his original, as one said, but, I suppose, that his faculties

'Strain'd to the height,
In that celestial colloquy sublime,
. . . . . .
Dazzled and spent, sunk down, and sought repair [3].'

51 Poor Prior! why was he so *strained* and in such *want* of *repair* after a conversation with men not, in the opinion of the world, much wiser than himself [4]? But such are the conceits of speculatists, who *strain* their *faculties* to find in a mine what lies upon the surface.

52 His opinions, so far as the means of judging are left us, seem to have been right; but his life was, it seems, irregular, negligent, and sensual [5].

been so long used to his mistress's humours that they were become familiar to him, and by that means tolerable.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 3446.

Johnson says of Pope's *Characters of Women*:—'Some of the female characters may be found, perhaps, more frequently among men; what he said of Philomedé was true of Prior.' *Post*, POPE, 368.

'So Philomedé, lecturing all mankind
On the soft passion and the taste refined,
The address, the delicacy—stoops at once,
And makes her hearty meal upon a dunce.' *Moral Essays*, ii. 83.

For Bolingbroke's endeavour to get a Christ Church studentship for Robert Prior, 'a relation, perhaps a natural son of the poet,' described by Prior as 'that snudging boy; his mother is very homely,' see Monk's *Bentley*, i. 355.

Prior wrote in his last will:—It has pleased Almighty God, for some years past, to bless me, his most unworthy creature, with a greater share of health than I could have expected from the tenderness of my native constitution or the fatigues and troubles of life which I have undergone.' Prior's *Poems*, 1733, iii. 23. He passes over the hard drinking in the alehouse.

[1] *Richardsoniana*, p. 274. JOHNSON.

[2] 'April 21, 1711. We dined today according to appointment, Lord-Keeper went away at near eight, I at eight, and I believe the rest will be fairly fuddled. . . . It will not do with Prior's lean carcase.' SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 234.

[3] *Paradise Lost*, viii. 454.

[4] According to Delany, Swift said that 'Prior would certainly be a very good companion if he were a fair one. But he leaves no elbow room for others.' *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks*, p. 202.

[5] *Post*, SAVAGE, 341; COLLINS, 10. 'I am even almost inclined to think with you that my great oracle Johnson did allow too much credit to good

PRIOR has written with great variety, and his variety has 53
made him popular. He has tried all styles, from the grotesque to the solemn, and has not so failed in any as to incur derision or disgrace.

His works may be distinctly considered as comprising Tales, 54
Love-verses, Occasional Poems, *Alma*, and *Solomon*.

His Tales have obtained general approbation[1], being written 55
with great familiarity and great spriteliness: the language is easy, but seldom gross, and the numbers smooth, without appearance of care. Of these Tales there are only four[2]: *The Ladle*[3], which is introduced by a Preface, neither necessary nor pleasing, neither grave nor merry; *Paulo Purganti*[4], which has likewise a Preface, but of more value than the Tale; *Hans Carvel*[5], not over-decent; and *Protogenes and Apelles*[6], an old story, mingled by an affectation not disagreeable, with modern images. The *Young Gentleman in Love* has hardly a just claim to the title of *A Tale*[7]. I know not whether he be the original author of any Tale which he has given us. The adventure of *Hans Carvel* has passed through many successions of merry wits; for it is to be found in Ariosto's *Satires*, and is perhaps yet older[8]. But the merit of such stories is the art of telling them.

principles without good practice.' BOSWELL, *Letters to Temple*, p. 327.

[1] Boswell told Johnson that Lord Hailes described Prior's *Tales* as 'those impure tales which will be the eternal opprobrium of their ingenious author. JOHNSON. . . . No, Sir, Prior is a lady's book. No lady is ashamed to have it standing in her library.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 192.

'Is not Prior,' wrote Scott, 'the most indecent of tale-tellers, not even excepting La Fontaine; and how often do we see his works in female hands! In fact, it is not passages of ludicrous indelicacy that corrupt the manners of a people.' Lockhart's *Scott*, ii. 283.

[2] Nichols hinted there were more. Johnson replied:—'*The Turtle and Sparrow* can be but a Fable. *The Conversation* I never read.' *Gent. Mag.* 1785, p. 9. Both are entitled *Tales*. *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 3, 31.

[3] *Ib.* xxxii. 278.

[4] *Ib.* p. 272; Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 192.

[5] *Eng. Poets*, p. 267.

[6] *Ib.* xxxiii. 116. For Horace Walpole's remarks on this poem in the Introduction to *Aedes Walpolianae* see Mr. Austin Dobson's *Prior*, p. 227.

[7] It is so entitled, *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 261.

[8] 'The invention of *Hans Carvel* is first due to Poggius [*post*, GAY, 31]. It is found in the 133rd of his *Facetiae*, entitled *Visio Francisci Philelphi*; hence Rabelais inserted it under another title in his third book (ch. 28); it was afterwards related in *The Hundred Novels*; Ariosto finishes his fifth Satire with it; Malespini also made use of it; Fontaine, who imagined Rabelais to be the inventor of it, was the sixth author who delivered it, as our Prior was the last.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 68.

Goldsmith says that by it 'Prior has got his greatest reputation.' *Works*, iii. 438. See also *N. & Q.* 4 S. iv. 346.

'I made my *Komische Erzählr-*

56 In his Amorous Effusions he is less happy; for they are not dictated by nature or by passion, and have neither gallantry nor tenderness. They have the coldness of Cowley without his wit [1]; the dull exercises of a skilful versifier resolved at all adventures to write something about Chloe, and trying to be amorous by dint of study. His fictions therefore are mythological. Venus, after the example of the Greek Epigram, asks when she was seen 'naked and bathing [2].' Then Cupid is '*mistaken* [3]'; then Cupid is '*disarmed* [4]'; then he loses his darts to Ganymede [5]; then Jupiter sends him a summons by Mercury [6]. Then Chloe goes a-hunting, with an 'ivory quiver graceful at [by] her side [7]'; Diana mistakes her for one of her nymphs [8], and Cupid laughs at the blunder. All this is surely despicable; and even when he tries to act the lover without the help of gods or goddesses his thoughts are unaffecting or remote [9]. He talks not 'like a man of this world [10].'

57 The greatest of all his amorous essays is *Henry and Emma* [11];

*ungen*,' said Wieland, 'in imitation of Prior.' H. C. Robinson's *Diary*, 1869, i. 216.

[1] *Ante*, COWLEY, 119. 'Mrs. Thrale disputed with Johnson on the merit of Prior. He attacked him powerfully; said he wrote of love like a man who had never felt it: his love verses were college verses; and he repeated the song "Alexis shunn'd his fellow swains," &c., in so ludicrous a manner, as to make us all wonder how any one could have been pleased with such fantastical stuff.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 78. The song quoted is *The Despairing Shepherd*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 172.

[2] *Venus Mistaken*, *ib.* p. 241. For Johnson's Latin translation of the Greek epigram from 'Brodaei edit. Bas. ann. 1549, p. 445,' see his *Works*, i. 186.

[3] *Cupid Mistaken*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 241.

[4] *Love Disarmed*, *ib.* p. 235.

[5] *Cupid and Ganymede*, *ib.* p. 238.

[6] *Mercury and Cupid*, *ib.* p. 249.

[7] *Cloe Hunting*, *ib.* p. 237.

[8] It is Apollo who mistakes her for Diana.

[9] 'When Prior wrote those deities were not so obsolete as now. . . . Tibullus, in reality, disbelieved their existence as much as we do; yet Tibullus is allowed to be the prince of all poetical inamoratos, though he mentions them in almost every page. There is a fashion in these things, which the Doctor seems to have forgotten.' COWPER, *Works*, iv. 169.

[10] 'Dear Cloe, how blubber'd is that pretty face!
Thy cheek all on fire, and thy hair all uncurl'd:
Prythee quit this caprice, and (as old Falstaff says)
Let us ev'n talk a little like folks of this world.'
PRIOR, *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 259.
'FALSTAFF. I pray thee now, deliver them like a man of this world.' 2 *Henry IV*, v. 3. 101.

[11] *Henry and Emma. A Poem upon the Model of the Nut-Brown Maid*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 41.
'Mr. Warton thinks Prior spoiled his original in his imitation. Mercy on us! What shall we come to in these halcyon days! *O for* "some gentle James," &c. [*The Dunciad*, iv. 175].' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, viii. 18.
Lamb, after quoting from *The Nut-Brown Maid*:—
'Now understand to Westmoreland,
*Which is my heritage*,
I will you bring, and with a ring,
By way of marriage,
I will you take and lady make,'

a dull and tedious dialogue, which excites neither esteem for the man nor tenderness for the woman. The example of Emma, who resolves to follow an outlawed murderer wherever fear and guilt shall drive him, deserves no imitation; and the experiment by which Henry tries the lady's constancy is such as must end either in infamy to her, or in disappointment to himself[1].

His occasional poems necessarily lost part of their value, as 58
their occasions, being less remembered, raised less emotion. Some of them, however, are preserved by their inherent excellence. The burlesque of Boileau's *Ode on Namur*[2] has, in some parts, such airiness and levity as will always procure it readers, even among those who cannot compare it with the original. The *Epistle to Boileau* is not so happy[3]. The Poems to the King[4] are now perused only by young students, who read merely that they may learn to write; and of the *Carmen Seculare*[5] I cannot but suspect that I might praise or censure it by caprice without danger of detection; for who can be supposed to have laboured through it? Yet the time has been when this neglected work was so popular that it was translated into Latin by no common master[6].

continues:—'Turn we to the version of it, ten times diluted, of dear Mat Prior—in his own way unequalled, and a poet now-a-days too much neglected. "In me," quoth Henry, addressing the astounded Emma—with a flourish and an attitude, as we may conceive,—

"In me behold the potent Edgar's heir,
Illustrious earl! him terrible in war
Let Loire confess."

[*Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 63.]' *Mrs. Leicester's School and Other Writings*, 1885, p. 355. The poem contains the well-known line,

'Fine by degrees and beautifully less.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 56.

[1] 'There are few readers of poetry of either sex in this country who cannot remember how that enchanting piece has bewitched them, who do not know that, instead of finding it tedious, they have been so delighted with the romantic turn of it as to have overlooked all its defects, and to have given it a consecrated place in their memories, without ever feeling it a burthen.' COWPER, *Works*, iv. 170.

[2] Both the French and the English Odes are given in *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 214. See also *post*, YALDEN, 4, and Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 204, for Prior's letter to Tonson about printing them.

[3] *Ante*, PRIOR, 17; *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 9.

'Ce même Prior fit un petit poëme sur la fameuse bataille d'Hochstedt [Blenheim]. Cela ne vaut pas son *Histoire de l'âme*; il n'y a de bon que cette apostrophe à Boileau:

"Satirique flatteur, toi qui pris tant de peine,
Pour chanter que Louis n'a point passé le Rhin."

[When thy young Muse invoked the tuneful Nine,
To say how Louis did not pass the Rhine. *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 10].'

VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 126.

[4] *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 206, 229, 291; *ante*, PRIOR, 9, 13.

[5] *Ante*, PRIOR, 13.

[6] Prior, in the Preface to his *Poems*, ed. 1718, thanks 'his good friend and school-fellow, Mr. Dibben, for this excellent version.'

59 His poem on the battle of Ramillies [1] is necessarily tedious by the form of the stanza: an uniform mass of ten lines, thirty-five times repeated, inconsequential and slightly connected, must weary both the ear and the understanding. His imitation of Spenser, which consists principally in *I ween* and *I weet*, without exclusion of later modes of speech, makes his poem neither ancient nor modern [2]. His mention of Mars and Bellona [3], and his comparison of Marlborough to the Eagle that bears the thunder of Jupiter [4], are all puerile and unaffecting; and yet more despicable is the long tale told by Lewis in his despair of Brute and Troynovante, and the teeth of Cadmus [5], with his similes of the raven and eagle, and wolf and lion [6]. By the help of such easy fictions and vulgar topicks, without acquaintance with life and without knowledge of art or nature, a poem of any length, cold and lifeless like this, may be easily written on any subject [7].

60 In his Epilogues to *Phædra* [8] and to *Lucius* [9] he is very happily facetious; but in the *Prologue before the Queen* [10], the pedant has found his way, with Minerva, Perseus, and Andromeda.

61 His Epigrams and lighter pieces are, like those of others, sometimes elegant, sometimes trifling, and sometimes dull; among the best are *The Camelion* [11] and the epitaph on *John and Joan* [12].

62 Scarcely any one of our poets has written so much and trans-

[1] *An Ode to the Queen*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 68. *Ante*, PRIOR, 19.

[2] 'I have retained some few of his obsolete words to make the colouring look more like Spenser's.' PRIOR, *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 69.

Johnson says of these imitators:—'The laws of imitation are broken by every word introduced since the time of Spenser.' *The Rambler*, No. 121. See also *post*, COLLINS, 17.

'It is rather singular that the Spenserian imitations in the eighteenth century should have been started by an Augustan of the Augustans—Matthew Prior. . . . This *Ode* is an extremely important poem, being the prototype of many of the Spenserian imitations that followed.' PHELPS, *The English Romantic Movement*, p. 49.

[3] Stanzas xv, xvii.

[4] Stanza v.

[5] Stanzas xxii–xxvi.

[6] Stanza xxi; *post*, PRIOR, 75.

[7] *Post*, GRAY, 34.

[8] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 92; *ante*, SMITH, 46; *post*, A. PHILIPS, 8.

[9] A play by Mrs. Manley. *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 94.

[10] *Ib.* xxxiii. 7.

[11] *Ib.* xxxiii. 19. Johnson in his *Dictionary* writes *Chameleon*. In the *Eng. Poets* it is *Cameleon*, and in Johnson's *Works*, 1826, viii. 17, *Chamelion*. He once quoted the poem. 'Lord Mansfield,' he said, 'when he first came to town, "drank champagne with the wits," as Prior says.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 158.

'But if at first he minds his hits,
And drinks champagne among the wits,' &c. *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 21.

[12] 'Interr'd beneath this marble stone
Lie sauntering Jack and idle Joan.'
*Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 99.

According to Lord Hailes Prior borrowed the poem 'from Gombauld, in *Recueil des Poètes*, iii. 25.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 396.

lated so little: the version of Callimachus is sufficiently licentious [1]; the paraphrase on St. Paul's Exhortation to Charity [2] is eminently beautiful.

*Alma* is written in professed imitation of *Hudibras* [3], and has 63
at least one accidental resemblance: *Hudibras* wants a plan, because it is left imperfect; *Alma* is imperfect, because it seems never to have had a plan. Prior appears not to have proposed to himself any drift or design, but to have written the casual dictates of the present moment [4].

What Horace said when he imitated Lucilius might be said of 64
Butler by Prior, his numbers were not smooth or neat [5]; Prior excelled him in versification, but he was, like Horace, 'inventore minor [6]': he had not Butler's exuberance of matter and variety of illustration. The spangles of wit which he could afford he knew how to polish; but he wanted the bullion of his master. Butler pours out a negligent profusion, certain of the weight, but careless of the stamp. Prior has comparatively little, but with that little he makes a fine shew. *Alma* has many admirers, and was the only piece among Prior's works of which Pope said that he should wish to be the author [7].

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 125, 130. *Licentious* is here used in the sense of 'too free a translation.'

[2] *Ib.* xxxiii. 135.

[3] *Ante*, PRIOR, 39. 'What suggested to Johnson the thought that the *Alma* was written in imitation of *Hudibras* I cannot conceive. In former years they were both favourites of mine, and I often read them; but never saw in them the least resemblance to each other; nor do I now, except that they are composed in verse of the same measure.' COWPER, *Works*, v. 13.

Prior, in the opening of Canto ii, after praising Butler, continues:—

'But like poor Andrew I advance,
False mimic of my master's dance,
Around the cord awhile I sprawl,
And thence, though low, in earnest fall.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 158.

Of *Alma* Goldsmith wrote (*Works*, iii. 439):—'There are some parts of it very fine; and let them save the badness of the rest.'

[4] Lord Bathurst told Hume that 'he was with Prior reading the pieces' for the subscription volume (*ante*, PRIOR, 41). 'He asked him if he had no more poems. He said, No more that he thought good enough. "What is that?" said Bathurst, pointing to a roll of paper. "A trifle," said Prior, "that I wrote in three weeks, not worthy of your attention." It was *Alma*.' Burton's *Hume*, ii. 501.

'In some MSS. of Prior,' writes Dr. Warton, 'he says he took the idea of his *Alma* from a Spanish writer, who describes the progress of the soul from the toes to the head.' Pope's *Works*, 1822, vi. 135.

[5] HORACE, *Sat.* i. 4 and 10.

[6] *Ib.* x. 48. 'Though far inferior to the inventor's fame.' FRANCIS. See *ante*, BUTLER, 51 *n.*

[7] Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 482. Ruffhead adds:—'Prior asking Pope how he liked his *Solomon*, he replied:—"Your *Alma* is a master-piece." The other with great impatience replied:—"What do you tell me of my *Alma*, a loose and hasty scribble, to relieve the tedious hours of my im-

65 *Solomon* is the work to which he entrusted the protection of his name, and which he expected succeeding ages to regard with veneration [1]. His affection was natural; it had undoubtedly been written with great labour, and who is willing to think that he has been labouring in vain? He had infused into it much knowledge and much thought; had often polished it to elegance, often dignified it with splendour, and sometimes heightened it to sublimity: he perceived in it many excellences, and did not discover that it wanted that without which all others are of small avail, the power of engaging attention and alluring curiosity.

66 Tediousness is the most fatal of all faults; negligences or errors are single and local, but tediousness pervades the whole: other faults are censured and forgotten, but the power of tediousness propagates itself. He that is weary the first hour is more weary the second; as bodies forced into motion, contrary to their tendency, pass more and more slowly through every successive interval of space.

67 Unhappily this pernicious failure is that which an author is least able to discover. We are seldom tiresome to ourselves; and the act of composition fills and delights the mind with change of language and succession of images: every couplet when produced is new, and novelty is the great source of pleasure. Perhaps no man ever thought a line superfluous when he first wrote it, or contracted his work till his ebullitions of invention had subsided. And even if he should controul his desire of immediate renown, and keep his work *nine years* unpublished [2], he will be still the

prisonment, whilst in the messenger's hand?"' See *ante*, PRIOR, 33, 39.

'C'est de Prior qu'est l'*Histoire de l'âme*: cette histoire est la plus naturelle qu'on ait faite jusqu'à présent de cet être si bien senti et si mal connu.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 125. See also *ib.* xxxiv. 262.

[1] In the Preface he says that he never designed to have the poem printed in his life-time. Publication was forced on him by friends 'of the first quality, finest learning and greatest understanding.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 208.

He makes Solomon say:—

'Your very fear of death shall make you try
To catch the shade of immortality.
. . . . . .
A fancied kind of being to retrieve,
And in a book or from a building live.' Bk. iii. l. 257.

'*Solomon* is in my mind the best poem, whether we consider the subject of it or the execution, that Prior ever wrote.' COWPER, *Works*, iv. 169.

For its translation into Latin verse see *post*, POPE, 195.

[2] Prior says of *Solomon*:—'I have in a literal sense observed Horace's "Nonum prematur in annum" [*Ars Poet.* l. 388].' *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 208.

'And drop at last, but in unwilling ears,
This saving counsel, "Keep your piece nine years."'
POPE, *Prol. Sat.* l. 39.

author, and still in danger of deceiving himself; and if he consults his friends, he will probably find men who have more kindness than judgement, or more fear to offend than desire to instruct.

The tediousness of this poem proceeds not from the uniformity 68
of the subject, for it is sufficiently diversified, but from the continued tenour of the narration; in which Solomon relates the successive vicissitudes of his own mind, without the intervention of any other speaker or the mention of any other agent, unless it be Abra[1]: the reader is only to learn what he thought, and to be told that he thought wrong. The event of every experiment is foreseen, and therefore the process is not much regarded[2].

Yet the work is far from deserving to be neglected. He that 69
shall peruse it will be able to mark many passages, to which he may recur for instruction or delight: many from which the poet may learn to write, and the philosopher to reason[3].

If Prior's poetry be generally considered his praise will be that 70
of correctness[4] and industry, rather than of compass of comprehension or activity of fancy. He never made any effort of invention: his greater pieces are only tissues of common thoughts[5]; and his smaller, which consist of light images or single conceits, are not always his own. I have traced him among the French Epigrammatists, and have been informed that he poached for prey among obscure authors[6]. *The Thief and the Cordelier*[7] is, I suppose, generally considered as an original production; with how much justice this Epigram may tell, which was written by

[1] 'Abra was ready ere I called her name,
And though I called another, Abra came.' Bk. ii. l. 362.

[2] Voltaire says of Prior:—'Notre plénipotentiaire finit par paraphraser en quinze cents vers ces mots attribués à Salomon, que *Tout est vanité*. On en pourrait faire quinze mille sur ce sujet; mais malheur à qui dit tout ce qu'il peut dire.' *Œuvres*, xxiv. 126.

Gibbon describes *Solomon* as 'a verbose but eloquent poem.' *The Decline and Fall*, vi. 26 *n.*

[3] Hannah More wrote in 1822:—'I am now reading *Solomon*, an exquisite poem, abounding in instruction and beauty; yet scarcely any body I meet with has read it.' She adds:—'I have never once heard it quoted.' More's *Memoirs*, iv. 145, 170.

Tyers quotes it twice in his *Sketch of Dr. Johnson, John. Misc.* ii. 361, 376. The line, 'For hope is but the dream of those that wake' (bk. iii. l. 102) perhaps survives.

[4] *Ante*, ROSCOMMON, 24; ADDISON, 157; *post*, POPE, 30.

[5] In the first edition, 'his greater pieces were all tissues of sentiment.'

[6] 'Prior was the first who adopted the French elegant easy manner of telling a story; but if what he has borrowed from that nation be taken from him, scarce anything will be left upon which he can lay claim to applause in poetry.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 432.

[7] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 96.

Georgius Sabinus[1], a poet now little known or read, though once the friend of Luther and Melancthon:

*De Sacerdote Furem consolante.*

'Quidam sacrificus, furem comitatus cuntem
Huc ubi dat sontes carnificina neci,
Ne sis mœstus, ait; summi conviva Tonantis
Jam cum cœlitibus (si modo credis) eris.
Ille gemens, si vera mihi solatia præbes,
Hospes apud superos sis meus oro, refert.
Sacrificus contra; mihi non convivia fas est
Ducere, jejunans hac edo luce nihil[2].'

71 What he has valuable he owes to his diligence and his judgement. His diligence has justly placed him amongst the most correct of the English poets; and he was one of the first that resolutely endeavoured at correctness. He never sacrifices accuracy to haste, nor indulges himself in contemptuous negligence or impatient idleness: he has no careless lines or entangled sentiments; his words are nicely selected, and his thoughts fully expanded. If this part of his character suffers any abatement, it must be from the disproportion of his rhymes, which have not always sufficient consonance[3], and from the admission of broken lines into his *Solomon*; but perhaps he thought, like Cowley, that hemistichs ought to be admitted into heroick poetry[4].

72 He had apparently such rectitude of judgement as secured him from every thing that approached to the ridiculous or absurd[5]; but as laws operate in civil agency not to the excitement of virtue, but the repression of wickedness, so judgement in the operations of intellect can hinder faults, but not produce excellence. Prior is never low, nor very often sublime. It is said by Longinus of Euripides that he forces himself sometimes into grandeur by violence of effort, as the lion kindles his fury by the lashes of his

[1] It is included in his *Epigrammata* in the edition of his *Poemata*, 1558.

[2] Hawkins quotes from John Owen's *Epigrammata*, one entitled *De Bardella, latrone Mantuano*, 'which evidently supplied Prior with a hint.' Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 151.

[3] He is Cockney enough to make *trust* rhyme with *first*, *Alma*, ii. 129.

[4] *Ante*, COWLEY, 198; *post*, YOUNG, 167.

[5] He makes Solomon tell how,
'A thousand artists show their cunning power,
To raise the wonders of the ivory tower.
. . . . . .
Till India's woods return their just complaint,
Their brood decayed, and want of Elephant.' Bk. ii. l. 39.

own tail[1]. Whatever Prior obtains above mediocrity seems the effort of struggle and of toil[2]. He has many vigorous but few happy lines; he has every thing by purchase, and nothing by gift; he had no 'nightly visitations[3]' of the Muse, no infusions of sentiment or felicities of fancy.

His diction, however, is more his own than that of any among 73
the successors of Dryden: he borrows no lucky turns or commodious modes of language from his predecessors. His phrases are original, but they are sometimes harsh; as he inherited no elegances, none has he bequeathed. His expression has every mark of laborious study; the line seldom seems to have been formed at once; the words did not come till they were called, and were then put by constraint into their places, where they do their duty, but do it sullenly. In his greater compositions there may be found more rigid stateliness than graceful dignity.

Of versification he was not negligent; what he received from 74
Dryden he did not lose; neither did he increase the difficulty of writing by unnecessary severity, but uses triplets and alexandrines without scruple[4]. In his preface to *Solomon* he proposes some improvements, by extending the sense from one couplet to another, with variety of pauses[5]. This he has attempted, but without success; his interrupted lines are unpleasing, and his sense as less distinct is less striking[6].

He has altered the stanza of Spenser, as a house is altered by 75
building another in its place of a different form. With how little resemblance he has formed his new stanza to that of his master, these specimens will shew.

SPENSER.

'She, flying fast from heaven's hated face,
And from the world that her discover'd wide,
Fled to the wasteful wilderness apace,
From living eyes her open shame to hide,
And lurk'd in rocks and caves long unespy'd.
But that fair crew of knights, and Una fair,

[1] [*De Subl.* xv.]

[2] Johnson says of Gray's *Odes*:—'The mind of the writer seems to work with unnatural violence. "Double, double, toil and trouble."' *Post*, GRAY, 48.

[3] *Paradise Lost*, ix. 22.

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 348.

[5] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 206.

[6] 'For improving this measure [the couplet] too much has been ascribed to Waller [*ante*, WALLER, 142], and not enough to Prior. From Prior Pope adopted some of the most conspicuous artifices of his verse.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, Preface, p. 29.

Did in that castle afterwards abide,
To rest themselves, and weary powers repair,
Where store they found of all that dainty was and rare[1].'

PRIOR.

'To the close rock the frighted raven flies,
Soon as the rising eagle cuts the air;
The shaggy wolf unseen and trembling lies,
When the hoarse roar proclaims the lion near.
Ill-starr'd did we our forts and lines forsake,
To dare our British foes to open fight:
Our conquest we by stratagem should make:
Our triumph had been founded in our flight.
'Tis ours, by craft and by surprise to gain:
'Tis theirs, to meet in arms, and battle in the plain[2].'

76 By this new structure of his lines he has avoided difficulties, nor am I sure that he has lost any of the power of pleasing; but he no longer imitates Spenser[3].

77 Some of his poems are written without regularity of measures, for when he commenced poet we had not recovered from our Pindarick infatuation[4]; but he probably lived to be convinced that the essence of verse is order and consonance[5].

78 His numbers are such as mere diligence may attain; they seldom offend the ear, and seldom sooth it; they commonly want airiness, lightness, and facility; what is smooth is not soft. His verses always roll, but they seldom flow[6].

79 A survey of the life and writings of Prior may exemplify

[1] *Faerie Queene*, bk. i, canto 8, last stanza.

[2] *Ode to the Queen*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxiii. 79. *Ante*, PRIOR, 59.

[3] 'Prior seems to have been the originator of this pseudo-Spenserian stanza.' PHELPS, *English Romantic Movement*, p. 50.

In a note by James Boswell, jun., in Johnson's *Works*, viii. 21, it is stated that 'this stanza, excepting the alexandrine close, is to be found in Churchyard's *Worthines of Wales*. See his introduction for Brecknockshire.' *The Worthines of Wales* was published in 1587.

[4] *Ante*, COWLEY, 143; *post*, CONGREVE, 44.

[5] Prior, in a Postscript added ten years later than the Preface, says:—'Odes once printed cannot well be altered, when the author has already said that he expects his works should live for ever.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 141.

[6] 'Prior's seem to me amongst the easiest, the richest, the most charmingly humorous of English lyrical poems.' THACKERAY, *English Humourists*, ed. Phelps, p. 152. Thackeray adds that 'in reading his works one is struck with their modern air.' He proceeds to quote two verses, professedly taken from *Lines to the Hon. Charles Montagu* (version of 1692, quoted in *Eng. Poets*, xxxii. 176), but ingeniously turned into the metre of *In Memoriam*; and adds:—'Would you not fancy that a poet of our own days was singing?'

a sentence which he doubtless understood well, when he read Horace at his uncle's [1]: 'the vessel long retains the scent which it first receives [2].' In his private relaxation he revived the tavern, and in his amorous pedantry he exhibited the college. But on higher occasions and nobler subjects, when habit was overpowered by the necessity of reflection, he wanted not wisdom as a statesman, nor elegance as a poet [3].

[1] *Ante*, PRIOR, 2.

[2] 'Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.'
HORACE, *Epis.* i. 2. 69.

[3] 'Prior's reputation as an author who, with much labour indeed, but with admirable success, has embellished all his poems with the most charming ease, stood unshaken till Johnson thrust his head against it.... Every man conversant with verse-writing knows, and knows by painful experience, that the familiar style is of all styles the most difficult to succeed in. To make verse speak the language of prose without being prosaic,... is one of the most arduous tasks a poet can undertake. He that could accomplish this task was Prior.' COWPER, *Works*, iv. 175.

Spence reports Harte as saying:—'There are but three poets who have any constant great run of popularity now, Pope, Prior and Addison.' *Anec.* p. 339. When this was said there is nothing to show. Harte outlived Spence by six years, who died in 1768. For Harte see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 120, iv. 78.

# CONGREVE[1]

1 WILLIAM CONGREVE descended from a family in Staffordshire, of so great antiquity that it claims a place among the few that extend their line beyond the Norman Conquest; and was the son of William Congreve, second son of Richard Congreve, of Congreve and Stratton[2]. He visited, once at least, the residence of his ancestors; and, I believe, more places than one are still shewn in groves and gardens where he is related to have written his *Old Batchelor*[3].

2 Neither the time nor place of his birth is certainly known: if the inscription upon his monument be true he was born in 1672. For the place, it was said by himself that he owed his nativity to England, and by every body else that he was born in Ireland. Southern mentioned him with sharp censure, as a man that meanly disowned his native country[4]. The biographers assign his nativity to Bardsa, near Leeds in Yorkshire, from the account given by himself, as they suppose, to Jacob[5].

[1] Johnson wrote to Mrs. Thrale on May 25, 1780: 'Congreve, whom I despatched at the Borough while I was attending the election, is one of the best of the little lives; but then I had your conversation.' *John. Letters*, ii. 160. It was written in the house attached to the brewery now known as Barclay and Perkins'. Thrale, whose election he was attending, lost his seat. *Ib.* p. 203.

[2] More commonly known as Stretton.

[3] At Ilam, near Ashbourne, Johnson and Boswell were shown 'a rocky steep with recesses under projections of rock, overshadowed with trees, in one of which recesses,' writes Boswell, 'we were told Congreve wrote his *Old Bachelor*.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 187.

Leigh Hunt quotes an undated letter written by Congreve at Ilam,* in which he says:—'I am now writing to you from before a black mountain nodding over me, and a whole river in cascade falling so near me that even I can distinctly see it.' *Dramatic Works of Wycherley*, &c., Preface, p. 44.

Hunt wrote in 1840:—'An oak is still shown at Stratton, on a lawn, under which part of *The Old Bachelor* is said to have been written.' *Ib.* p. 22. See also *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, ii. 326.

[4] 'Johnson,' writes Malone, 'probably got this from the information of John, Earl of Orrery [*post*, FENTON, 19], with whom Southerne lived much in his latter days.' Malone's *Dryden*, i. 227.

[5] *Memoirs of Congreve*, by Charles Wilson, 1730, p. 1.

Giles Jacob, in the Preface to *The Poetical Register*, published nine years before Congreve's death, thanks him 'for his communication of what relates to himself.' The statement about his birthplace (*ib.* i. 41) is confirmed by the following entry in Malone's *Dryden*, i. 225:—"William, the sonne of Mr. William Congreve,

* Hunt writes Ham by mistake.

To doubt whether a man of eminence has told the truth about 3
his own birth is, in appearance, to be very deficient in candour; yet nobody can live long without knowing that falsehoods of convenience or vanity, falsehoods from which no evil immediately visible ensues, except the general degradation of human testimony, are very lightly uttered, and once uttered are sullenly supported [1]. Boileau, who desired to be thought a rigorous and steady moralist, having told a petty lie to Lewis XIV. continued it afterwards by false dates; thinking himself obliged 'in honour,' says his admirer, to maintain what, when he said it, was so well received [2].

Wherever Congreve was born he was educated first at Kilkenny [3], 4
and afterwards at Dublin [4], his father having some military employment that stationed him in Ireland [5]: but after having passed through the usual preparatory studies, as may be reasonably supposed with great celerity and success, his father thought it proper to assign him a profession, by which something might be gotten; and about the time of the Revolution sent him, at the age of sixteen [6], to study law in the Middle Temple, where he lived for several years, but with very little attention to Statutes or Reports.

His disposition to become an author appeared very early, as 5
he very early felt that force of imagination and possessed that copiousness of sentiment by which intellectual pleasure can be

of Bardsey Grange, was baptised Febru. 10th, 1669[-70]." Register of the parish of Bardsey or Bardsa, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.' 'Bardsa,' Jacob says, 'was a part of the estate of Sir John Lewis, his great-uncle by his mother's side.' In the Matriculation Register of Trinity College, Dublin, he is entered as 'natus Bardsagram, in com. Eboracen.' *N. & Q.* 3 S. xi. 280.

[1] On the prevalence of falsehood see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 229.

[2] 'Le Roi lui ayant demandé un jour en quel temps il était né, M. Despréaux [Boileau] lui répondit que le temps de sa naissance était la circonstance la plus glorieuse de sa vie. "Je suis venu au monde," dit-il, "une année avant votre Majesté, pour annoncer les merveilles de son règne." Le Roi fut touché de cette réponse. . . . M. Despréaux . . . s'est cru depuis engagé d'honneur à soutenir un mot qu'il avait dit en présence de toute la cour.' *Œuvres de Boileau*, ed. 1747, Preface, p. 59.

[3] Swift was at the same school from 1674 to 1682. It was 'endowed and maintained by the Ormond family.' *Post*, SWIFT, 3; Scott's *Life of Swift*, *Works*, i. 11. [Berkeley received the first part of his education here, entering Trinity College, Dublin, at the age of fifteen in 1700. *Biog. Brit.* 1780, vol. ii. p. 247.]

[4] Congreve entered Trinity College on April 5, 1685—'annos natus sexdecim' as the register says. *N. & Q.* 3 S. xi. 280. Swift took his B.A. degree ten months later. Scott's Life of Swift, *Works*, i. 17.

[5] He commanded the garrison at Youghal, 'where he also became agent for the Earl of Cork.' *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[6] [The date of his admission is March 17, 1690-1. Hutchinson's *Notable Middle Templars*, p. 57.]

given. His first performance was a novel, called *Incognita, or Love and Duty reconciled*; it is praised by the biographers, who quote some part of the preface[1], that is indeed, for such a time of life, uncommonly judicious. I would rather praise it than read it[2].

6 His first dramatick labour was *The Old Batchelor*; of which he says, in his defence against Collier[3],

'that comedy was written, as several know, some years before it was acted[4]. When I wrote it, I had little thoughts of the stage; but did it, to amuse myself, in a slow recovery from a fit of sickness[5]. Afterwards, through my indiscretion, it was seen, and in some little time more it was acted; and I, through the remainder of my indiscretion, suffered myself to be drawn in, to the prosecution of a difficult and thankless study, and to be involved in a perpetual war with knaves and fools.'

7 There seems to be a strange affectation in authors of appearing to have done every thing by chance. *The Old Batchelor* was written for amusement, in the languor of convalescence. Yet it is apparently composed with great elaborateness of dialogue, and incessant ambition of wit. The age of the writer considered, it is indeed a very wonderful performance[6]; for, whenever written, it was acted (1693) when he was not more than twenty-one years old[7], and was then recommended by

[1] It is quoted in *Biog. Brit.* p. 1440. Congreve boasts that his novel 'was begun and finished in the idler hours of a fortnight's time; for (he adds) I can only esteem that a laborious idleness which is parent to so inconsiderable a birth.'

In the British Museum there is only a copy of the edition of 1700 in which the preface is omitted. It and the novel are reprinted in Congreve's *Memoirs*, 1730, pt. 2, p. 65.

[2] Johnson is thinking of Boileau where he says:—'J'aime qu'on me lise, et non pas qu'on me loue.' *Œuvres*, ed. 1747, v. 98.

Leigh Hunt, after quoting Johnson's words, says:—'Being of a less robust conscience on the reviewing side, it is our lot to have read it, without being able to praise it.' *Wycherley*, &c., ed. 1840, Preface, p. 24.

[3] *Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations*, 1698, p. 39; *ante*, DRYDEN, 175; *post*, CONGREVE, 18.

[4] 'His excuse is, he was *very much a boy when this comedy was written.* Not unlikely. He and his Muse might probably be minors; but the libertines there are full grown.' COLLIER, *A Defence of the Short View*, p. 42.

[5] 'What his disease was I am not to enquire; but it must be a very ill one to be worse than the remedy.' *Ib.*

[6] Malone says that a song ('Tell me no more I am deceived,' *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 182) written in Jan. 1692-3 for Southerne's *The Maid's Last Prayer* was perhaps his first acknowledged publication.' Malone's *Dryden*, i. 227.

[7] 'It is announced,' says Malone, 'as ready for the stage in *The Gentleman's Journal* (by Motteaux), for January, 1692-3.' Prior's *Malone*, p. 451. Congreve was twenty-two. In the Dedication he says it was written almost four years earlier. Lord Falkland, in a Prologue in-

Mr. Dryden[1], Mr. Southern[2], and Mr. Maynwaring[3]. Dryden said that he never had seen such a first play; but they found it deficient in some things requisite to the success of its exhibition, and by their greater experience fitted it for the stage[4]. Southern used to relate of one comedy, probably of this, that when Congreve read it to the players, he pronounced it so wretchedly that they had almost rejected it[5]; but they were afterwards so well persuaded of its excellence that, for half a year before it was acted, the manager allowed its author the privilege of the house[6].

Few plays have ever been so beneficial to the writer; for it 8
procured him the patronage of Halifax[7], who immediately made him one of the commissioners for licensing coaches, and soon after gave him a place in the pipe-office, and another in the customs of six hundred pounds a year[8]. Congreve's conversation must surely have been at least equally pleasing with his writings.

tended for the play, says that the author 'trusts in one and twenty.' Congreve's *Works*, 1788, Preface, p. 34.

[1] For Congreve's character of Dryden see *ante*, DRYDEN, 159.

[2] For Southerne's *Lines to Mr. Congreve* see Congreve's *Works*, Preface, p. 30.

[3] *Post*, POPE, 112. His name is also spelt Mainwaring and Manwaring. Steele dedicated to him the first volume of *The Tatler*. Pope submitted to him his *Pastorals*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), i. 230. Lintot mentions his version of the first book of the *Iliad*. *Ib.* ix. 541. Pope mentions 'a very hot copy of verses against King William and Queen Mary written by the famous Mr. Manwaring, though he was so great a Whig afterwards, on his acquaintance with Lord Halifax.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 157. He was a member of the Kit Kat Club. Pope said of him in 1730:—'Manwaring, whom we hear nothing of now, was the ruling man in all conversations; indeed what he wrote had very little merit in it.' *Ib.* p. 338.

[4] *Biog. Brit.* p. 1441, where Captain Southerne is given as the authority.

[5] Dryden was a bad reader (*ante*, DRYDEN, 190 *n.* 5), and so were Corneille, Swift (*post*, SWIFT, 119 *n.*), Thomson (*post*, THOMSON, 44), Akenside (*post*, AKENSIDE, 24 *n.*) and Goldsmith. Lee, Rowe and Pope read well. Malone's *Dryden*, i. 515.

[6] *Biog. Brit.* p. 1441.

'The stage perhaps never produced four such handsome women at once as Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Mrs. Mountford and Mrs. Bowman; when they appeared together in the last scene of *The Old Bachelor* the audience were struck with so fine a group of beauty, and broke out into loud applause.' DAVIES, *Dram. Misc.* iii. 416.

[7] *Ante*, HALIFAX, 11.

[8] Johnson's authority is *General Dict.* 1736, iv. 428, where it is added that Halifax gave him also 'the post of secretary to Jamaica, which paid him £709 a year.' See *post*, CONGREVE, 29. According to Macaulay Halifax had given him the reversion of this place, *c.* 1694: it did not become vacant until 1714. *Essays*, iii. 254, 268. He held the commissionership for coaches from July 12, 1695, to Oct. 13, 1707, and that of wine-licenses from Dec. 1705 till Dec. 1714. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Coxe says Walpole gave him one of the places. 'Walpole considered poets as not men of business. When

9 Such a comedy written at such an age requires some consideration. As the lighter species of dramatick poetry professes the imitation of common life, of real manners, and daily incidents, it apparently presupposes a familiar knowledge of many characters and exact observation of the passing world; the difficulty therefore is to conceive how this knowledge can be obtained by a boy [1].

10 But if *The Old Batchelor* be more nearly examined, it will be found to be one of those comedies which may be made by a mind vigorous and acute, and furnished with comick characters by the perusal of other poets, without much actual commerce with mankind [2]. The dialogue is one constant reciprocation of conceits [3], or clash of wit, in which nothing flows necessarily from the occasion, or is dictated by nature. The characters, both of men and women, are either fictitious and artificial [4], as those of Heartwell and the Ladies; or easy and common, as Wittol a tame idiot, Bluff a swaggering coward, and Fondlewife a jealous puritan; and the catastrophe arises from a mistake not very probably produced, by marrying a woman in a mask [5].

11 Yet this gay comedy, when all these deductions are made, will still remain the work of very powerful and fertile faculties; the dialogue is quick and sparkling, the incidents such as seize the

he made Congreve Commissioner of the Customs he said:—'You will find he has no head for business.' Coxe's *Walpole*, 1798, i. 760.

For poets in office see *ante*, ADDISON, 86; PRIOR, 46.

Swift wrote of Congreve in 1729 (*Works*, XIV. 388):—

'Thus Congreve spent in writing plays,
And one poor office, half his days.
. . . . . .
And crazy Congreve scarce could spare
A shilling to discharge his chair,
Till prudence taught him to appeal
From Pæan's fire to party zeal.'

[1] 'Nearly all our first-rate comedies have been the productions of very young men. Those of Congreve were all written before he was five and twenty [thirty]. Farquhar produced *The Constant Couple* in his two and twentieth year. Vanbrugh was a young ensign when he sketched out *The Relapse* and *The Provoked Wife*, and Sheridan crowned his reputation with *The School for Scandal*, at six and twenty.' MOORE, *Life of Sheridan*, 1825, i. 208.

[2] *Post*, CONGREVE, 33 *n.*

[3] Johnson at first wrote 'reciprocation of similes.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 56. Leigh Hunt describes the wit of Congreve's time as 'a trick of the fancy and of words, which dealt chiefly in simile, with a variation of antithesis.' *Wycherley*, &c., Preface, p. 36.

[4] Steele praises 'the distinction of characters.' *The Tatler*, No. 193.

'We forget Congreve's characters, and only remember what they say.' HAZLITT, Leigh Hunt's *Wycherley*, &c., Preface, p. 92.

[5] 'Of Congreve's four comedies two are concluded by a marriage in a mask, by a deception which, perhaps, never happened, and which, whether likely or not, he did not invent.' JOHNSON, *Works*, v. 134. The other play is *Love for Love*.

attention, and the wit so exuberant that it 'o'er-informs its tenement [1].'

Next year he gave another specimen of his abilities in *The* 12
*Double Dealer*, which was not received with equal kindness [2]. He writes to his patron the lord Halifax a dedication [3], in which he endeavours to reconcile the reader to that which found few friends among the audience. These apologies are always useless, 'de gustibus non est disputandum'; men may be convinced, but they cannot be pleased, against their will [4]. But though taste is obstinate it is very variable, and time often prevails when arguments have failed.

Queen Mary conferred upon both those plays the honour of 13
her presence [5], and when she died soon after Congreve testified his gratitude by a despicable effusion of elegiack pastoral [6];

[1] 'A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.'
DRYDEN, *Absalom and Achitophel*, l. 156.

[2] Dryden wrote of it on Dec. 12 [1693]:—'It is much censured by the greater part of the Town, and is defended only by the best judges, who, you know, are commonly the fewest; yet it gets ground daily, and has already been acted eight times.' *Works*, xviii. 189. See also *ib.* xi. 55 for Dryden's *Epistle to my dear Friend Mr. Congreve on his Comedy called The Double Dealer.*

'It was revised by John Kemble and acted at Drury Lane.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 172.

[3] This dedication he softened in a later edition. For its original violence see Swift's *Works*, xiv. 38 *n.* Swift, in his lines *To Mr. Congreve* (*ib.* p. 35), 'caught the tone of his friend.'

[4] 'And sure he must have more than mortal skill
Who pleases any one against his will'
CONGREVE, *Epilogue to the Way of the World.*

Johnson probably had these lines in his head when he wrote:—'To convince any man against his will is hard, but to please him against his will is justly pronounced by Dryden to be above the reach of human abilities.' *The Rambler*, No. 93.

Johnson said of Foote:—'Having no good opinion of the fellow I was resolved not to be pleased; and it is very difficult to please a man against his will.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 69.

'It is seldom anything practically convinces a man that does not please him first.' SOUTH, *Sermons*, 1823, i. 166.

[5] Congreve wrote *A Prologue to Queen Mary, upon Her Majesty's coming to see The Old Bachelor after having seen The Double Dealer. Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 209. The night she saw *The Double Dealer* Cibber replaced one of the actors. Congreve so highly praised him that his salary was raised from fifteen to twenty shillings a week. Cibber's *Apology*, p. 109.

Davies, the old actor, says of one of the scenes:—'A father talking obscenely to his daughter is something monstrous.' *Dram. Misc.* iii. 340.

'There are but four ladies in this play, and three of the biggest of them are whores.' COLLIER, *A Short View*, p. 12.

[6] *The Mourning Muse of Alexis*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 131.

'Feb. 4 [1694-5]. Mr. Congreve received a gratuity of £100 from His Majesty for an accurate poem which he wrote on the death of the Queen.'

a composition in which all is unnatural, and yet nothing is new [1].

14 In another year (1695) his prolifick pen produced *Love for Love*, a comedy of nearer alliance to life, and exhibiting more real manners than either of the former. The character of Foresight was then common. Dryden calculated nativities [2]; both Cromwell and king William had their lucky days [3]; and Shaftesbury himself, though he had no religion, was said to regard predictions [4]. The Sailor is not accounted very natural, but he is very pleasant [5].

15 With this play was opened the New Theatre, under the direction of Betterton the tragedian [6]; where he exhibited two years afterwards (1697) *The Mourning Bride*, a tragedy, so written as to shew him sufficiently qualified for either kind of dramatick poetry.

16 In this play, of which, when he afterwards revised it, he reduced the versification to greater regularity, there is more bustle [7] than

*Ath. Oxon.* i. Preface, p. 120. See *ante*, PRIOR, 8; *post*, CONGREVE, 36.

[1] *Ante*, MILTON, 181.

[2] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 191. In the first scene Foresight exclaims:—'Sure the moon is in all her fortitudes,' and adds:—'I was born, Sir, when the Crab was ascending, and all my affairs go backward.' *Works*, i. 188.

[3] 'Cromwell expired upon the third day of September, 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest victories [Dunbar and Worcester].' CLARENDON, *Hist.* vii. 292. Swift, in his notes on Clarendon, twice calls Sept. 3 'Cromwell's lucky day.' *Works*, xii. 172–3. His first parliament was fixed to meet on Sept. 3, 1654, by the Instrument of Government, drawn up, not by himself, but by his supporters. 'It was,' Mr. C. H. Firth writes to me, 'the people about Cromwell who had the superstition. I know no evidence that he shared it.'

Burnet (*Hist.* ii. 424), relating William's invasion of England, says:—'The next day [Nov. 4], being the day in which the Prince was both born and married, he fancied, if he could land that day, it would look auspicious to the army.'

[4] 'He was as to religion a deist at best; he had the dotage of astrology in him to a high degree; he told me that a Dutch doctor had from the stars foretold him the whole series of his life.' *Ib.* i. 103.

Dryden says to him in *The Medal*, l. 263:—

'Religion thou hast none.'

[5] For Lamb on 'the pleasant sailor' see *Essays of Elia*, ed. Ainger, p. 192.

Macready brought out the play, 'adapted for representation,' in 1842–3. Macready's *Reminiscences*, ii. 208.

[6] The chief actors, being oppressed by the patentees of Drury Lane, 'procured from King William a license for Mr. Congreve, Mr. Betterton and others to set up the New Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and, the house being fitted up from a Tennis Court, they opened it on April 30, 1695, with *Love for Love*.' *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 58.

'It ran on with such extraordinary success that they had seldom occasion to act any other play until the end of the season.' CIBBER, *Apology*, p. 116.

Leigh Hunt wrote in 1840:—'It is always liked when players can be got for it.' *Wycherley*, &c., p. 88.

[7] Johnson says in his last note on

sentiment; the plot is busy and intricate [1] and the events take hold on the attention, but, except a very few passages, we are rather amused with noise [2] and perplexed with stratagem than entertained with any true delineation of natural characters [3]. This, however, was received with more benevolence than any other of his works [4], and still continues to be acted and applauded [5].

But whatever objections may be made either to his comick or 17
tragick excellence they are lost at once in the blaze of admiration, when it is remembered that he had produced these four plays before he had passed his twenty-fifth year [6]; before other men, even such as are some time to shine in eminence, have passed their probation of literature, or presume to hope for any other notice than such as is bestowed on diligence and inquiry. Among all the efforts of early genius which literary history records, I doubt whether any one can be produced that more surpasses the common limits of nature than the plays of Congreve.

About this time began the long-continued controversy between 18
Collier and the poets [7]. In the reign of Charles the First the Puritans had raised a violent clamour against the drama [8], which

*Coriolanus*:—'There is perhaps too much bustle in the first act and too little in the last.' See *John. Misc.* i. 153.

[1] 'The plots of Congreve soon puzzle us, and we cease to think of them.' LEIGH HUNT, *Wycherley*, &c., Preface, p. 36.

[2] Johnson's use of *amuse* is not ours. 'With tea he amuses the evening.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 314 *n.* A journey over a Highland pass in a storm of wind and rain he found 'uncommonly amusing.' *John. Letters*, i. 283. *Coriolanus* he calls a 'most amusing' tragedy. *Shakespeare*, vi. 627 *n.* 'Amusing myself with the tombstones and inscriptions' in Westminster Abbey, writes Addison. *The Spectator*, No. 26.

[3] 'It [theatric genius] turned to tuneful nonsense in *The Mourning Bride*.' Walpole's *Works*, i. 129.

It was one of the plays, writes Scott, that 'contributed to chase natural and powerful expression of passion from the English stage, and to sink it into that maudlin, and affected, and pedantic style of tragedy which haunted the stage till Shakespear awakened at the call of Garrick.' Dryden's *Works*, i. 312 *n.* Davies, after noticing some gross passages in the third act, continues:—'The talking obscenely in tragedy is peculiar to the English dramatists.' *Dram. Misc.* iii. 372.

[4] 'It continued acting uninterrupted thirteen days together.' *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 59.

[5] It was acted by John Kemble, of whom it was said:—'He looks majestically in Oswyn, and reminds the audience of the lines:—

"tall pile,
Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
. . . . . .
Looking tranquillity."'

Macready's *Reminiscences*, i. 150. In Mary Lamb's *Mrs. Leicester's School* (1807), it is the first play seen by one of the children. *Mrs. Leicester's School*, &c., 1885, p. 63.

[6] Twenty-eighth year. *Ante*, CONGREVE, 2 *n.*

[7] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 175.

[8] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 87. Stephen Gosson, in *The School of Abuse* (A.D. 1579), was the first to attack

they considered as an entertainment not lawful to Christians, an opinion held by them in common with the church of Rome[1]; and Prynne published *Histrio-mastix*, a huge volume, in which stage-plays were censured[2]. The outrages and crimes of the Puritans brought afterwards their whole system of doctrine into disrepute, and from the Restoration the poets and the players were left at quiet; for to have molested them would have had the appearance of tendency to puritanical malignity[3].

19 This danger, however, was worn away by time, and Collier, a fierce and implacable Nonjuror[4], knew that an attack upon the theatre would never make him suspected for a Puritan; he therefore (1698) published *A short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, I believe with no other motive than religious zeal and honest indignation[5]. He was formed for

the stage as inconsistent with Christianity. Collier, in his *Defence of a Short View*, p. 87, quotes it (p. 89) where Gosson says of the stage:—'We call that a slaughter-house where brute beasts are killed, and hold that a pastime, which is the very butchery of Christian souls.'

[1] Collier quotes a Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Arras, written in 1695, against the stage, the Councils of the Primitive Church and the Fathers. *A Short View*, pp. 245-76.

The intolerance of the Church of Rome towards actors was shown in the case of Molière, of whom Voltaire writes:—'Le malheur qu'il avait eu de ne pouvoir mourir avec les secours de la religion, et la prévention contre la comedie, déterminèrent Harlay de Chanvalon, archevêque de Paris, si connu par ses intrigues galantes, à refuser la sépulture à Molière.' *Œuvres*, ed. xlii. 68. See also *ib.* i. 473, xxxii. 176. The archbishop yielded to the request of the King.

'Avant qu'un peu de terre obtenu par prière
Pour jamais sous la tombe eût enfermé Molière,' &c.

BOILEAU, *Épître* vii. 19, *Œuvres*, i. 359.

[2] *Histrio-mastix. The Player's Scourge* was published in 1633. For the savage punishment it brought on Prynne see Gardiner's *Hist.* vii. 333.

[3] Dr. South (no Puritan), speaking of 'the provoking of a lustful, incontinent person by filthy discourse, . . . and that which equals and exceeds them all, the incentives of the stage,' continues:—'Now with great variety of such kind of traders for hell as these has the nation of late years abounded.' *Sermons*, 1823, ii. 36.

'As the stage now is,' said Tillotson, 'plays are intolerable, and not fit to be permitted in a civilized, much less in a Christian country.' *Sermons*, 1757, xi. 110.

[4] 'I never knew,' said Johnson, 'a Nonjuror who could reason.' When Collier was objected to him, he replied:—'He fought without a rival, and therefore could not claim the victory.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 286.

[5] For the attacks of Leigh Hunt and Hazlitt on Collier see Hunt's *Wycherley*, &c., pp. 81, 100, and for Macaulay's defence see his *Essays*, iii. 257. 'Hunt,' Macaulay wrote, 'is scandalously unjust to Jeremy Collier. I think Jeremy one of the greatest public benefactors in our history.' *Macvey Napier Corres.* p. 331. For Blackmore's earlier attack on the stage see *post*, BLACKMORE, 15.

Collier, in his condemnation of music, was not surpassed by George Fox. 'It is almost as dangerous as gunpowder.' *A Short View*, p. 279.

a controvertist[1]: with sufficient learning; with diction vehement and pointed, though often vulgar and incorrect[2]; with unconquerable pertinacity; with wit in the highest degree keen and sarcastick[3]; and with all those powers exalted and invigorated by just confidence in his cause.

Thus qualified and thus incited he walked out to battle, and assailed at once most of the living writers, from Dryden to Durfey[4]. His onset was violent: those passages, which while they stood single had passed with little notice, when they were accumulated and exposed together, excited horror; the wise and the pious caught the alarm, and the nation wondered why it had so long suffered irreligion and licentiousness to be openly taught at the publick charge[5].

[1] 'He was a singularly fair controversialist.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, iii. 260.

[2] 'This is an eruption of Hell, with a witness.' *A Short View*, p. 84. 'The clergy are no small rub in the poet's way.' *Ib.* p. 97. 'The bottom of the page is downright porter's rhetoric.' *Ib.* p. 101.

[3] 'What a spite have these men to the God that made them! How do they rebel upon his bounty, and attack him with his own reason! These giants in wickedness, how would they ravage with a stature proportionable! They that can swagger in impotence, and blaspheme upon a mole-hill, what would they do if they had strength to their good will!' *Ib.* p. 85.

[4] Addison, in one of his pleasantest papers (*The Guardian*, No. 67), advocated a benefit for him. 'I myself,' he writes, 'remember King Charles II leaning on Tom D'Urfey's shoulder more than once, and humming over a song with him. It is certain that monarch was not a little supported by *Joy to Great Caesar*, which gave the Whigs such a blow as they were not able to recover that whole reign.' See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 416, for Pope's *Prologue designed for Mr. D'Urfey's Last Play*.

Collier gives a whole section to him, ending by applying to him an imitation of Boileau (*L'Art Poétique*, iii. 426):—

'Let him begone, and on two tressels raise
Some Smithfield stage, where he may act his pranks,
And make Jack-puddings speak to mountebanks.'
*A Short View*, p. 208.

[5] Swift wrote in 1709:—'I do not remember that our English poets ever suffered a criminal amour to succeed on the stage till the reign of Charles II. Ever since that time the alderman is made a cuckold, the deluded virgin is debauched, and adultery and fornication are supposed to be committed behind the scenes as part of the action.' *Works*, viii. 96. See also *ib.* i. 361 *n.*, for a tradition that reached Scott through Kemble of obscene talk between a lady of rank in a box at the theatre and Congreve, who was placed at some little distance.

Addison wrote in 1712:—'It is one of the most unaccountable things in our age, that the lewdness of our theatre should be so much complained of, so well exposed, and so little redressed.' *The Spectator*, No. 446. See also *ante*, ADDISON, 123 *n.*

Lady Cowper who, in 1715, with the Princess of Wales, saw *The Wanton Wife*, recorded:—'It certainly is not more obscene than all comedies are.' *Diary*, p. 46. See also Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 350.

21 Nothing now remained for the poets but to resist or fly. Dryden's conscience or his prudence, angry as he was, withheld him from the conflict; Congreve and Vanbrugh attempted answers [1]. Congreve, a very young man, elated with success, and impatient of censure, assumed an air of confidence and security. His chief artifice of controversy is to retort upon his adversary his own words: he is very angry, and, hoping to conquer Collier with his own weapons, allows himself in the use of every term of contumely and contempt; but he has the sword without the arm of Scanderbeg [2]; he has his antagonist's coarseness, but not his strength. Collier replied [3], for contest was his delight; he was not to be frighted from his purpose or his prey.

22 The cause of Congreve was not tenable: whatever glosses he might use for the defence or palliation of single passages, the general tenour and tendency of his plays must always be condemned [4]. It is acknowledged with universal conviction that the perusal of his works will make no man better; and that their ultimate effect is to represent pleasure in alliance with vice, and to relax those obligations by which life ought to be regulated [5].

[1] In 1698 Congreve published *Amendments upon Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations*, &c.; and Vanbrugh *A Short Vindication of The Relapse and The Provok'd Wife from Immorality and Profaneness.*

'Congreve seemed too much hurt to be able to defend himself, and Vanbrugh felt Collier so little that his wit only laughed at his lashes.' CIBBER, *Apology*, p. 159. See also Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, i. 331.

[2] Scanderbeg, who had been trained in the Turkish army, used his training against the Turks. *The Decline and Fall*, vii. 150.

Congreve sneers at Collier in *The Way of the World*, Act iii. He makes Lady Wishfort say:—'There are books over the chimney—Quarles and Prynne, and *The Short View of the Stage*, with Bunyan's Works to entertain you.' In the last act she tells how her daughter had heard 'the chaplain's long lectures against going to filthy plays.... Oh! she would have swooned at the sight or name of an obscene playbook.'

[3] *A Defence of the Short View.* 1699.

[4] Swift, though Congreve's friend, never mentions Collier. Pope attacks him once, but not by name:

'Pride, malice, folly, against Dryden rose
In various shapes of parsons, critics, beaux.' *Essay on Criticism*, l. 458.

Steele, who shared with Addison the credit of purifying the stage (*ante*, ADDISON. 45, 123), in verses addressed to Congreve, 'occasioned by his comedy called *The Way of the World*,' says:—

'By your selected scenes and handsome choice
Ennobled comedy exalts her voice;
You check unjust esteem and fond desire, [should admire.'
And teach to scorn what else we

[5] Porson, speaking of 'the indecency which corrupts the heart without offending the ear,' continues:—'I believe there is no man of sound judgment who would not sooner let his son read Aristophanes than Congreve or Vanbrugh.' *Tracts*, p. 13.

'Wickedness is no subject for Comedy. This was Congreve's great error, and almost peculiar to him. The *Dramatis Personae* of Dryden,

The stage found other advocates, and the dispute was pro- 23
tracted through ten years; but at last Comedy grew more modest, and Collier lived to see the reward of his labour in the reformation of the theatre [1].

Of the powers by which this important victory was atchieved, 24
a quotation from *Love for Love*, and the remark upon it, may afford a specimen.

'"SIR SAMPS. Sampson's a very good name [for an able fellow]; for your Sampsons were strong dogs from the beginning.

"ANGEL. Have a care [and don't over act your part]— If you remember, the strongest Sampson of your [the] name pull'd an old house over his head at last [2]."

'Here you have the Sacred History burlesqued, and Sampson once more brought into the house of Dagon, to make sport for the Philistines [3]!'

Congreve's last play was *The Way of the World* [4], which, 25
though as he hints in his dedication it was written with great labour and much thought [5], was received with so little favour [6],

Wycherley, and others are often vicious, indecent, but not, like Congreve's, wicked.' COLERIDGE, *Biog. Lit.* 1847, ii. 256.

'Congreve and Farquhar,' writes Lamb, 'show their heads once in seven years only, to be exploded and put down instantly. The times cannot bear them.' *Essays of Elia*, 1889, p. 192. He goes on to maintain that their comedies make no man worse. For Macaulay's criticism of this defence see his *Essays*, iii. 225.

[1] Dryden on March 4, 1698-9, mentioning the revival of *The Double Dealer*, adds:—'In the play-bill was printed:—"Written by Mr. Congreve; with several expressions omitted."' The omission, he says, was due to 'the King's order for the reformation of the stage.' Dryden's *Works*, xviii. 151.

Cibber tells how 'the ladies were afraid of venturing bare-faced to a new comedy.' He adds that after Collier's censures 'dramatic writers were now a great deal more upon their guard, indecencies were no longer wit, and by degrees the fair sex came again on the first day without fear.' *Apology*, pp. 155, 159. In his *Careless Husband*, Act v. sc. 3, Lord Morelove says:—'Since the late short-sighted view of plays vice may go on and prosper; the stage dares hardly shew a vicious person speaking like himself for fear of being called prophane for exposing him.'

Gay's *Three Hours after Marriage*, brought out in 1717, is very gross. It was, however, driven off the stage. *Post*, GAY, 10.

'Collier frightened the poets, and did all he could to spoil the stage by pretending to reform it; that is, by making it an echo of the pulpit, instead of a reflection of the manners of the world.... His work produced those *do-me-good*, lack-a-daisical, whining, make-believe comedies in the next age, ... where the author tries in vain to be merry and wise in the same breath.' HAZLITT, Hunt's *Wycherley*, p. 100.

[2] Act v.

[3] *A Short View*, p. 76.

[4] Printed in 1700—the first of his plays that is dated.

[5] He describes himself as one of those 'who write with care and pains. ... If I have gained a turn of style or expression more correct than in my former comedies, &c.' *Works*, ii. 6.

[6] Dryden wrote on March 12, 1699-

that, being in a high degree offended and disgusted, he resolved to commit his quiet and his fame no more to the caprices of an audience [1].

26 From this time his life ceased to be publick; he lived for himself and for his friends, and among his friends was able to name every man of his time whom wit and elegance had raised to reputation. It may be therefore reasonably supposed that his manners were polite, and his conversation pleasing [2].

27 He seems not to have taken much pleasure in writing, as he contributed nothing to *The Spectator* and only one paper to *The Tatler* [3], though published by men with whom he might be

1700:—'Congreve's new play has had but moderate success, though it deserves much better.' *Works*, xviii. 177. According to Dennis 'it was hissed by barbarous fools in the acting.' *Mr. Pope's Homer*, p. 7. Downes says that 'being too keen a satire it had not the success the company expected.' *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 61. In 1719 Jacob wrote:—'It has been lately acted several nights with great applause.' *Poet. Reg.* i. 45. In 1750 the *Biog. Brit.* says (p. 1444):—'The play is now justly esteemed as much as it deserves.' Lamb, in his seventh year, saw it acted in 1781–2. *Essays of Elia*, 1889, p. 112.

'*The Way of the World* is an admirable comedy . . .; yet it is tiresome in its very ingenuity, for its maze of wit and intrigue; and it has no heart, therefore wants the very soul of pleasure.' LEIGH HUNT, *Wycherley*, &c., Preface, p. 79.

Macaulay (*Essays*, iii. 267) says that parts of this play 'are superior to anything that is to be found in the whole range of English comedy from the Civil War downwards.'

[1] *Memoirs of Congreve*, 1730, p. 11. He did not wholly abandon the stage. His *Judgment of Paris, a Masque*, was published in 1701. In his *Works* is also included *Semele, an Opera*. In a letter, dated May 20, 1704, he wrote:—'The translation you speak of is not altogether mine, for Vanbrugh and Walsh had a part in it. Each did an act of a French farce. Mine, and I believe theirs, was done in two mornings.' G. M. Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, p. 337. In 1706 he and Vanbrugh were managers of the new theatre in the Haymarket. Cibber's *Apology*, pp. 162, 181, 184.

In 1725 Young wrote:—

'Congreve, who crowned with laurels fairly won,
Sits smiling at the goal while others run;
He will not write, and (more provoking still)
Ye Gods! he will not write, and Maevius will.'

*Love of Fame*, *Sat.* i. 39.

[2] Dryden addresses him in his *Epistle* (*Works*, xi. 58):—

'So much the sweetness of your manners move
We cannot envy you, because we love.'

Gay describes him as

'Friendly Congreve, unreproachful man.'

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 174.

'I loved him from my youth,' wrote Swift. 'Surely, besides his other talents, he was a very agreeable companion.' *Works*, xvii. 212.

[3] Leigh Hunt, giving no authority for the statement, wrongly attributes to him No. 49, where it is said:—'To love her is a liberal education.' *Wycherley*, &c., p. 36.

Swift wrote on Feb. 13, 1710–11, of the continuation of *The Tatler*:—'Congreve gave me a *Tatler* [No. 14] he had written out, blind as he is, for little Harrison. It is about a scoundrel that was grown rich, and went and bought a *coat of arms* at

supposed willing to associate; and though he lived many years after the publication of his *Miscellaneous Poems*, yet he added nothing to them, but lived on in literary indolence: engaged in no controversy, contending with no rival, neither soliciting flattery by publick commendations nor provoking enmity by malignant criticism, but passing his time among the great and splendid, in the placid enjoyment of his fame and fortune.

Having owed his fortune to Halifax[1] he continued always of 28
his patron's party[2], but, as it seems, without violence or acrimony; and his firmness was naturally esteemed, as his abilities were reverenced. His security therefore was never violated; and when, upon the extrusion of the Whigs[3], some intercession was used lest Congreve should be displaced, the earl of Oxford made this answer:

'Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pœni,
Nec tam aversus equos Tyriâ sol jungit ab urbe[4].'

He that was thus honoured by the adverse party might 29
naturally expect to be advanced when his friends returned to power, and he was accordingly made secretary for the island of Jamaica[5]; a place, I suppose, without trust or care, but which,

the Herald's, and a set of ancestors at Fleet Ditch.' *Works*, ii. 174. For Harrison, the editor, see *ib.* pp. 144, 147. [This essay is given in Nichols's *Tatler*, 1786, vi. 471. The character of Aspasia in No. 42 of *The Tatler*, July 16, 1709, is also attributed to Congreve.]

[1] *Ante*, CONGREVE, 8.

[2] Lady Cowper recorded on Nov. 27, 1714:—'I told him [the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II] that before his coming hither, I and my children had constantly drunk his health by the name of *Young Hanover Brave*, which was the title Mr. Congreve had given him in a ballad. This made him ask who Mr. Congreve was.' *Diary of Lady Cowper*, p. 23. In a note it is stated that these words are found in a song on the Battle of Oudenarde beginning 'Ye Commons and Peers.' It is not in *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv.

[3] *Ante*, PARNELL, 5.

[4] Swift is the authority for this story. It was Halifax to whom this answer was made. Swift's *Works*, xvi. 342. The quotation is from the *Aeneid*, i. 567:

'We Tyrians are not so devoid of sense,
Nor so remote from Phœbus' influence.' DRYDEN, i. 796.

Swift had also interceded. On June 22, 1711, he wrote to Stella:—'I had often mentioned Will Congreve with kindness to Lord Treasurer [Oxford]; and Congreve told me that . . . my lord called him privately, and spoke to him with great kindness, promising his protection, &c.' *Works*, ii. 281.

'Wit,' wrote Berkeley, 'is of no party.' *Memoirs*, ed. 1780, p. 180.

[5] 'On Dec. 17, 1714. On May 3, 1718, he received a patent for the same place for life.' Johnson's *Works*, viii. 30. A century later Charles Greville held the same sinecure; 'the duties were performed by deputy.' *Greville Memoirs*, Preface, p. 10. See *ante*, CONGREVE, 8 *n.* 8.

with his post in the customs, is said to have afforded him twelve hundred pounds a year [1].

30 His honours were yet far greater than his profits. Every writer mentioned him with respect [2]; and, among other testimonies to his merit, Steele made him the patron of his *Miscellany* [3], and Pope inscribed to him his translation of the *Iliad* [4].

31 But he treated the Muses with ingratitude, for having long conversed familiarly with the great, he wished to be considered rather as a man of fashion than of wit [5]; and, when he received a visit from Voltaire, disgusted him by the despicable foppery of desiring to be considered not as an author but a gentleman; to which the Frenchman replied, 'that if he had been only a gentleman, he should not have come to visit him [6].'

32 In his retirement he may be supposed to have applied himself to books; for he discovers more literature than the poets have commonly attained. But his studies were in his latter days

[1] *Biog. Brit.* p. 1448.

[2] Dryden wrote of him:—'I shall never be ashamed to own that this excellent young man has showed me many faults [in my *Virgil*], which I have endeavoured to correct.' *Works*, xiv. 229.

Addison (*Works*, i. 26) described him as

'Harmonious Congreve, . . .
Congreve, whose fancy's unexhausted store
Has given already much, and promis'd more.'

Swift, in 1693, in lines addressed to him, describes himself as intending

'. . . to surmount what bears me up, and sing
Like the victorious wren perched on the eagle's wing.'

*Works*, xiv. 37.

(For Cibber's imitation of this simile see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 402.) In 1711 Swift wrote scornfully of him:—'I saw a volume of his plays. . . . In mere loitering I read in it till twelve, like an owl and a fool, if ever I do so again; never saw the like.' *Ib.* ii. 387.

[3] *Poetical Miscellanies*, 1694. *Post*, CONGREVE, 41. Steele also dedicated to him Addison's *Drummer*. Addison's *Works*, v. 142.

[4] *Post*, POPE, 271.

[5] Jacob, in 1719-20, wrote of him:—'Mr. Congreve does not shew so much the Poet as the Gentleman.' *Poet. Register*, i. 42.

[6] *Post*, GRAY, 22; LYTTELTON, 16 *n.*

'Il était infirme et presque mourant quand je l'ai connu. . . . Il me parlait de ses ouvrages comme de bagatelles au-dessous de lui, et me dit, à la première conversation, de ne le voir que sur le pied d'un gentilhomme qui vivait très uniment. Je lui répondis que s'il avait eu le malheur de n'être qu'un gentilhomme comme un autre, je ne le serais jamais venu voir.' VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres*, xxiv. 116. See *ante*, GARTH, 14 *n.*

'I think the impertinent Frenchman was properly answered. I should serve any member of the French Institute in the same manner that wished to be introduced to me.' LAMB, *Letters*, 1888, i. 246.

Gibbon says of his first visit to Paris:—'I was considered as a man of letters, *or rather as a gentleman* who wrote for his amusement.' The words I have italicized were omitted by his first editor. Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 151. See also Scott's declaration:—'I began with being a gentleman, and don't mean to give up the character.' Lockhart's *Scott*, iii. 103, and Pattison's *Milton*, p. 79.

obstructed by cataracts in his eyes, which at last terminated in blindness. This melancholy state was aggravated by the gout [1], for which he sought relief by a journey to Bath; but being overturned in his chariot, complained from that time of a pain in his side, and died, at his house in Surrey-street in the Strand, Jan. 29 [2], 1728-9. Having lain in state in the Jerusalem-chamber he was buried in Westminster-abbey, where a monument is erected to his memory by Henrietta dutchess of Marlborough [3], to whom, for reasons either not known or not mentioned, he bequeathed a legacy of about ten thousand pounds; the accumulation of attentive parsimony, which, though to her superfluous and useless, might have given great assistance to the ancient family from which he descended, at that time by the imprudence of his relation reduced to difficulties and distress [4].

[1] Congreve wrote in 1712:—'As to my gout I am pretty well; but shall never jump one and twenty feet at one jump upon North-hall Common again.' G. M. Berkeley's *Lit. Relics*, p. 378.

Swift wrote of him:—'Oct. 26, 1710. Mr. Congreve is almost blind with cataracts growing on his eyes. . . . Besides he is never rid of the gout.' 'Jan. 5, 1711-12. He is almost blind of both eyes.' 'Feb. 17, 1728-9. He had the misfortune to squander away a very good constitution in his younger days.' *Works*, ii. 57, 447, xvii. 213.

[2] Jan. 19. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[3] On the death of the great Duke she succeeded to the title by act of parliament. 'When the younger Duchess exposed herself by placing a monument and silly epitaph of her own composition and bad spelling to Congreve, her mother, quoting the words, said, "I know not what *pleasure* she might have in his company, but I am sure it was no *honour*."' Walpole's *Letters*, Preface, p. 139. The words on the monument are 'the happiness and honour she enjoyed in the sincere friendship,' &c. The old Duchess, by changing *happiness* into *pleasure*, and *friendship* into *company*, gave a scandalous turn to the epitaph. For the epitaph see Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), iii. 100 *n*.

Pope hints at the connexion in *Moral Essays*, ii. 76:—

'She sins with poets through pure love of wit.'

It must be remembered how long Congreve had been broken in health.

Hawthorne says of Poets' Corner:—'It is observable that the bust and monument of Congreve are in a distant part of the Abbey. His duchess probably thought it a degradation to bring a gentleman among the beggarly poets.' *English Note Books*, 1870, i. 386.

Dean Stanley in his *Westminster Abbey*, 1868, p. 284, apparently confuses the poet with his own contemporary at Oxford, the Positivist, for he calls him Richard Congreve.

[4] 'The Duchess showed me a diamond necklace that cost £7,000, and was purchased with the money Congreve left her. How much better would it have been to have given it to poor Mrs. Bracegirdle!' DR. YOUNG, Spence's *Anec.* p. 376. See also Warton's *Pope's Works*, Preface, p. 36. 'Bravo, Dr. Young! With leave of thy very gloomy, mitre-missing, and most erroneous *Night Thoughts*, this is the best and most Christian thing thou didst ever say.' LEIGH HUNT, *Wycherley*, &c., p. 33. See also Macaulay's *Essays*, iii. 271, 272.

'Thou makest a testament
As worldlings do, giving thy sum of more
To that which had too much.'
*As You Like It*, ii. 1. 47.

33 CONGREVE has merit of the highest kind: he is an original writer, who borrowed neither the models of his plot nor the manner of his dialogue[1]. Of his plays I cannot speak distinctly, for since I inspected them many years have passed; but what remains upon my memory is that his characters are commonly fictitious and artificial, with very little of nature, and not much of life. He formed a peculiar idea of comick excellence, which he supposed to consist in gay remarks and unexpected answers; but that which he endeavoured, he seldom failed of performing. His scenes exhibit not much of humour, imagery, or passion; his personages are a kind of intellectual gladiators; every sentence is to ward or strike; the contest of smartness is never intermitted; his wit is a meteor playing to and fro with alternate coruscations[2]. His comedies have therefore, in some degree, the operation of tragedies: they surprise rather than divert, and raise admiration oftener than merriment. But they are the works of a mind replete with images, and quick in combination[3].

[1] Dr. Warton contrasts this statement with Johnson's assertion (*ante*, CONGREVE, 10) that *The Old Bachelor* 'might be made by a mind vigorous and acute, and furnished with comick characters by the perusal of other poets, without much actual commerce with mankind.' Pope's *Works*, 1822, viii. 153. He does not notice that Johnson, in the second passage, is speaking of 'the models of his plot and the manner of his dialogue,' and that, in the next sentence, he confirms what he had previously said.

Congreve's ignorance of one side of nature is shown by his making cuckoos sing in August. Dennis's *Letters upon Several Occasions*, p. 102.

[2] Congreve wrote in 1695:—'The distance of the stage requires the figure represented to be something larger than the life.... If a poet should steal a dialogue of any length from the extempore discourse of the wittiest men upon earth, he would find the scene but coldly received by the town.' *Ib.* p. 88.

'I never knew anybody that had so much wit as Congreve.' LADY M. W. MONTAGU, Spence's *Anec.* p. 232.

'We must confess we find the "wit" becomes tiresome.... Wit for wit's sake becomes a task and a trial.' LEIGH HUNT, *Wycherley*, &c., p. 36. See also Macaulay's *Essays*, iii. 273.

[3] Voltaire says of Congreve:—'Il n'a fait que peu de pièces, mais toutes sont excellentes dans leur genre. Les règles du théâtre y sont rigoureusement observées. Elles sont pleines de caractères nuancés avec une extrême finesse; on n'y essuie pas la moindre mauvaise plaisanterie; vous y voyez partout le langage des honnêtes gens avec des actions de fripon; ce qui prouve qu'il connaissait bien son monde, et qu'il vivait dans ce qu'on appelle la bonne compagnie.' *Œuvres*, xxiv. 113.

Horace Walpole wrote in 1787:—'Why are there so few genteel comedies but because most comedies are written by men not of that sphere [of high life]? Etherege, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Cibber wrote genteel comedy because they lived in the best company.' *Letters*, ix. 96.

'Congreve is at present [1764] justly allowed the foremost in that species of dramatic poesy [comedy].' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 432.

E. FitzGerald, after asserting that *The School for Scandal* is 'the best comedy in the English language,'

Of his miscellaneous poetry I cannot say any thing very 34
favourable. The powers of Congreve seem to desert him when he leaves the stage, as Antæus was no longer strong than he could touch the ground. It cannot be observed without wonder that a mind so vigorous and fertile in dramatick compositions should on any other occasion discover nothing but impotence and poverty. He has in these little pieces neither elevation of fancy, selection of language, nor skill in versification; yet, if I were required to select from the whole mass of English poetry the most poetical paragraph[1], I know not what I could prefer to an exclamation in *The Mourning Bride*[2]:

'ALMERIA.

It was a fancy'd noise; for all is hush'd.

LEONORA.

It bore the accent of a human voice.

ALMERIA.

It was thy fear, or else some transient wind
Whistling thro' hollows of this vaulted isle:
We'll listen.

LEONORA.

Hark!

ALMERIA.

No, all is hush'd, and still as death—'Tis dreadful!
How reverend is the face of this tall pile;

continues:—'Not wittier than Congreve, &c., but with human character that one likes in it; Charles, both Teazles, Sir Oliver, &c. Whereas the Congreve School inspires no sympathy with the people: who are manners, not men, you know.' *Letters*, 1894, ii. 159.

[1] On 'paragraph' Leigh Hunt remarks:—'Observe the instinct of that word!' *Wycherley*, &c., Preface, p. 39.

[2] Act ii. sc. 1. 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'this is not comparing Congreve on the whole, with Shakespeare on the whole; but only maintaining that Congreve has one finer passage than any that can be found in Shakespeare. Sir, a man may have no more than ten guineas in the world, but he may have those ten guineas in one piece; and so may have a finer piece than a man who has ten thousand pounds: but then he has only one ten-guinea piece. What I mean is, that you can show me no passage where there is simply a description of material objects, without any intermixture of moral notions, which produces such an effect.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 86. See also *ib.* p. 96.

'Johnson told me,' writes Mrs. Piozzi, 'how he used to tease Garrick by commendations of the tomb scene in Congreve's *Mourning Bride*, protesting that Shakespeare had in the same line of excellence nothing as good: "All which is strictly *true* (said he); but that is no reason for supposing Congreve is to stand in competition with Shakespeare: these fellows know not how to blame, nor how to commend."' *John. Misc.* i. 186.

Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
By its own weight made stedfast and immoveable,
Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe
And terror on my aching sight; the tombs
And monumental caves of death look cold,
And shoot a chilness to my trembling heart.
Give me thy hand, and let me hear thy voice;
Nay, quickly speak to me, and let me hear
Thy voice—my own affrights me with its echoes.'

35 He who reads those lines enjoys for a moment the powers of a poet: he feels what he remembers to have felt before, but he feels it with great increase of sensibility; he recognises a familiar image, but meets it again amplified and expanded, embellished with beauty, and enlarged with majesty [1].

36 Yet could the author, who appears here to have enjoyed the confidence of nature, lament the death of queen Mary in lines like these:

'The rocks are cleft, and new-descending rills
Furrow the brows of all th' impending hills:
The water-gods to floods their rivulets turn,
And each, with streaming eyes, supplies his wanting urn.
The Fauns forsake the woods, the Nymphs the grove,
And round the plain in sad distractions rove:
In prickly brakes their tender limbs they tear,
And leave on thorns their locks of golden hair.
With their sharp nails themselves the Satyrs wound,
And tug their shaggy beards, and bite with grief the ground.
Lo Pan himself, beneath a blasted oak,
Dejected lies, his pipe in pieces broke.
See Pales weeping too, in wild despair,
And to the piercing winds her bosom bare.
And see yon fading myrtle, where appears
The Queen of Love, all bath'd in flowing tears;

[1] 'This description was a great stretch of Congreve's poetic genius. It has, however, been over-rated, particularly by Dr. Johnson, who could have done nearly as well himself for a single passage in the same style of moralising and sentimental description.' HAZLITT, Hunt's *Wycherley*, &c. p. 92.

'Had Johnson contented himself with saying that it was finer than anything that had been written for the stage since the days of Charles I he would not have been in the wrong.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, iii. 256.

'Theatric genius . . . turned to tuneful nonsense in *The Mourning Bride*.' HORACE WALPOLE [postscript to *The Mysterious Mother*, 1768, p. 10].

Dr. Warton calls the play 'a despicable performance.' Pope's *Works*, 1822, i. 237.

See how she wrings her hands, and beats her breast,
And tears her useless girdle from her waist:
Hear the sad murmurs of her sighing doves!
For grief they sigh, forgetful of their loves[1].'

And many years after he gave no proof that time had improved his wisdom or his wit, for on the death of the marquis of Blandford[2] this was his song:

'And now the winds, which had so long been still,
Began the swelling air with sighs to fill:
The water-nymphs, who motionless remain'd,
Like images of ice, while she complain'd,
Now loos'd their streams: as when descending rains
Roll the steep torrents headlong o'er the plains.
The prone creation, who so long had gaz'd,
Charm'd with her cries, and at her griefs amaz'd,
Began to roar and howl with horrid yell,
Dismal to hear, and terrible to tell;
Nothing but groans and sighs were heard around,
And Echo multiplied each mournful sound[3].'

In both these funeral poems, when he has *yelled* out many *syllables* of senseless *dolour*, he dismisses his reader with senseless consolation: from the grave of Pastora rises a light that forms a star[4], and where Amaryllis wept for Amyntas from every tear sprung up a violet[5].

But William is his hero, and of William he will sing: 37

'The hovering winds on downy wings shall wait around,
And catch, and waft to foreign lands, the flying sound[6].'

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 136; *ante*, CONGREVE, 13.

[2] Evelyn recorded in Feb. 1703 (*Diary*, ii. 383):—'The Duke of Marlborough lost his only son at Cambridge by the small pox.' See *post*, FENTON, 6.

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 225.

[4] *Ib.* p. 138.

'Let Congreve teach the listening groves to mourn,
As when he wept o'er fair Pastora's urn.' GAY, *ib.* xxxvi. 221.

'A shepherd asks his fellow why he is so pale, if his favourite sheep have strayed, if his pipe be broken, or Phyllis unkind. He answers, None of these misfortunes have befallen him, but one much greater, for Damon is dead. This immediately causes the other to make complaints, and call upon the lofty pines and silver streams to join in the lamentation. While he goes on, his friend interrupts him, and tells him that Damon lives, and shows him a track of light in the skies to confirm it; then invites him to chestnuts and cheese. Upon this plan most of the noble families in Great Britain have been comforted.' *The Guardian*, April 15, 1713, No. 30.

'When Damon's soul shall take its flight,
Though poets have the second [sight,
They shall not see a trail of light.'
SWIFT, *Apollo's Edict*, *Works*, xiv. 129.

[5] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 226.

[6] *Ib.* p. 140.

It cannot but be proper to shew what they shall have to catch and carry:

'Twas now, when flowery lawns the prospect made,
And flowing brooks beneath a forest [forest's] shade;
A lowing heifer, loveliest of the herd,
Stood feeding by; while two fierce bulls prepar'd
Their armed heads for fight; by fate of war to prove
The victor worthy of the fair-one's love.
Unthought presage of what met next my view;
For soon the shady scene withdrew.
And now, for woods, and fields, and springing flowers,
Behold a town arise, bulwark'd with walls and lofty towers!
Two rival armies all the plain o'erspread,
Each in battalia rang'd, and shining arms array'd;
With eager eyes beholding both from far,
Namur, the prize and mistress of the war[1].'

38 *The Birth of the Muse*[2] is a miserable fiction. One good line it has which was borrowed from Dryden[3]. The concluding verses are these:

'This said, no more remain'd. Th' ethereal host
Again impatient crowd the crystal coast.
The father, now, within his spacious hands,
Encompass'd all the mingled mass of seas and lands;
And, having heav'd aloft the ponderous sphere,
He launch'd the world to float in ambient air[4].'

39 Of his irregular poems that to Mrs. Arabella Hunt seems to be the best[5]: his *Ode for Cecilia's Day*[6], however, has

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. p. 141.

[2] *Ib.* p. 146.

[3] [This 'miserable fiction' is full of semi-echoes from Dryden's poems, especially recalling his *Astraea Redux*, often in almost irritating manner from the half imitation of some 'full resounding line' of Dryden. Thus in Congreve's *Birth of the Muse*:

'The Fates at length the blissful web have spun,
And bid it round in endless circles run' (*Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 151)

recalls

'And now Time's whiter series is begun, [ly run'
Which in soft centuries shall smooth-
(*Astraea Redux*, ll. 292, 293),

and

'When deep revolving thoughts the God retain' (*Birth of the Muse*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 148)

seems an inversion of Dryden's line

'The Godhead took a deep considering space,'

(*The Hind and the Panther*, i. 256). Yet it is as hard to find any entire line that Congreve may be said to have here borrowed from Dryden as it is to discern Johnson's 'one good line.']

[4] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 155.

[5] *Ib.* p. 156. Southey, including this Ode in his *Specimens* (i. 271), says:—'It is said by Johnson to be the best of his irregular Pieces. Johnson, however, did not mean to imply that it was good; it is at least original, and perhaps incomparable for absurdity.'

For an anecdote of Queen Mary, Mrs. Hunt, and Purcell see Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 169.

[6] *Hymn to Harmony*, *Eng. Poets*,

some lines which Pope had in his mind when he wrote his own [1].

His imitations of Horace are feebly paraphrastical, and the additions which he makes are of little value. He sometimes retains what were more properly omitted, as when he talks of *vervain* and *gums* to propitiate Venus [2].

Of his Translations [3] the satire of Juvenal [4] was written very 40
early, and may therefore be forgiven, though it have not the massiness and vigour of the original. In all his versions strength and sprightliness are wanting: his *Hymn to Venus* [5] from Homer is perhaps the best. His lines are weakened with expletives, and his rhymes are frequently imperfect.

His petty poems are seldom worth the cost of criticism: 41
sometimes the thoughts are false, and sometimes common. In his verses on Lady Gethin [6] the latter part is an imitation of Dryden's *Ode on Mrs. Killigrew* [7]; and *Doris*, that has been so lavishly flattered by Steele [8], has indeed some lively stanzas, but the expression might be mended, and the most striking part of the character had been already shewn in *Love for Love* [9]. His *Art of Pleasing* is founded on a vulgar but perhaps impracticable principle [10], and the staleness of the sense is not concealed by any novelty of illustration or elegance of diction.

xxxiv. 185; *ante*, DRYDEN, 150; HUGHES, 6.

[1] *Post*, POPE, 320. Dr. Warton points out the resemblance between Congreve's fifth stanza and Pope's second. Pope's *Works*, 1822, i. 199.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 172.

[3] *Post*, POPE, 271 *n.*

[4] Sat. xi; *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 195.

[5] *Ib.* p. 305.

[6] *Ib.* p. 191.

[7] 'Whether around the throne eternal hymns
She sings amid the choir of seraphims;
Or some refulgent star informs and guides,
Where she, the blest intelligence, presides.' CONGREVE, *ib.* p. 192.
'Whether, adopted to some neighbouring star,
Thou roll'st above us in thy wandering race;
. . . . . .
Or, called to more superior bliss,
Thou tread'st with seraphims the vast abyss.'
DRYDEN, *Ode*, l. 6; *ante*, DRYDEN, 278.

[8] *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 230. 'The most agreeable kind of raillery is when the satire is directed against vice, with an air of contempt of the fault, but no ill-will to the criminal. Mr. Congreve's *Doris* is a masterpiece in this kind. It is the character of a woman utterly abandoned, but her impudence by the finest piece of raillery is made only generosity.' *The Spectator*, No. 422. See also the Dedication of Steele's *Miscellany*.
'Doris is, in truth, very acutely and pleasantly written, and, to this day, not a little startling.' LEIGH HUNT, *Wycherley*, &c., p. 42.

[9] In the scene between Scandal and Mrs. Foresight in Act iv.

[10] 'All rules of pleasing in this one unite,
Affect not anything in Nature's spite.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 271.

42 This tissue of poetry, from which he seems to have hoped a lasting name[1], is totally neglected, and known only as it is appended to his plays.

43 While comedy or while tragedy is regarded his plays are likely to be read; but, except what relates to the stage, I know not that he has ever written a stanza that is sung or a couplet that is quoted[2]. The general character of his *Miscellanies* is that they shew little wit and little virtue[3].

44 Yet to him it must be confessed that we are indebted for the correction of a national error, and for the cure of our Pindarick madness[4]. He first taught the English writers that Pindar's odes were regular[5]; and though certainly he had not the fire requisite for the higher species of lyrick poetry, he has shewn us that enthusiasm has its rules, and that in mere confusion there is neither grace nor greatness.

[1] He thus ends the *Epistle to Halifax*: —

'And Poets have unquestion'd right to claim,
If not the greatest, the most lasting name.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 131.

[2] The couplet in *The Beggar's Opera* (Air liii):

'One wife is too much for most husbands to hear,
But two at a time there 's no mortal can bear'

is imitated from Congreve's *Judgment of Paris*:

'Apart let me view then each heavenly fair,
For three at a time there 's no mortal can bear.'

Johnson once quoted him. Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 227. At Ashbourne he listened to the tune set to 'Let ambition fire thy mind.' *Ib.* iii. 197. [The song is in Congreve's *Judgment of Paris*. For Dr. Crotch playing, when a child, this old tune, see *Ann. Reg.* xxii. pt. 2, p. 79.]

[3] Johnson at first wrote 'no virtue.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 56.

[4] *Ante*, COWLEY, 143; PRIOR, 77.

[5] In his *Discourse on the Pindaric Ode*. It is prefixed to a regular *Pindaric Ode*. *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 279. See also Mitford's *Gray*, iii. 129.

'The true Pindaric (as far as metre goes) had been set with pedantic nicety by Ben Jonson.' LEIGH HUNT, *Wycherley*, &c., p. 40.

# BLACKMORE[1]

SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE is one of those men whose writings have attracted much notice, but of whose life and manners very little has been communicated, and whose lot it has been to be much oftener mentioned by enemies than by friends[2]. 1

He was the son of Robert Blackmore of Corsham in Wiltshire, styled by Wood[3] *Gentleman*, and supposed to have been an attorney[4]: having been for some time educated in a country-school he was sent at thirteen to Westminster, and in 1668 was entered at Edmund-Hall in Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. June 3, 1676[5], and resided thirteen years, a much longer time than it is usual to spend at the university[6]; and which he seems to have passed with very little attention to the business of the place, for in his poems the ancient names of nations or places which he often introduces are pronounced by chance[7]. He afterwards travelled: at Padua he was made doctor of physick[8]; and, after having wandered about a year and a half on the Continent, returned home. 2

In some part of his life, it is not known when, his indigence compelled him to teach a school; an humiliation with which, though it certainly lasted but a little while, his enemies did not 3

[1] Blackmore was included in the Collection on Johnson's recommendation. *Post*, WATTS, I. Southey approved of this inclusion. Cowper's *Works*, ii. 140. Of his poems *The Creation* alone is given in the *English Poets*. No specimen is given in Campbell's *British Poets*. He is in Cibber's *Lives*, v. 177.

[2] 'Johnson said the critics had done too much honour to Blackmore by writing so much against him.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 107.

[3] *Ath. Oxon.* iv. 791.

[4] Cibber's *Lives*, v. 177. For Johnson's sarcasms against attorneys see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 126.

[5] Dryden perhaps only alluded to medical degrees when he wrote of him (*Works*, viii. 482):—

'Quack Maurus, though he never took degrees
In either of our universities.'

[6] In the first edition the sentence ends here. He was fourteen when he matriculated (*Alum. Oxon.*), so that he was born in 1654.

[7] Hearne, who was of St. Edmund's Hall, says that 'he was a great tutor, and much respected, as I have often heard.' *Remains*, ii. 169.

[8] *Ath. Oxon.* iv. 792. Evelyn, in 1645, described Padua as 'this flourishing and ancient university.' *Diary*, i. 217. Gibbon, in 1765, spoke of it as 'a dying taper.' *Memoirs*, p. 166. It was perhaps at Padua that Goldsmith received his degree. Forster's *Goldsmith*, i. 71. For Johnson's resolve to go there see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 73.

forget to reproach him, when he became conspicuous enough to excite malevolence[1]: and let it be remembered for his honour that to have been once a school-master is the only reproach which all the perspicacity of malice, animated by wit, has ever fixed upon his private life.

4 When he first engaged in the study of physick he enquired, as he says, of Dr. Sydenham what authors he should read, and was directed by Sydenham to *Don Quixote*; 'which,' said he, 'is a very good book; I read it still[2].' The perverseness of mankind makes it often mischievous in men of eminence to give way to merriment. The idle and the illiterate will long shelter themselves under this foolish apophthegm.

5 Whether he rested satisfied with this direction or sought for better, he commenced physician, and obtained high eminence and extensive practice. He became Fellow of the College of Physicians, April 12, 1687, being one of the thirty which, by the new charter of king James, were added to the former Fellows[3]. His residence was in Cheapside[4], and his friends were chiefly in the city[5]. In the early part of Blackmore's time a citizen was a term of reproach[6]; and his place of abode was another

[1] 'By nature form'd, by want a pedant made,
Blackmore at first set up the whipping trade;
Next quack commenc'd; then fierce with pride he swore
That tooth-ache, gout and corns should be no more.
In vain his drugs as well as birch he tried;
His boys grew blockheads and his patients died.'
DR. DRAKE, quoted in Cibber's *Lives*, v. 177. See also *ante*, MILTON, 36.

[2] Blackmore says that Sydenham, on the close of the Civil Wars, 'being a disbanded officer, entered upon the profession without any learning properly preparatory for it.' The advice he gave was 'to shew what contempt he had for writings in physic.' *A Treatise upon the Small-Pox*, 1723, Preface, p. 11.

Johnson, in his *Life of Sydenham* (*Works*, vi. 407), says that 'Sydenham might perhaps mean, either seriously or in jest, to insinuate that Blackmore was not adapted by nature to the study of physic, and that whether he should read Cervantes or Hippocrates he would be equally unqualified for practice.' See also ROWE, 19.

[3] According to Dodsley's *London*, v. 190, the original number of Fellows was thirty. It was raised by Charles II to forty and by James II to eighty.

[4] He had a house also at Earl's Court. There Hughes visited him in 1719. *Hughes Corres.* i. 224.
'Blackmore himself, for any grand effort,
Would drink and doze at Tooting or Earl's Court.'
POPE, *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* ii. 2. 112.

[5] 'At Dick's and Batson's, and through Smithfield prais'd.'
SMITH, *Eng. Poets*, xxv. 112.
'You limp, like Blackmore, on a Lord Mayor's horse.'
POPE, *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* i. 1. 16.
'The fame of this heavy poet was universally received in the city.' WARBURTON, Pope's *Works*, iv. 102.

[6] It was the stronghold of the

topick to which his adversaries had recourse, in the penury of scandal.

Blackmore, therefore, was made a poet not by necessity but 6
inclination, and wrote not for a livelihood but for fame[1]; or, if he may tell his own motives, for a nobler purpose, to engage 'poetry in the cause of virtue.'

I believe it is peculiar to him that his first publick work was 7
an heroick poem. He was not known as a maker of verses till he published (in 1695[2]) *Prince Arthur*, in ten books, written, as he relates[3], 'by such catches and starts, and in such occasional uncertain hours as his profession afforded, and for the greatest part in coffee-houses, or in passing up and down the streets.' For the latter part of this apology he was accused of writing 'to the rumbling of his chariot-wheels[4].' He had read, he says, 'but little poetry throughout his whole life; and for fifteen years before had not written an hundred verses, except one copy of Latin verses in praise of a friend's book[5].'

He thinks, and with some reason, that from such a performance 8
perfection cannot be expected; but he finds another reason for

Whigs under Charles II and James II. Dryden calls Blackmore 'The City Bard or Knight Physician,' and writes of 'his fanatic patrons in London.' *Works*, xi. 241. Pope, in *An Essay on Criticism*, ll. 34, 35, wrote in one version:—

'Though Maevius scribble and the city knight,
There are who judge still worse than he can write.'

Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), ii. 35 *n.*

In comedies a citizen was commonly made a cuckold. In Congreve's *Old Bachelor*, Act i, Bellmour says:—'Why you must know 'tis a piece of work toward the finishing of an Alderman; it seems I must put the last hand to it, and dub him cuckold, that he may be of equal dignity with the rest of his brethren.'

'In comedy the rich citizens are often misers and cuckolds.' COLLIER, *A Short View*, &c., 3rd ed. p. 145.

'If an alderman appears upon the stage, you may be sure it is in order to be cuckolded.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 446.

[1] Pope makes Curll say in his 'verbal will':—'Only God bless Sir Richard Blackmore. You know he takes no copy-money.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 465.

[2] In the first edition 'in 1699.'

[3] In the Preface to *King Arthur*.

[4] 'At leisure hours in epic song he deals,
Writes to the rumbling of his coach's wheels.'
DRYDEN, *Works*, viii. 484.
'What? Like Sir Richard, rumbling, rough, and fierce,
With ARMS, and GEORGE, and BRUNSWICK crowd the verse.'
POPE, *Imit. Hor.*, *Sat.* ii. 1. 23.
Addison wrote from Amsterdam on Sept. 7, 1703:—'I have been engaged in so much noise and company that it was impossible for me to think of rhyming in it, unless I had been possessed with such a Muse as Dr. Blackmore's, that could make a couple of heroic poems in a hackney-coach and a coffee-house.' Aikin's *Addison*, i. 161.

[5] 'The book he alludes to was *Nova Hypothesis ad explicanda febrium intermittentium symptomata*, &c. Authore Gulielmo Cole, M.D. 1693.' Johnson's *Works*, viii. 37 *n.*

the severity of his censurers, which he expresses in language such as Cheapside easily furnished. 'I am not free of the Poets' Company, having never kissed the [their] governor's hands [. . .]: mine is therefore not so much as a permission-poem, but a downright interloper[1]. Those gentlemen who [. . .] carry on their poetical trade in a joint stock would certainly do what they could to sink and ruin an unlicensed adventurer, notwithstanding I disturbed none of their factories nor imported any goods they had ever dealt in.' He had lived in the city till he had learned its note.

9 That *Prince Arthur* found many readers is certain, for in two years it had three editions[2]; a very uncommon instance of favourable reception, at a time when literary curiosity was yet confined to particular classes of the nation[3]. Such success naturally raised animosity; and Dennis attacked it by a formal criticism, more tedious and disgusting than the work which he condemns[4]. To this censure may be opposed the approbation of Locke and the admiration of Molineux[5], which are found in their printed Letters[6]. Molineux is particularly delighted with the song of *Mopas*, which is therefore subjoined to this narrative[7].

[1] Johnson defines *interlope* 'to traffick without a proper licence.' There was, no doubt, some such term as 'a permission ship or cargo' when a merchant was licensed by the Company to trade.

[2] It had three editions, folio, in 1695 and 1696, and one in 12mo in 1714. A Latin version of bk. i by H. Hogaeus was published in 1700.

Dr. A. Carlyle (*Auto.* p. 98) in a lonely inn in the South of Scotland found, in 1744, no books but the Bible and *Prince Arthur*.

'It contains some curious allusions to contemporary men and events.' MACAULAY, *Hist. of Eng.* iv. 25 *n.*

[3] *Ante*, MILTON, 135; ADDISON, 160.

[4] Dennis's *Remarks on Prince Arthur* (1696) are quoted by Pope in a note on *The Dunciad*, ii. 268. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 149.

[5] Swift, in the fourth *Drapier Letter* (*Works*, vi. 422), says that the Parliaments of England 'were at first openly opposed (as far as truth, reason and justice are capable of opposing) by the famous Mr. Molineux, an English gentleman born here.'

[6] 'They [Locke and Thomas Molyneux] used to compliment Blackmore highly for his skill in poetry, as Sir Richd. used likewise to compliment them very much. But this is no wonder, since Sir Richd. was a republican. . . . 'Tis true he was a poet, but he is not placed by the best judges at the top head, notwithstanding Molyneux says in his Letters in Locke's *Works*, p. 568, that "all our English poets (except Milton) have been ballad makers in comparison to him."' HEARNE, *Remains*, iii. 163.

'Locke affected to despise poetry, and he depreciated the ancients.' DR. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 343.

'*Prince Arthur* is not a contemptible poem, although by no means equal to *The Creation*, in which are many admirable strokes.' WESLEY, *Journal*, 1827, iv. 4. See also Southey's *Specimens*, i. 275.

[7] Molyneux, in 1692, had dedicated his *Treatise of Dioptrics* to Locke. In 1697 he wrote to him, after reading *Prince Arthur* and *King Arthur*:—'All our English poets (except Milton) have been

It is remarked by Pope that what 'raises the hero often sinks 10
the man[1].' Of Blackmore it may be said that as the poet sinks, the man rises; the animadversions of Dennis, insolent and contemptuous as they were, raised in him no implacable resentment: he and his critick were afterwards friends; and in one of his latter works he praises Dennis as 'equal to Boileau in poetry, and superior to him in critical abilities[2].'

He seems to have been more delighted with praise than pained 11
by censure[3], and, instead of slackening, quickened his career. Having in two years produced ten books of *Prince Arthur*, in two years more (1697) he sent into the world *King Arthur* in twelve. The provocation was now doubled, and the resentment of wits and criticks may be supposed to have increased in proportion[4]. He found, however, advantages more than equivalent to all their outrages; he was this year made one of the physicians in ordinary to king William, and advanced by him to the honour of knighthood, with a present of a gold chain and a medal[5].

The malignity of the wits attributed his knighthood to his new 12
poem[6]; but king William was not very studious of poetry[7],

mere ballad makers in comparison to Blackmore.' Locke replied with a praise of the poet's Preface; but in a later letter he allowed that he had 'an extraordinary talent in poetry.' Nevertheless he admired him still more 'for what he says of hypotheses in his Preface.' Locke's *Works*, 1812, ix. 289, 423, 426, 432; *post*, BLACKMORE, 38 *n.*

In Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*, Act i, Narcissa says to her lover that her friend's railing against him 'has much the same effect as the coffee-critics ridiculing *Prince Arthur*; for I found a pleasing disappointment in my reading you.'

[1] 'In each how guilt and greatness equal ran, [the man.'
And all that raised the hero sunk
*Essay on Man*, iv. 293.

[2] In the Preface to *Alfred* (p. 2) he says that 'Mr. Dennis is superior in critical abilities to Mr. Boileau,' but he says nothing of his poetry. For Dennis's praise of him see *post*, BLACKMORE, 22.

[3] 'My literary temper is so happily framed that I am less sensible of pain than of pleasure.' GIBBON, *Memoirs*, p. 242.

'Racine used to say that the paltry critics gave him more pain than all his applauders had given him pleasure.' WARTON, *Pope's Works*, i. 229.

Pope suffered from criticism. *Post*, POPE, 239, 278. Tennyson felt with Racine.

[4] Dryden wrote of him in 1700:—'I will deal the more civilly with his two poems, because nothing ill is to be spoken of the dead; and therefore peace to the *manes* of his "Arthurs."' *Works*, xi. 241. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 145.

[5] 'The Hero William, and the Martyr Charles,
One knighted Blackmore, and one pension'd Quarles.'
POPE, *Imit. Hor., Epis.* ii. 1. 386. See also *ib. Sat.* ii. 1. 21.

He was knighted on Feb. 18, 1696–7. *Alum. Oxon.*

[6] Aaron Hill (*Works*, 1754, i. 54) wrote to Pope that he had given his little daughter *Prince Arthur* to read, 'and told her very gravely that it was so extraordinary a poem that the author had been knighted for writing it.'

[7] 'Reverse of Lewis, he (example rare!)

and Blackmore perhaps had other merit: for he says, in his Dedication to *Alfred*, that 'he had a greater part in the succession of the house of Hanover than ever he had boasted [1].'

13 What Blackmore could contribute to the Succession, or what he imagined himself to have contributed, cannot now be known. That he had been of considerable use I doubt not but he believed, for I hold him to have been very honest; but he might easily make a false estimate of his own importance: those whom their virtue restrains from deceiving others are often disposed by their vanity to deceive themselves. Whether he promoted the Succession or not, he at least approved it, and adhered invariably to his principles and party through his whole life.

14 His ardour of poetry still continued, and not long after (1700) he published a *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, and other parts of the Scripture [2]. This performance Dryden, who pursued him with great malignity, lived long enough to ridicule in a Prologue [3].

15 The wits easily confederated against him, as Dryden, whose favour they almost all courted, was his professed adversary [4]. He had besides given them reason for resentment, as, in his Preface to *Prince Arthur*, he had said of the Dramatick writers

Lov'd to deserve the praise he could not bear.
He shunn'd the acclamations of the throng, [song.
And always coldly heard the poet's
Hence the great King the Muses did neglect,
And the mere poet met with small respect.'

BLACKMORE, *The Kit-Kats*, 1708, p. 4. See also *ante*, ADDISON, 17; PRIOR, 9.

[1] 'I had the honour to contribute more to the succession of the illustrious House of Hanover to the Crown of Great Britain than I ever boasted of.'

[2] Pope represented Lintot (*post*, BROOME, 4) as saying:—'There is Sir Richard, in that rumbling old chariot of his, between Fleet Ditch and St. Giles's Pound shall make you half a *Job*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 207.

Beattie, in his *Essay on Ridiculous Composition* (*Essays*, 1779, p. 336), gives the following instance of Blackmore's paraphrases:—

'On thee, O Jacob, I thy jealous God Vast heaps of heavy mischief will unload'

('I will heap mischiefs upon them.' *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 23).

[3] In the *Prologue to the Pilgrim* (1700). *Works*, viii. 482; quoted *ante*, BLACKMORE, 2 *n*. He ridiculed him the same year in his *Epistle to John Driden* (*ib.* xi. 76), in lines ending:—

'Would'st thou be soon despatched and perish whole,
Trust Maurus with thy life, and Milbourne with thy soul.'

For Milbourne see *ante*, DRYDEN, 306. See also Dryden's *Works*, xv. 194.

[4] Swift, who disliked Dryden (*post*, SWIFT, 18), in *The Battle of the Books*, calls Blackmore 'a famous modern,' and makes Aesculapius save him from Lucan. *Works*, x. 236. Later on he attacked him, both with the other wits in *Martinus Scriblerus*, and in his *On Poetry*. *Ib.* xiv. 312.

Garth bade him
'Learn to rise in sense, and sink in sound.' *The Dispensary*, iv. 203.

See *post*, BLACKMORE, 22, for his

almost all that was alleged afterwards by Collier[1]; but Blackmore's censure was cold and general[2], Collier's was personal and ardent: Blackmore taught his reader to dislike what Collier incited him to abhor.

In his Preface to *King Arthur* he endeavoured to gain at least 16
one friend, and propitiated Congreve by higher praise of his *Mourning Bride* than it has obtained from any other critick[3].

The same year he published a *Satire on Wit*[4]; a proclamation 17
of defiance which united the poets almost all against him, and which brought upon him lampoons and ridicule from every side. This he doubtless foresaw and evidently despised; nor should his dignity of mind be without its praise had he not paid the homage to greatness which he denied to genius, and degraded himself by conferring that authority over the national taste, which he takes from the poets, upon men of high rank and wide influence, but of less wit and not greater virtue[5].

Here is again discovered the inhabitant of Cheapside, whose 18
head cannot keep his poetry unmingled with trade. To hinder that intellectual bankruptcy which he affects to fear he will erect a *Bank for Wit*[6].

In this poem he justly censured Dryden's impurities, but 19
praised his powers; though in a subsequent edition he retained the satire and omitted the praise[7]. What was his reason I know not; Dryden was then no longer in his way.

praise by Addison and Dennis, and *post*, BLACKMORE, 31, 41, for attacks.

[1] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 175; CONGREVE, 19.

[2] Dryden (though not by name) is accused of 'lavishing out his life and wit in propagating vice and corruption of manners.' In the poem itself (Bk. vi. p. 167) he is described as seeking for a dole at Sakil's gate:—

'Laurus amidst the meagre crowd appear'd,
An old, revolted, unbelieving bard,
Who throng'd, and shov'd, and prest, and would be heard.'

'Sakil' is Sackville, Earl of Dorset.

[3] He even says that 'in it there are no immodest images or expressions.' See *ante*, CONGREVE, 16 *n.*

Congreve, in his poem *Of Pleasing*, thus compliments Blackmore:—

'Who would reprove us while he makes us laugh
Must be no Bavius, but a Bickerstaffe.
If Garth or Blackmore friendly potions give,
We bid the dying patient drink and live; ["Beware the pill";
When Murus [*sic*] comes, we cry
And wish the tradesman were a tradesman still.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 271.

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 177.

[5] In his Dedication of *Alfred* to Prince Frederick he praises his grandfather, George I, as 'a Christian, not a Pagan, a Protestant, not a Papist, and of all Protestant Kings the best.'

[6] 'Let us erect a Bank of Sterling Sense; [payment make,
A Bank, whose current bills may
Till new-mill'd wit shall from the Mint come back.'

Blackmore's *Collection of Poems*, 1718, p. 90.

[7] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 177.

20 His head still teemed with heroick poetry, and (1705) he published *Eliza* in ten books. I am afraid that the world was now weary of contending about Blackmore's heroes, for I do not remember that by any author, serious or comical, I have found *Eliza* either praised or blamed[1]. She 'dropped,' as it seems, 'dead-born from the press[2].' It is never mentioned, and was never seen by me till I borrowed it for the present occasion. Jacob says 'it is corrected and revised for another impression[3]'; but the labour of revision was thrown away.

21 From this time he turned some of his thoughts to the celebration of living characters, and wrote a poem on the Kit-cat Club[4], and *Advice to the Poets how to celebrate the Duke of Marlborough*[5]; but on occasion of another year of success, thinking himself qualified to give more instruction, he again wrote a poem of *Advice to a Weaver of Tapestry*[6]. Steele was then publishing *The Tatler*, and looking round him for something at which he might laugh unluckily lighted on Sir Richard's work, and treated it with such contempt[7] that, as Fenton observes, he puts an end to the species of writers that gave *Advice to Painters*[8].

22 Not long after (1712) he published *Creation, A philosophical Poem*, which has been by my recommendation inserted in the late collection[9]. Whoever judges of this by any other of

[1] 'See who ne'er was, or will be, half read,
Who first sung Arthur, then sung Alfred;
Praised great Eliza in God's anger,
Till all true Englishmen cried,
Hang her!'
GAY, *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 302.
These lines are wrongly printed as Swift's in his *Works*, xiii. 350. See Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 22; also *post*, BLACKMORE, 34 *n.*

[2] 'All, all but truth, drops dead-born from the press.'
POPE, *Epil. Sat.* ii. 226.

[3] *Poetical Register*, i. 10.

[4] In 1708. For the club see *ante*, GARTH, 12.

[5] *Advice to the Poets. A Poem occasioned by the Wonderful Success of Her Majesty's Arms under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders.* 1706. Blackmore's *Poems*, 1718, p. 1.

[6] *Instructions to Vander Bank. A Sequel to the Advice to the Poets.* 1709. *Ib.* p. 45.

[7] *The Tatler*, No. 3. See also No. 14.

[8] The original of Waller's lines *To Sir T. Higgons, upon his Translation of the Venetian Triumph*, was addressed by Busenello to Pietro Liberi, 'instructing him to paint the sea-fight between the Turks and Venetians in 1656. This method of address was imitated by Waller, and continued long the prevailing mode, till one of our poets disgraced it by degrading it from the pencil to Vanderbank's loom.' FENTON, Waller's *Works*, 1744; *Observations*, p. 104.

[9] *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 1. I have seen a letter of Blackmore's in Puttick and Simpson's *Auct. Cata.* April 28, 1859, Lot 44, dated Sept. 10, 1708, where he writes:—'I have finished a Philosophic Anti-Atheistic Poem. I call it *Creation* in 7 books. My friends flatter me 'tis the best thing I have written.'

Blackmore's performances will do it injury. The praise given it by Addison (*Spec.* 339[1]) is too well known to be transcribed; but some notice is due to the testimony of Dennis, who calls it a 'philosophical Poem, which has equalled that of Lucretius in the beauty of its versification and infinitely surpassed it in the solidity and strength of its reasoning[2].'

Why an author surpasses himself it is natural to enquire. 23
I have heard from Mr. Draper, an eminent bookseller, an account received by him from Ambrose Philips[3]:

'That Blackmore as he proceeded in this poem laid his manuscript from time to time before a club of wits with whom he associated, and that every man contributed as he could either improvement or correction; so that,' said Philips, 'there are perhaps no where in the book thirty lines together that now stand as they were originally written[4].'

The relation of Philips, I suppose, was true, but when all 24
reasonable, all credible allowance is made for this friendly revision the author will still retain an ample dividend of praise; for to him must always be assigned the plan of the work, the distribution of its parts, the choice of topicks, the train of argument, and, what is yet more, the general predominance of philosophical judgement and poetical spirit. Correction

[1] 'The reader,' writes Addison, 'cannot but be pleased to find the depths of philosophy enlivened with all the charms of poetry, and to see so great a strength of reason amidst so beautiful a redundancy of the imagination.' In No. 543 he refers the reader to the sixth book, 'where the anatomy of the human body is described with great perspicuity and elegance.'

[2] *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Homer*, 1717, p. 4. 'Blackmore's *Creation* is in its diction and its numbers so unlike his miserable epics that it seems like the work of another mind.' SOUTHEY, Cowper's *Works*, ii. 139.

Ernst Krause, refuting the assertion that *The Creation* was the model of Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, says:—'*The Creation* . . . treats of the process of creation only by the way; and is essentially a purely polemico-rhetorical philippic against the atheists. . . . The German critics who regard it as the model of *The Botanic Garden* must certainly have neglected to read at least one of these didactic poems.' *Life of E. Darwin*, 1887, p. 138.

[3] Draper was Tonson's partner. Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 46. Philips had done hack work for Tonson. *Post*, A. PHILIPS, 4. For *eminent* see *John. Misc.* i. 300.

[4] See Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 107, for a briefer account of this.

In *The Creation* and Addison's famous hymn, published the same year, are the following somewhat similar lines:—

'And the wide regions of the land proclaim
The Power Divine that raised the mighty frame.'
*The Creation*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 43.

'And spangled heavens, a shining frame,
Their great Original proclaim.'
*The Spectator*, No. 465.

seldom effects more than the suppression of faults: a happy line or a single elegance may perhaps be added; but of a large work the general character must always remain; the original constitution can be very little helped by local remedies; inherent and radical dullness will never be much invigorated by extrinsick animation.

25 This poem, if he had written nothing else, would have transmitted him to posterity among the first favourites of the English Muse [1]; but to make verses was his transcendent pleasure, and as he was not deterred by censure, he was not satiated with praise.

26 He deviated, however, sometimes into other tracks of literature, and condescended to entertain his readers with plain prose. When *The Spectator* stopped he considered the polite world as destitute of entertainment, and in concert with Mr. Hughes, who wrote every third paper, published three times a week *The Lay Monastery* [2], founded on the supposition that some literary men, whose characters are described, had retired to a house in the country to enjoy philosophical leisure, and resolved to instruct the public by communicating their disquisitions and amusements. Whether any real persons were concealed under fictitious names is not known. The hero of the club is one Mr. Johnson; such a constellation of excellence [3] that his character shall not be suppressed, though there is no great genius in the design, nor skill in the delineation [4].

27 'The first I shall name is Mr. Johnson, a gentleman that owes to Nature excellent faculties and an elevated genius, and to

[1] Johnson's judgement of the poetry of *The Creation* would be influenced by its piety; Addison probably was affected both by the piety and the author's Whiggism.

Cowper wrote in 1781:—'Let Dr. Johnson only speak as favourably of me as he has spoken of Blackmore (who, though he shines in his *Creation*, has written more absurdities in verse than any writer of our country), and my success will be secured.' Cowper's *Works*, xv. 93.

Hawkins wrote in 1787: '*Creation* is not written down, but yet lives in the esteem of every judicious reader.' *Life of Johnson*, p. 348.

[2] When *The Guardian* (not *The Spectator*) 'was abruptly dropped' (Oct. 1, 1713) *The Lay Monk* was projected. Addison's *Works*, v. 411. Hughes had contributed to *The Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*. *Ante*, HUGHES, 10. Blackmore wrote to him on Nov. 11, 1713:—'The paper is called *The Lay Monk*.' The first number appeared on Nov. 10; the last on the following Feb. 15. *Hughes's Corres.* i. 122. Hughes wrote 'all the Friday's papers.' *Ib.* p. 144. In its collected form it was called *The Lay-Monastery*.

[3] Boswell was reported to have described Dr. Johnson as 'a constellation of genius and literature.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 384.

[4] He is described in No. 2.

industry and application many acquired accomplishments. His taste is distinguishing, just, and delicate; his judgement clear and his reason strong, accompanied with an imagination full of spirit, of great compass, and stored with refined ideas. He is a critick of the first rank; and, what is his peculiar ornament, he is delivered from the ostentation, malevolence, and supercilious temper that so often blemish men of that character. His remarks result from the nature and reason of things, and are formed by a judgement free, and unbiassed by the authority of those who have lazily followed each other in the same beaten track of thinking, and are arrived only at the reputation of acute grammarians and commentators; men who have been copying one another many hundred years without any improvement, or, if they have ventured farther, have only applied in a mechanical manner the rules of antient criticks to modern writings, and with great labour discovered nothing but their own want of judgement and capacity. As Mr. Johnson penetrates to the bottom of his subject, by which means his observations are solid and natural, as well as delicate, so his design is always to bring to light something useful and ornamental; whence his character is the reverse to theirs, who have eminent abilities in insignificant knowledge, and a great felicity in finding out trifles. He is no less industrious to search out the merit of an author than sagacious in discerning his errors and defects, and takes more pleasure in commending the beauties than exposing the blemishes of a laudable writing: like Horace [1], in a long work, he can bear some deformities, and justly lay them on the imperfection of human nature, which is incapable of faultless productions. When an excellent *Drama* appears in publick, and by its intrinsick worth attracts a general applause, he is not stung with envy and spleen; nor does he express a savage nature in fastening upon the celebrated author, dwelling upon his imaginary defects, and passing over his conspicuous excellences. He treats all writers upon the same impartial foot; and is not, like the little criticks, taken up entirely in finding out only the beauties of the ancient, and nothing but the errors of the modern writers. Never did any one express more kindness and good nature to young and unfinished authors: he promotes their interests, protects their reputation, extenuates their faults, and sets off their virtues, and by his candour guards them from the severity of his judgement. He is not like those dry criticks, who are morose because they cannot write themselves, but is himself master of a good vein in poetry; and though he does not often employ it, yet he has sometimes entertained his friends with his unpublished performances.'

The rest of the Lay Monks seem to be but feeble mortals in 28

[1] *Ars Poetica*, l. 351.

comparison with the gigantick Johnson[1], who yet, with all his abilities and the help of the fraternity, could drive the publication but to forty papers, which were afterwards collected into a volume, and called in the title *A* [*The*] *Sequel to the Spectators.*

29 Some years afterwards (1716 and 1717) he published two volumes of essays in prose[2], which can be commended only as they are written for the highest and noblest purpose, the promotion of religion[3]. Blackmore's prose is not the prose of a poet; for it is languid, sluggish, and lifeless: his diction is neither daring nor exact, his flow neither rapid nor easy, and his periods neither smooth nor strong. His account of *Wit* will shew with how little clearness he is content to think, and how little his thoughts are recommended by his language.

'As to its efficient cause, *Wit* owes its production to an extraordinary and peculiar temperament in the constitution of the possessor [possessors] of it, in which is found a concurrence of regular and exalted ferments and an affluence of animal spirits, refined and rectified to a great degree of purity, whence, being endowed with vivacity, brightness, and celerity as well in their reflexions as direct motions, they become proper instruments for the spritely operations of the mind; by which means the imagination can with great facility range the wide field of Nature, contemplate an infinite variety of objects, and, by observing the similitude and disagreement of their several qualities, single out and abstract, and then suit and unite those ideas which will best serve its purpose. Hence beautiful allusions, surprising metaphors, and admirable sentiments are always ready at hand; and while the fancy is full of images collected from innumerable objects and their different qualities, relations, and habitudes, it can at pleasure dress a common notion in a strange but becoming garb, by which, as before observed, the same thought will appear a new one, to the great delight and wonder of the hearer. What we call *genius*[4] results from this particular happy complexion in the first formation of the person that enjoys it, and is Nature's gift, but diversified by various specifick characters and limitations,

[1] Dr. Johnson, in this passage, might be supposed playfully to have anticipated the attack of Thomas Sheridan, who described him as 'a writer of gigantic fame in these days of little men.' Swift's *Works*, ed. 1803, ii. 200.

[2] *Essays upon Several Subjects.*

[3] Addison wrote of them in *The Freeholder*, No. 45:—'I have lately read with much pleasure the *Essays upon several Subjects* published by Sir Richard Blackmore.' *Works*, v. 64. Swift wrote against this passage in the margin of his copy of *The Freeholder*:—'I admire to see such praises from this author to so insipid a scoundrel, whom I know he despised.' *Works*, xii. 132. For Swift's earlier praise of Blackmore see *ante*, BLACKMORE, 15 *n.*

[4] *Ante*, COWLEY, 3.

as its active fire is blended and allayed by different proportions of phlegm, or reduced and regulated by the contrast of opposite ferments. Therefore, as there happens in the composition of a facetious genius a greater or less, though still an inferior, degree of judgement and prudence [and different kinds of instincts and passions], one man of wit will be varied and distinguished from another[1].'

In these essays he took little care to propitiate the wits, for he 30
scorns to avert their malice at the expence of virtue or of truth.

'Several in their books have many sarcastical and spiteful strokes at religion in general, while others make themselves pleasant with the principles of the Christian. Of the last kind this age has seen a most audacious example in the book intituled *A Tale of a Tub*. Had this writing been published in a pagan or popish nation, who are justly impatient of all indignity offered to the established religion of their country, no doubt but the author would have received the punishment he deserved. But the fate of this impious buffoon is very different; for in a protestant kingdom, zealous of their civil and religious immunities, he has not only escaped affronts and the effects of publick resentment, but has been caressed and patronized by persons of great figure, and of all denominations. Violent party-men, who differed in all things besides, agreed in their turn to shew particular respect and friendship to this insolent derider of the worship of his country, till at last the reputed writer is not only gone off with impunity, but triumphs in his dignity and preferment[2]. I do not know that any inquiry or search was ever made after this writing, or that any reward was ever offered for the discovery of the author, or that the infamous book was ever condemned to be burnt in publick: whether this proceeds from the excessive esteem and love that men in power during the late reign had for wit, or their defect of zeal and concern for the Christian Religion, will be determined best by those who are best acquainted with their character[3].'

In another place he speaks with becoming abhorrence of a 31
'godless author' who has burlesqued a Psalm. This author was supposed to be Pope, who published a reward for any one that would produce the coiner of the accusation, but never denied it, and was afterwards the perpetual and incessant enemy of Blackmore[4].

[1] *Essays*, i. 193.
[2] The book debarred Swift from his bishopric. *Post*, SWIFT, 26.
[3] *Essays*, i. 217.
[4] Pope wrote to Swift in 1716:—'I have begun to take a pique at the Psalms of David, if the wicked may be credited, who have printed a scandalous one in my name.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii.

32 One of his essays is upon the spleen, which is treated by him so much to his own satisfaction that he has published the same thoughts in the same words, first in *The Lay Monastery*, then in the Essay, and then in the Preface to a Medical Treatise on the Spleen[1]. One passage, which I have found already twice, I will here exhibit, because I think it better imagined and better expressed than could be expected from the common tenour of his prose:

'As the several combinations of splenetic madness and folly [madness and spleen and folly] produce an infinite variety of irregular understanding [understandings], so the amicable accommodation and alliance between several virtues and vices produce an equal diversity in the dispositions and manners of mankind; whence it comes to pass that as many monstrous and absurd productions are found in the moral as in the intellectual world. How surprising is it to observe among the least culpable men some whose minds are attracted by heaven and earth with a seeming equal force; some who are proud of [in] humility; others who are censorious and uncharitable, yet self-denying and devout; some who join contempt of the world with sordid avarice; and others who preserve a great degree of piety with ill-nature and ungoverned passions: nor are instances of this inconsistent mixture less frequent among bad men, where we often with admiration see persons at once generous and unjust, impious lovers of their country and flagitious heroes, good-natured sharpers, immoral men of honour, and libertines who will sooner die than change their religion; and though it is true that repugnant coalitions of so high a degree are found but in a part of mankind, yet none of the whole mass, either good or bad, are entirely exempted from some absurd mixture [mixtures][2].'

33 He about this time (Aug. 22, 1716) became one of the Elects[3]

13. It was printed in Curll's *Collection*. Warburton's *Pope*, ix. 7. It is included in Pope's *Works*.

'Pope had the hardihood to insert an advertisement in *The Postman*, offering three guineas reward for the detection of the person who sent the lines to the press, and when the publisher, Mrs. Burleigh, announced that she had the original in his own handwriting, he relapsed into silence.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 13. See also his note on *The Dunciad*, ii. 268. *Ib.* iv. 149, viii. 22.

He had shown civility to Blackmore. He wrote to Hughes in 1714: —'Pray make my most humble service acceptable to Sir Richard Blackmore.' *Ib.* x. 119. For his attack on him see *post*, BLACKMORE, 36 *n.*, and for his profanity see *post*, POPE, 289.

[1] He published in 1725 *A Treatise on the Spleen and Vapours*, and *A Critical Dissertation upon the Spleen*. He brings the spleen into *The Creation*.

'The spleen with sullen vapours clouds the brain,
And binds the spirits in its heavy chain.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 154.

[2] *The Lay-Monastery*, No. 35.

[3] 'One of the eight officers (abolished in 1860) who had the function

of the College of Physicians, and was soon after (Oct. 1) chosen Censor[1]. He seems to have arrived late, whatever was the reason, at his medical honours.

Having succeeded so well in his book on *Creation*, by which 34
he established the great principle of all religion, he thought his undertaking imperfect unless he likewise enforced the truth of revelation; and for that purpose added another poem on *Redemption*. He had likewise written, before his *Creation*, three books on *The Nature of Man*[2].

The lovers of musical devotion have always wished for a more 35
happy metrical version than they have yet obtained of the book of Psalms; this wish the piety of Blackmore led him to gratify, and he produced (1721) *A new Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the Tunes used in Churches*[3], which, being recommended by the archbishops and many bishops, obtained a licence for its admission into publick worship; but no admission has it yet obtained, nor has it any right to come where Brady[4] and Tate[5] have got possession. Blackmore's name must be added to those of many others who, by the same attempt, have obtained only the praise of meaning well.

He was not yet deterred from heroick poetry; there was another 36
monarch of this island (for he did not fetch his heroes from foreign countries) whom he considered as worthy of the epick muse, and he dignified Alfred (1723) with twelve books. But the opinion of the nation was now settled; a hero introduced by Blackmore was not likely to find either respect or kindness. *Alfred* took his place by *Eliza*[6] in silence and darkness: benevo-

of granting licences, and the right of electing the President of the College from their own numbers.' *New Eng. Dict.*

[1] For Censor see *ante*, GARTH, 11 *n.*

[2] Published in 1711. Gay thus ridicules the *Satire on Wit* and these three works:—

'Mauled human wit in one thick satire,
Next in three books spoiled human nature;
Undid creation at a jerk,
And of redemption made damned work.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 303; *ante*, BLACKMORE, 20 *n.*

[3] 'Then took his Muse at once and [dipt her
Full in the middle of the Scripture.
What wonders there the man grown old did!
Sternhold himself he out-Sternholded.' *Ib.*

[4] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 309.

[5] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 273; ROWE, 21. Tate's version of *King Lear* 'got possession' of the stage, and held it 'until the restoration of Shakespeare's tragedy at Covent Garden in 1838' by Macready. 'Garrick adhered to Tate, and Kemble followed him in it.' Kean, about 1823, 'had restored the last scene of the original.' Macready's *Reminiscences*, ii. 462.

[6] *Ante*, BLACKMORE, 20.

lence was ashamed to favour, and malice was weary of insulting [1]. Of his four epick poems the first had such reputation and popularity as enraged the criticks [2]; the second was at least known enough to be ridiculed [3]; the two last had neither friends nor enemies [4].

37 Contempt is a kind of gangrene, which if it seizes one part of a character corrupts all the rest by degrees. Blackmore, being despised as a poet, was in time neglected as a physician: his practice, which was once invidiously great, forsook him in the latter part of his life; but being by nature or by principle averse from idleness he employed his unwelcome leisure in writing books on physick, and teaching others to cure those whom he could himself cure no longer. I know not whether I can enumerate all the treatises by which he has endeavoured to diffuse the art of healing; for there is scarcely any distemper of dreadful name which he has not taught his reader how to oppose. He has written on the small-pox, with a vehement invective against inoculation [5]; on consumptions, the spleen, the gout, the rheumatism, the king's-evil, the dropsy, the jaundice, the stone, the diabetes, and the plague.

38 Of those books, if I had read them, it could not be expected that I should be able to give a critical account. I have been told that there is something in them of vexation and discontent, discovered by a perpetual attempt to degrade physick from its sublimity, and to represent it as attainable without much previous or concomitant learning. By the transient glances which I have thrown upon them I have observed an affected contempt of the Ancients, and a supercilious derision of transmitted knowledge.

[1] Pope 'insulted' the author. 'At that season [the age of forty] it was that Virgil finished his *Georgics*, and Sir Richard Blackmore, at the like age, composing his *Arthurs*, declared the same to be the very *acme* and pitch of life for epic poesy; though since he hath altered it to sixty, the year in which he published his *Alfred*.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 82.

[2] *Prince Arthur*. *Ante*, BLACKMORE, 11.

[3] *King Arthur*. *Ante*, BLACKMORE, 11.

[4] Pope, in a note on *The Dunciad*, ii. 268, says that Blackmore's 'indefatigable muse produced no less than six epic poems: *Prince* and *King Arthur*, twenty books; *Eliza*, ten; *Alfred*, twelve; *The Redeemer*, six; besides *Job*, in folio; the whole book of *Psalms*; *The Creation*, seven books; *Nature of Man*, three books; and many more. 'Tis in this sense he is styled afterwards [*Dunciad*, ii. 302] the "everlasting Blackmore."' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 149.

[5] 'Inoculation,' said Johnson, 'has saved more lives than war destroys.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 293.

For a list of Blackmore's medical works see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* v. 131.

Of this indecent arrogance[1] the following quotation from his Preface to the *Treatise on the Small-pox* will afford a specimen; in which when the reader finds, what I fear is true, that when he was censuring Hippocrates he did not know the difference between *aphorism* and *apophthegm*[2], he will not pay much regard to his determinations concerning ancient learning.

'As for this book of Aphorisms it is like my lord Bacon's of the same title[3], a book of jests or a grave collection of trite and trifling observations, of which though many are true and certain, yet they signify nothing, and may afford diversion, but no instruction: most of them being much inferior to the sayings of the wise men of Greece, which yet are so low and mean that we are entertained every day with more valuable sentiments at the table-conversation of ingenious and learned men[4].'

I am unwilling, however, to leave him in total disgrace, and 39
will therefore quote from another Preface[5] a passage less reprehensible.

'Some gentlemen have been disingenuous and unjust to me by wresting and forcing my meaning in the Preface to another book, as if I condemned and exposed all learning, though they knew I declared that I greatly honoured and esteemed all men of superior literature and erudition; and that I only undervalued false or superficial learning, that signifies nothing for the service

[1] Johnson showed his respect for the ancients when he was suffering from a fever. 'I believe,' he wrote, 'it was not an intermittent, for I took, of my own head, physick yesterday, and Celsus says, it seems, that if a cathartick be taken the fit will return *certo certius*. I would bear something rather than Celsus should be detected in an error.' *John. Letters*, i. 220.

Locke replied to Molyneux's praise of Blackmore's poetry (*ante*, BLACKMORE, 9):—'There is nothing has given me a greater esteem of him than what he says about hypotheses in medicine, in his preface to *King Arthur*. . . . He has so publicly declared against the more easy, fashionable and pleasing way of an hypothesis, which, I think, has done more to hinder the true art of physic, which is the curing of diseases, than all other things put together; by making it learned, specious, and talkative, but ineffective to its great end, the health of mankind.' Locke's *Works*, ed. 1812, ix. 426.

[2] Johnson defines *aphorism* as 'a maxim; an unconnected position,' and *apophthegm* as 'a remarkable saying.' In *The New Eng. Dict.* *aphorism* is defined as '1. A definition or concise statement of a principle in any science. 2. Any principle or precept expressed in few words; a short, pithy sentence, containing a truth of general import; a maxim.' *Apophthegm* is defined as 'a terse, pointed saying, embodying an important truth in few words; a pithy or sententious maxim.' According to present usage, therefore, *aphorism* in its second meaning is a synonym of *apophthegm*.

[3] The title of Bacon's work is *A Collection of Apophthegms, New and Old.*

[4] *Treatise upon the Small Pox*, 1723, Preface, p. 23.

[5] *A Treatise of Consumptions*, &c., 1724, Preface, p. 18.

of mankind, and that, as to physick, I expressly affirmed that learning must be joined with native genius to make a physician of the first rank; but if those talents are separated I asserted, and do still insist, that a man of native sagacity and diligence will prove a more able and useful practiser than a heavy notional [1] scholar, encumbered with a heap of confused ideas.'

40 He was not only a poet and a physician, but produced likewise a work of a different kind, *A true and impartial History of the Conspiracy against King William, of glorious Memory, in the Year* 1695 [2]. This I have never seen, but suppose it at least compiled with integrity. He engaged likewise in theological controversy, and wrote two books against the Arians: *Just Prejudices against the Arian Hypothesis*, and *Modern Arians unmasked* [3]. Another of his works is *Natural Theology, or Moral Duties considered apart from Positive; with some Observations on the Desirableness and Necessity of a supernatural Revelation.* This was the last book that he published. He left behind him *The accomplished Preacher, or an Essay upon Divine Eloquence* [4], which was printed after his death by Mr. White of Nayland in Essex, the minister who attended his death-bed, and testified the fervent piety of his last hours. He died on the eighth of October, 1729 [5].

41 BLACKMORE by the unremitted enmity of the wits, whom he provoked more by his virtue than his dulness, has been exposed to worse treatment than he deserved; his name was so long used to point every epigram upon dull writers that it became at last a bye-word of contempt [6]: but it deserves observation

[1] 'NOTIONAL. Dealing in ideas, not realities.' Johnson's *Dict.*

[2] Published in 1723.

[3] Both books in 1721.

[4] Neither this work nor *Natural Theology* is in the British Museum.

[5] On Oct. 9 according to Cibber's *Lives*, v. 184–5, whence the account of Blackmore's death seems to be taken.

The University of Oxford had a fortunate escape from a reversionary interest in £1,000 left by him to encourage a student every year to write a poem of 650 lines on a Divine Subject and 'prose pamphlets against the obscene plays and publications of the time. The poems were to be printed.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 265.

[6] Pope attacked him in *The Dunciad*, i. 104, ii. 259, 302, 370. For other attacks by Pope see *ante*, BLACKMORE, 5, 11, 14, 31, 36. In *The Art of Sinking* he is called 'the father of the Bathos, and indeed the Homer of it.' It is 'from his treasury,' the authors of it say, 'that we have drawn all these instances.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 360.

Gay, in his *Epistle* ii, brings in a couplet, slightly altered, from *Prince Arthur*, Bk. v. l. 152:—

'Then Maurus in his proper sphere
might shine,

that malignity takes hold only of his writings, and that his life passed without reproach, even when his boldness of reprehension naturally turned upon him many eyes desirous to espy faults, which many tongues would have made haste to publish. But those who could not blame could at least forbear to praise, and therefore of his private life and domestick character there are no memorials.

As an author he may justly claim the honours of magnanimity[1]. 42
The incessant attacks of his enemies, whether serious or merry, are never discovered to have disturbed his quiet, or to have lessened his confidence in himself; they neither awed him to silence nor to caution; they neither provoked him to petulance nor depressed him to complaint. While the distributors of literary fame were endeavouring to depreciate and degrade him he either despised or defied them, wrote on as he had written before, and never turned aside to quiet them by civility or repress them by confutation.

He depended with great security on his own powers, and per- 43
haps was for that reason less diligent in perusing books. His literature was, I think, but small. What he knew of antiquity I suspect him to have gathered from modern compilers; but though he could not boast of much critical knowledge his mind was stored with general principles, and he left minute researches to those whom he considered as little minds.

With this disposition he wrote most of his poems. Having 44
formed a magnificent design he was careless of particular and subordinate elegances; he studied no niceties of versification; he waited for no felicities of fancy; but caught his first thoughts in the first words in which they were presented: nor does it appear that he saw beyond his own performances, or had ever elevated his views to that ideal perfection which every genius born to excel is condemned always to pursue, and never overtake. In the first suggestions of his imagination he acquiesced; he thought them good, and did not seek for better. His works may be read

And these proud numbers grace
great William's sign:
"This is the man, this the Nas-
sovian, whom
I nam'd the brave deliverer to
come."' *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 172.
For other attacks on him by the wits see *ante*, BLACKMORE, 3, 7, 11, 14, 15, 20, 34.

[1] 'We trace Johnson's own character in his observations on Blackmore's magnanimity as an author.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 55.

a long time without the occurrence of a single line that stands prominent from the rest[1].

45 The poem on *Creation* has, however, the appearance of more circumspection; it wants neither harmony of numbers, accuracy of thought, nor elegance of diction: it has either been written with great care, or, what cannot be imagined of so long a work, with such felicity as made care less necessary.

46 Its two constituent parts are ratiocination[2] and description. To reason in verse is allowed to be difficult; but Blackmore not only reasons in verse, but very often reasons poetically; and finds the art of uniting ornament with strength, and ease with closeness. This is a skill which Pope might have condescended to learn from him, when he needed it so much in his *Moral Essays*[3].

47 In his descriptions both of life and nature the poet and the philosopher happily co-operate; truth is recommended by elegance, and elegance sustained by truth.

48 In the structure and order of the poem not only the greater parts are properly consecutive, but the didactick and illustrative paragraphs are so happily mingled that labour is relieved by pleasure, and the attention is led on through a long succession of

[1] This last sentence is not in the first edition.

[2] 'The favourite exercise of Dryden's mind was ratiocination.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 327.

[3] *Post*, POPE, 202-6. Johnson criticizes also the reasoning in the *Essay on Man*. *Post*, POPE, 190, 363-6. Dr. Warton says that 'Dr. Johnson strangely asserts that Pope might have learnt the art of reasoning in verse from Blackmore.' Pope's *Works*, 1822, vi. 202.

'Pope perhaps did not disdain to study and profit by *The Creation*.... If Pope condescended to learn anything from Blackmore, which I am inclined to think he did, he should in gratitude, as well as in justice, have bestowed on him a redeeming verse in *The Dunciad*.' SOUTHEY, Cowper's *Works*, ii. 139.

Had the following lines been written after the *Essay on Man* they would have been called an imitation of *Epistle* i. 43.

'See how the earth has gained that very place
Which, of all others in the boundless space, [conduce
Is most convenient, and will best
To the wise ends required for nature's use.
You who the Mind and Cause Supreme deny,
Nor on his aid to form the world rely,
Must grant, had perfect wisdom been employed,
To find through all th' interminable void
A seat most proper, and which best became
The earth and sea, it must have been the same.' *The Creation*, Bk. i. l. 68.

It may be the case that the similarity comes only from the 'Leibnitzian reasoning' [*post*, POPE, 363] of both poets. Nevertheless other passages in *The Creation* lead me to agree with Johnson and Southey. See also *post*, SAVAGE, 119 *n*.

varied excellence to the original position, the fundamental principle of wisdom and of virtue.

AS the heroick poems of Blackmore are now little read it is 49
thought proper to insert as a specimen from *Prince Arthur* the song of Mopas mentioned by Molineux [1].

'But that which Arthur with most pleasure heard,
Were noble strains by Mopas sung, the bard,
Who to his harp in lofty verse began,
And through the secret maze of Nature ran.
He the great Spirit sung, that all things fill'd,
That the tumultuous waves of Chaos still'd;
Whose nod dispos'd the jarring seeds to peace,
And made the wars of hostile Atoms cease.
All Beings we in fruitful Nature find,
Proceeded from the great Eternal Mind;
Streams of his unexhausted spring of power,
And cherish'd with his influence, endure.
He spread the pure cerulean fields on high,
And arch'd the chambers of the vaulted sky,
Which he, to suit their glory with their height,
Adorn'd with globes, that reel as drunk with light.
His hand directed all the tuneful spheres,
He turn'd their orbs, and polish'd all the stars.
He fill'd the Sun's vast lamp with golden light,
And bid the silver Moon adorn the night;
He spread the airy Ocean without shores,
Where birds are wafted with their feather'd oars.
Then sung the bard how the light vapours rise
From the warm earth, and cloud the smiling skies.
He sung how some, chill'd in their airy flight,
Fall scatter'd down in pearly dew by night.
How some, rais'd higher, sit in secret steams
On the reflected points of bounding beams;
Till, chill'd with cold, they shade th' ethereal plain,
Then on the thirsty earth descend in rain.
How some, whose parts a slight contexture show,
Sink hovering through the air in fleecy snow.
How part is spun in silken threads, and clings
Entangled in the grass in glewy strings.
How others stampt to stones, with rushing sound
Fall from their crystal quarries to the ground.
How some are laid in trains, that kindled fly
In harmless fires by night, about the sky.

[1] *Ante*, BLACKMORE, 9. The song is in Bk. iv. ed. 1695, p. 95.

How some in winds blow with impetuous force,
And carry ruin where they bend their course;
While some conspire to form a gentle breeze
To fan the air, and play among the trees.
How some, enrag'd, grow turbulent and loud,
Pent in the bowels of a frowning cloud;
That cracks, as if the axis of the world
Was broke, and heaven's bright towers were downwards hurl'd.
He sung how earth's wide ball at Jove's command
Did in the midst on airy columns stand.
And how the soul of plants, in prison held,
And bound with sluggish fetters, lies conceal'd,
Till with the Spring's warm beams, almost releast
From the dull weight with which it lay opprest,
Its vigour spreads, and makes the teeming earth
Heave up, and labour with the sprouting birth;
The active spirit freedom seeks in vain;
It only works and twists a stronger chain.
Urging its prison's sides to break a way,
It makes that wider, where 'tis forc'd to stay:
Till, having form'd its living house, it rears
Its head, and in a tender plant appears.
Hence springs the oak, the beauty of the grove,
Whose stately trunk fierce storms can scarcely move.
Hence grows the cedar, hence the swelling vine
Does round the elm its purple clusters twine.
Hence painted flowers the smiling gardens bless,
Both with their fragrant scent and gaudy dress.
Hence the white lily in full beauty grows,
Hence the blue violet, and blushing rose.
He sung how sun-beams brood upon the earth,
And in the glebe hatch such a numerous birth;
Which way the genial warmth in Summer storms
Turns putrid vapours to a bed of worms;
How rain, transform'd by this prolifick power,
Falls from the clouds an animated shower.
He sung the embryo's growth within the womb,
And how the parts their various shapes assume.
With what rare art the wondrous structure's wrought,
From one crude mass to such perfection brought;
That no part useless, none misplac'd we see,
None are forgot, and more would monstrous be.'

# FENTON

THE brevity with which I am to write the account of ELIJAH FENTON is not the effect of indifference or negligence[1]: I have sought intelligence among his relations in his native country, but have not obtained it. 1

He was born near Newcastle in Staffordshire of an ancient family[2], whose estate was very considerable, but he was the youngest of twelve children, and being therefore necessarily destined to some lucrative employment was sent first to school, and afterwards to Cambridge; but with many other wise and virtuous men, who at that time of discord and debate consulted conscience, whether well or ill informed, more than interest, he doubted the legality of the government, and, refusing to qualify himself for publick employment by the oaths required[3], left the university without a degree[4]: but I never heard that the enthusiasm of opposition impelled him to separation from the church. 2

By this perverseness of integrity he was driven out a commoner of Nature[5], excluded from the regular modes of profit and prosperity and reduced to pick up a livelihood uncertain and fortuitous; but it must be remembered that he kept his name unsullied, and never suffered himself to be reduced, like too many of the same sect, to mean arts and dishonourable 3

[1] His *Life* is in *Biog. Brit.* Suppl. p. 50, by a writer who had 'most of the particulars from him. He was born at Shelton, near Newcastle, the youngest of twelve.' Shelton is close to Newcastle-under-Lyme. He was born on May 20, 1683. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] In his epitaph on his father in the churchyard of Stoke-upon-Trent he describes him as 'Iohannes Fenton de Shelton, antiqua stirpe generosus.' He was an attorney. Johnson's *Works*, viii. 54. See also *John. Letters*, ii. 195.

[3] The oaths required were those of supremacy, by which 'the Pope's pretended authority' was renounced, and of abjuration, by which any claim of the Pretender was renounced. Blackstone's *Comm.* 1775, i. 368.

[4] He graduated B.A. at Jesus College in 1704. [He removed to Trinity Hall, whence he took his M.A. in 1726. *Graduati Cantabrig.* 1659–1823.]

[5] 'ANTONY. I'm now turned wild,
a commoner of nature.'
DRYDEN, *All for Love*, i. 1, *Works*, v. 351.
Burns has 'commoners of air' in the *Epistle to Davie*.

shifts[1]. Whoever mentioned Fenton, mentioned him with honour[2].

4 The life that passes in penury must necessarily pass in obscurity. It is impossible to trace Fenton from year to year, or to discover what means he used for his support. He was a while secretary to Charles earl of Orrery in Flanders[3], and tutor to his young son, who afterwards mentioned him with great esteem and tenderness[4]. He was at one time assistant in the school of Mr. Bonwicke[5] in Surrey, and at another kept a school for himself at Sevenoaks in Kent, which he brought into reputation; but was persuaded to leave it (1710) by Mr. St. John, with promises of a more honourable employment[6].'

5 His opinions, as he was a Nonjuror, seem not to have been remarkably rigid. He wrote with great zeal and affection the praises of queen Anne[7], and very willingly and liberally extolled

[1] 'Perhaps a Nonjuror would have been less criminal in taking the oaths than refusing them; because refusing them necessarily laid him under almost an irresistible temptation to be more criminal; for a man *must* live, and if he precludes himself from the support furnished by the establishment, will probably be reduced to very wicked shifts to maintain himself.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 321.

Swift advised a Jacobite to comply with the law. 'The abjuration is understood as the law stands; and as the law stands, none has a title to the Crown but the present possessor.' *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 88.

For the character of Nonjurors see *post*, WATTS, 13 *n.*, and Macaulay's *Hist. of Eng.* v. 90. For a defence of them see Hearne's *Collections*, &c., ed. C. E. Doble, Preface, p. 5.

[2] *Post*, FENTON, 19 *n.*

[3] Johnson wrote to Nichols:—'When Lord Orrery [the fourth Earl] was in an office Lewis was his Secretary. Lewis lived in my time; I knew him. Lord Orrery [the fifth Earl] told me that Fenton was his tutor; but never thought he was his father's Secretary.' *Gent. Mag.* 1785, p. 10; *post*, SWIFT, 65. Nichols says in a note:—'Fenton was Secretary to Lord Orrery when he commanded a regiment in Flanders, and was dismissed in 1705.' Orrery was sent to the Tower in 1722 as a Jacobite plotter. Smollett's *Hist. of Eng.* ii. 425. See also Swift's *Works*, xvi. 381.

As Charles Boyle he took part in the discussion about the *Epistles of Phalaris*; as Earl of Orrery his name lives in the astronomical apparatus called after him, though not his invention.

[4] He wrote of him in 1756:—'He taught me to read English, and attended me through the Latin tongue from the age of seven to thirteen.... Tears arise when I think of him, though he has been dead above twenty years.' *Hughes Corres.* ii. 39 *n.* John Boyle, the fifth Earl, was born in 1707.

[5] Ambrose Bonwicke was dismissed from the head-mastership of Merchant Taylors' School as a nonjuror. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[6] Fenton wrote to Broome in 1727:—'You know what kind of usage I long met with in my pursuits, which indeed were not so much suits for favour as for justice, in desiring a bare equivalent for what I resigned.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 140. According to *Biog. Brit.* Suppl. p. 51, St. John (Bolingbroke) did nothing for him.

[7] *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 364.

He praises the Duke and the

the duke of Marlborough, when he was (1707) at the height of his glory.

He expressed still more attention to Marlborough and his family by an elegiack pastoral on the marquis of Blandford [1], which could be prompted only by respect or kindness; for neither the duke nor dutchess desired the praise, or liked the cost of patronage [2]. 6

The elegance of his poetry entitled him to the company of the wits of his time, and the amiableness of his manners made him loved wherever he was known. Of his friendship to Southern [3] and Pope [4] there are lasting monuments. 7

He published in 1707 [5] a collection of poems. 8

By Pope he was once placed in a station that might have been of great advantage. Craggs, when he was advanced to be secretary of state (about 1720), feeling his own want of literature, desired Pope to procure him an instructor, by whose help he might supply the deficiencies of his education. Pope recommended Fenton, in whom Craggs found all that he was seeking [6]. There was now a prospect of ease and plenty, for Fenton had merit, and Craggs had generosity; but the small-pox suddenly put an end to the pleasing expectation. 9

When Pope, after the great success of his *Iliad*, undertook the *Odyssey*, being, as it seems, weary of translating, he determined to engage auxiliaries [7]. Twelve books he took to himself, and twelve he distributed between Broome and Fenton; the books allotted to Fenton were the first, the fourth, the nineteenth, and the twentieth. It is observable that he did not take the eleventh, 10

Queen in *An Ode to the Sun*. Nay more, he makes

'The nymph anew begin to moan,
Viewing the much-lamented space
Where late her warlike William shone.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 243.

See *post*, FENTON, 21.

[1] *Florelio, A Pastoral*, *ib.* p. 250. *Post*, FENTON, 22. See also *ante*, CONGREVE, 36.

[2] 'Where her husband's honour was concerned the Duchess was lavish with her money.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iii. 89.

'Who now his fame or fortune shall prolong?
In vain his Consort bribes for venal song.' POPE, *Ib.* iii. 527.

[3] *An Epistle to Mr. Southerne*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 277.

[4] *To Mr. Pope. An Imitation of a Greek Epigram to Homer.* *Ib.* p. 343. For Pope's epitaph on him see *post*, FENTON, 17; POPE, 425.

[5] In 1717.

[6] Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 493; Warburton's *Pope*, vii. 235. Pope wrote to Fenton in 1720:—'I am now commissioned to tell you that Mr. Craggs will expect you on the rising of the parliament, which will be as soon as he can receive you in the manner he would receive a man *de belles lettres*, that is, in tranquillity and full leisure.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 46. See *ante*, ADDISON, 103; *post*, POPE, 404.

[7] *Post*, BROOME, 5, 6; POPE, 133, 355.

which he had before translated into blank verse, neither did Pope claim it, but committed it to Broome[1]. How the two associates performed their parts is well known to the readers of poetry, who have never been able to distinguish their books from those of Pope[2].

11 In 1723 was performed his tragedy of *Mariamne*, to which Southern[3], at whose house it was written, is said to have contributed such hints as his theatrical experience supplied. When it was shewn to Cibber it was rejected by him, with the additional insolence of advising Fenton to engage himself in some employment of honest labour, by which he might obtain that support which he could never hope from his poetry[4]. The play was acted at the other theatre[5]; and the brutal petulance of Cibber was confuted, though perhaps not shamed, by general applause[6]. Fenton's profits are said to have amounted to near a thousand pounds, with which he discharged a debt contracted by his attendance at Court[7].

12 Fenton seems to have had some peculiar system of versification. *Mariamne* is written in lines of ten syllables, with few of those redundant terminations which the drama not only admits but requires, as more nearly approaching to real dialogue. The tenour of his verse is so uniform that it cannot be thought casual, and

[1] Broome had translated it previously. He wrote to Fenton in 1722:—'It was happy for me that I had translated the eleventh and twelfth books some years ago for my diversion.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 54. For Fenton's translation into blank verse see *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 291.

Fenton helped Pope in his edition of Shakespeare. Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), viii. 82. For this he was paid £30 14*s*. *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 76.

[2] Pope wrote to Broome in 1722:—'There is nothing I will not do to make the whole as finished and spirited as I am able, by giving the last touches.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 49.

'Wakefield, who examined the translations with critical accuracy, thought that Broome least of the three "endeavoured to raise" his author.' *Ib.* viii. 100 *n.*

[3] *Ante*, DRYDEN, 87, 90. Of a new comedy of Southerne's Fenton wrote to Broome in 1726:—'Because I could not counterfeit a transport, he has looked a little cold upon me ever since.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 112.

[4] 'Mr. Wilcox, the bookseller, on being informed by Johnson that his intention was to get his livelihood as an author, eyed his robust frame attentively, and with a significant look, said, "You had better buy a porter's knot." He however added, "Wilcox was one of my best friends."' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 102 *n.*

[5] In Lincoln's Inn Fields on Feb. 22, 1722–3. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 276.

[6] For Cibber's 'impenetrable impudence' see *post*, POPE, 238.

[7] *Biog. Brit.* Suppl. p. 52.

'*Mariamne*,' wrote Dr. Young, 'brought its author above £1,500.' *Letters of Lady M. W. Montagu*, Preface, p. 53.

yet upon what principle he so constructed it is difficult to discover.

The mention of his play brings to my mind a very trifling 13
occurrence. Fenton was one day in the company of Broome his associate, and Ford a clergyman, at that time too well known, whose abilities, instead of furnishing convivial merriment to the voluptuous and dissolute, might have enabled him to excel among the virtuous and the wise[1]. They determined all to see *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which was acted that night; and Fenton, as a dramatick poet, took them to the stage-door, where the door-keeper enquiring who they were was told that they were three very necessary men, Ford, Broome, and Fenton. The name in the play, which Pope restored to *Brook*, was then *Broome*[2].

It was perhaps after his play that he undertook to revise the 14
punctuation of Milton's Poems, which, as the author neither wrote the original copy nor corrected the press, was supposed capable of amendment[3]. To this edition he prefixed a short and elegant account of Milton's life, written at once with tenderness and integrity[4].

He published likewise (1729) a very splendid edition of Waller, 15
with notes often useful, often entertaining, but too much extended by long quotations from Clarendon[5]. Illustrations

[1] For Johnson's cousin, Cornelius Ford—'Parson Ford,' as he was generally known—see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 49, iii. 348; *John. Misc.* i. 154, 359; *post*, BROOME, 2.

[2] It was Theobald who restored it: 'The players,' he says, 'in their editions, altered the name to Broom.' Johnson's *Shakespeare*, ii. 482.

[3] His edition appeared in 1725. He did more than revise the punctuation. He anticipated Bentley in rash tampering with the text. Some instances of his 'ignorance, want of taste and silly officiousness' are given in *The Gent. Mag.* 1731, p. 55. Thus the lines

'And temperate vapours bland, which th' only sound
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly dispers'd' (*Para. Lost*, v. 5)

he changed into

'And temperate vapours bland from fuming rills,
Which th' only sound of leaves (Aurora's fan)
Lightly dispers'd.'

Monk believes that Fenton's edition indirectly led to Bentley's. *Life of Bentley*, ii. 309.

[4] *Ante*, MILTON, 1. He wrote on Jan. 13, 1725-6:—'I am now revising *Milton's Life*, which is prefixed to the last edition [1725], which I wrote in a hurry the last summer.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 112.

[5] *Ante*, ROSCOMMON, 2; WALLER, 1 *n*. 'Even this degree of praise,' writes Mr. Elwin, 'conveys too favourable an idea of the scanty literature, thought, and knowledge which Fenton put into his compilation.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 82.

drawn from a book so easily consulted should be made by reference rather than transcription.

16 The latter part of his life was calm and pleasant. The relict of Sir William Trumbal[1] invited him, by Pope's recommendation, to educate her son; whom he first instructed at home, and then attended to Cambridge. The lady afterwards detained him with her as the auditor of her accounts. He often wandered to London, and amused himself with the conversation of his friends.

17 He died in 1730 at Easthampstead in Berkshire, the seat of the lady Trumbal; and Pope, who had been always his friend[2], honoured him with an epitaph, of which he borrowed the two first lines from Crashaw[3].

18 Fenton was tall and bulky, inclined to corpulence, which he did not lessen by much exercise; for he was very sluggish and sedentary, rose late, and when he had risen sat down to his book or papers[4]. A woman, that once waited on him in a lodging, told him, as she said, that he would 'lie a-bed, and be fed with a spoon.' This, however, was not the worst that might have been prognosticated, for Pope says, in his Letters, that 'he died of indolence[5]'; but his immediate distemper was the gout.

19 Of his morals and his conversation the account is uniform: he was never named but with praise and fondness, as a man in the highest degree amiable and excellent. Such was the character given him by the earl of Orrery, his pupil[6]; such is the testimony

[1] *Post*, POPE, 23, 395. Fenton entered on his new duties at the beginning of 1724. Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), viii. p. 73.

[2] '"Fenton has told me," said Lord Orrery, "that he thought Pope feared him more than he loved him."' *Ib.* viii. 165. Pope feared him because he could have exposed his falsity. *Post*, BROOME, 6 *n.*

[3] *Post*, FENTON, 30; POPE, 425-6.

[4] 'Fenton is fat and indolent, a very good scholar, sits within and does nothing but read or compose.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 19.

[5] Fenton died on July 13, 1730. On July 21 Pope wrote to Gay:—'Poor Fenton! He died of indolence and inactivity; let it not be your fate, but use exercise.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 436. Pope, in 1722, excusing himself for not transcribing some verses, writes:—'Indeed it is not laziness or Fentonism.' *Ib.* viii. 56. 'When Fenton was with me at Sturston,' wrote Broome, 'he often fished; this gave him an opportunity of sitting still and being silent; but he left it off because the fish bit.' *Ib.* p. 111. 'Poor Fenton,' wrote Lord Orrery, 'died of a great chair and two bottles of port a day.' *Hughes Corres.* ii. 39. Pope says of him in his epitaph: 'From Nature's temperate feast rose satisfied.' *Post*, POPE, 425.

'JOHNSON. "In lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath."' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 407.

[6] *Ante*, FENTON, 4.

of Pope; and such were the suffrages of all who could boast of his acquaintance[1].

By a former writer of his *Life*[2] a story is told, which ought not 20
to be forgotten. He used, in the latter part of his time, to pay his relations in the country an yearly visit. At an entertainment made for the family by his elder brother he observed that one of his sisters, who had married unfortunately, was absent, and found upon enquiry that distress had made her thought unworthy of invitation. As she was at no great distance he refused to sit at table till she was called, and, when she had taken her place, was careful to shew her particular attention.

His collection of poems is now to be considered. The *Ode to* 21
*the Sun* is written upon a common plan, without uncommon sentiments; but its greatest fault is its length[3]. No poem should be long of which the purpose is only to strike the fancy, without enlightening the understanding by precept, ratiocination, or narrative. A blaze first pleases, and then tires the sight.

Of *Florelio* it is sufficient to say that it is an occasional 22
pastoral, which implies something neither natural nor artificial, neither comick nor serious[4].

The next ode is irregular, and therefore defective[5]. As the 23
sentiments are pious they cannot easily be new, for what

[1] 'Fenton is a right honest man.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 19. Pope and Broome, in their letters, call him 'honest Fenton.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 67, 161. He, in his turn, speaks of 'honest Gay.' *Ib.* p. 154. With the same condescending air Boswell said:—'For my part, I like very well to hear honest Goldsmith talk away carelessly.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 186. On his death Broome wrote of him as 'the sincerest of men and friends. The inoffensive, unambitious, undesigning and peaceful Fenton is gone to his peace.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 163. See also *post*, POPE, 426.

Southey (*Specimens*, i. 284) says that 'Fenton's productions are more characterised by indecency than wit. He is said to have been a moral man. What must have been the morality of an age when a moral man could write such poems, and Walter Harte, who certainly was a religious man, could present them to a young Lady, with commendatory verses in which the most obscene verses are recommended as "stories quaint to charm the hours away."' For Harte's verses see *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 389. For the grossness of some of Pope's letter to Martha and Teresa Blount see *post*, POPE, 243 *n.*

[2] Cibber's *Lives*, iv. 164.

[3] *Ante*, FENTON, 5 *n.*; *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 240. It consists of 24 stanzas of 10 lines each.

[4] *Ante*, FENTON, 6; *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 250. It is 'occasional,' as being written on the occasion of a death. For pastorals see *ante*, MILTON, 181.

[5] *An Ode*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 257. The worst lines are the following:—

'Then gladly bounding from their dark restraints,
The skeletons shall brighten into saints.'

For Congreve's 'cure of our Pindarick madness' see *ante*, CONGREVE, 44.

can be added to topicks on which successive ages have been employed [1]!

24 Of the *Paraphrase on Isaiah* nothing very favourable can be said [2]. Sublime and solemn prose gains little by a change to blank verse; and the paraphrast has deserted his original by admitting images not Asiatick, at least not Judaical:

'Returning Peace,
Dove-eyed, and rob'd in white—'

25 Of his petty poems some are very trifling, without any thing to be praised either in the thought or expression. He is unlucky in his competitions: he tells the same idle tale with Congreve [3], and does not tell it so well. He translates from Ovid the same epistle as Pope [4]; but I am afraid not with equal happiness.

26 To examine his performances one by one would be tedious. His translation from Homer into blank verse will find few readers while another can be had in rhyme [5]. The piece addressed to Lambarde [6] is no disagreeable specimen of epistolary poetry; and his ode to the lord Gower [7] was pronounced by Pope the next ode in the English language to Dryden's *Cecilia*. Fenton may be justly styled an excellent versifier and a good poet [8].

27 WHATEVER I have said of Fenton is confirmed by Pope in a letter, by which he communicated to Broome an account of his death [9].

[1] *Ante*, COWLEY, 147.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 261.

[3] Fenton's *The Fair Nun* (*Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 270) is the same tale as Congreve's *An Impossible Thing* (*ib.* xxxiv. 297).

[4] *Sappho to Phaon*, *ib.* xxxv. 321.

[5] *The Eleventh Book of the Odyssey translated from the Greek in Milton's Style*, *ib.* p. 291.

How little it is in Milton's style the opening lines show:—

'When speeding sea-ward to the fleet we came,
That anchored nigh the coast, we launched our ship
Into the sacred deep.'

For Johnson's preference of rhyme see *ante*, MILTON, 274.

[6] *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 350.

[7] *Ib.* p. 366. The best lines are Horace's 'Carpe diem' amplified:—

'Fool! Time no change of motion knows;
With equal speed the torrent flows,
To sweep fame, power and wealth away.
The past is all by death possessed,
And frugal fate that guards the rest,
By giving, bids him live to-day.'

Fenton was to have been tutor to Lord Gower's son. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 153, 155.

I can find no authority for Pope's praise of this Ode. Warton mentions Akenside's admiration of it. Pope's *Works*, 1822, i. 198.

[8] In the first edition is the following paragraph:—'The compilers having omitted some pretty verses, I have put them in here.' The verses were *The First Fit of the Gout*. With these the *Life of Fenton* ended. See *Eng. Poets*, xxxv. 378; *John. Letters*, ii. 196.

[9] This letter, as the paging shows, was added to the second edition after it was in type.

'TO
'The Rev^d. Mr. BROOME,
'At PULHAM, near HARLESTONE,
'NOR
'SUFFOLKE [1].

By BECCLES Bag [2].

'D^R SIR.

'I intended to write to you on this melancholy subject, the death of Mr. Fenton, before y^rs came; but stay'd to have informed myself & you of y^e circumstances of it. All I hear is that he felt a Gradual Decay, tho so early in Life, & was declining for 5 or 6 months. It was not, as I apprehended, the Gout in his Stomach, but I believe rather a Complication first of Gross Humors, as he was naturally corpulent, not discharging themselves, as he used no sort of Exercise. No man better bore y^e approaches of his Dissolution (as I am told) or with less ostentation yielded up his Being. The great Modesty w^ch you know was natural to him, and y^e great Contempt he had for all Sorts of Vanity & Parade, never appeared more than in his last moments: He had a conscious Satisfaction (no doubt) in acting right, in feeling himself honest, true, & un-pretending to more than was his own. So he dyed, as he lived, with that secret, yet sufficient, Contentment.

'As to any Papers left behind him, I dare say they can be 28
but few; for this reason, He never wrote out of Vanity, or thought much of the Applause of Men [3]. I know an Instance where he did his utmost to conceal his own merit that way; and if we join to this his natural Love of Ease, I fancy we must expect little of this sort: at least I hear of none except some few further remarks on Waller (w^ch his cautious integrity made him leave an order to be given to Mr. Tonson) and perhaps,

[1] Broome was rector of Pulham, Norfolk. He had another living in Suffolk (*post*, BROOME, 11). Hence perhaps rose Pope's doubt as to the county.

[2] The letter was to go in the Beccles post-bag. Fenton's own address was 'At Easthampstead Park, near Ockingham. By Bagshot Bag. Berks.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 98. Later on Ockingham had a bag of its own. *Ib.* p. 121. Another poet, Edward FitzGerald, wrote more than a hundred years later:—'Let a London letter slide once in a while out of the Beccles post-bag.' *More Letters of E. FitzGerald*, p. 14.

[3] Fenton wrote to Broome in 1727:—'It is not writing that is ridiculous in a man of years, but the vanity of printing on all occasions. Blessed be the memory of the man, whoever he was, who said, *Quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color.* Whenever I set up my chariot that sentence shall glitter on the panel.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 141. The quotation is from Horace, *Sat.* ii. 1. 60.

'In durance, exile, Bedlam or the Mint,—
Like Lee or Budgel, I will rhyme and print.'
POPE, *Imit. Hor.*, *Sat.* ii. 1. 99.

tho tis many years since I saw it, a Translation of y^e^ first Book of Oppian. He had begun a Tragedy of Dion, but made small progress in it.

29 'As to his other Affairs, he dyed poor, but honest, leaving no Debts, or Legacies; except of a few p^ds^ to Mr. Trumbull and my Lady, in token of respect, Gratefulness, & mutual Esteem.

30 'I shall with pleasure take upon me to draw this amiable, quiet, deserving, unpretending, Christian and Philosophical character, in His Epitaph[1]. There Truth may be spoken in a few words: as for Flourish, & Oratory, & Poetry, I leave them to younger and more lively Writers, such as love writing for writing sake, & w^d^ rather show their own Fine Parts, y^n^ Report the valuable ones of any other man. So the Elegy I renounce.

31 'I condole with you from my heart, on the loss of so worthy a man, and a Friend to us both. Now he is gone, I must tell you he has done you many a good office, & set your character in y^e^ fairest light, to some who either mistook you, or knew you not. I doubt not he has done the same for me.

'Adieu: Let us love his Memory, and profit by his example[2]. I am very sincerely

'D^R^ SIR
'Your affectionate
'& real Servant
'A. POPE.

AUG. 29^th^, 1730.'

[1] *Ante*, FENTON, 17.

[2] Fenton wrote to Broome on April 3, 1728:—'Do you ever correspond with our good friend Mr. Pope? I never hear of him but in the weekly Chronicles. Mist had a very severe paper against him in the last journal, which seems to have been written by one who has studied and understands him.' In this paper, 'Pope is accused of writing "vituperative, prurient and atheistical" verses, of an undue eagerness for gain in his literary projects, of translating Homer without understanding Greek, &c.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 143.

For *Mist's Journal* see Swift's *Letters to Chetwode*, p. 95.

# GAY

JOHN GAY, descended from an old family that had been long in possession of the manour of Goldworthy[1] in Devonshire, was born in 1688 at or near Barnstaple[2], where he was educated by Mr. Luck, who taught the school of that town with good reputation, and, a little before he retired from it, published a volume of Latin and English verses[3]. Under such a master he was likely to form a taste for poetry. Being born without prospect of hereditary riches he was sent to London in his youth and placed apprentice with a silk-mercer[4]. 1

How long he continued behind the counter, or with what degree of softness and dexterity he received and accommodated[5] the Ladies, as he probably took no delight in telling it, is not known. The report is that he was soon weary of either the 2

[1] Goldworthy does not appear in the *Villare*. JOHNSON. For the *Villare* see *ante*, ROWE, 1 *n.* 3. 'Goldworthy was held by Gilbert le Gay, of Hampton Gay, Oxon., by match of a daughter and heir of Curtoyse. This lordship was the ancient dwellings of the name of Gay many descents. Now [1630] it belongs to the Coffins.' Risdon's *Survey of Devon*, 1811, p. 243.

[2] In the Barnstaple register is the following entry:—'John, the son of William Gay, was baptised the 16th day of September, 1685.' *N. & Q.* 6 S. xii. 227; [*Barnstaple Parish Reg.* 1538–1812, ed. Thos. Wainwright, 1903.]

['He was born in Barnstaple in the year 1688 (?) and was the youngest child of Mr. William Gay, the second son of John Gay, Esq., of Frithelstock near Great Torrington, of an ancient and worthy family.' *Gay's Chair*, 1820, p. 12; which has a Memoir of Gay said to be from a MS. life, left by his nephew the Rev. Joseph Baller.]

[3] According to *Biog. Brit.* p. 2182, his master's name was William Rayner. *A Miscellany of New Poems . . . to which are added Poemata quaedam Latina* by Robert Luck, master of Barnstaple School, is advertised in *Gent. Mag.* 1736, p. 176.

[4] He thus described himself in 1713:—

'But I, who ne'er was blest by Fortune's hand,
Nor brightened ploughshares in paternal land,
Long in the noisy town have been immured,
Respired its smoke, and all its cares endured.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 4.

Gibbon, after stating that 'our most respectable families have not disdained the counting-house, or even the shop,' adds that his great-grandfather, the son of a country gentleman, 'did not aspire above the station of a linen-draper in Leadenhall Street.' *Memoirs*, pp. 9, 11. See also *ib.* p. 273 for a note on 'gentility and trade.'

[5] For Johnson's use of *accommodate* and *accommodation* see Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 310; *John. Letters*, ii. 367.

restraint or servility of his occupation, and easily persuaded his master to discharge him[1].

3 The dutchess of Monmouth, remarkable for inflexible perseverance in her demand to be treated as a princess, in 1712 took Gay into her service as secretary[2]: by quitting a shop for such service he might gain leisure, but he certainly advanced little in the boast of independence. Of his leisure he made so good use that he published next year a poem on *Rural Sports*[3], and inscribed it to Mr. Pope, who was then rising fast into reputation[4]. Pope was pleased with the honour; and when he became acquainted with Gay found such attractions in his manners and conversation that he seems to have received him into his inmost confidence, and a friendship was formed between them which lasted to their separation by death, without any known abatement on either part[5]. Gay was the general favourite of the whole association of wits; but they regarded him as a play-fellow rather than a partner, and treated him with more fondness than respect[6].

[1] 'He grew so fond of reading and study that he frequently neglected to exert himself in putting off silks and velvets to the ladies.' Ayre's *Life of Pope*, ii. 97.

[2] She was heiress of the Earl of Buccleugh, and wife of Charles II's natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. Dryden, in a Dedication, speaks of 'the rank which you hold in the Royal Family.' *Works*, ii. 286. He called her 'his first and best patroness.' *Ib.* viii. 136. 'She is one of the wisest and craftiest of her sex, and has much wit.' EVELYN, *Diary*, ii. 87. Lady Cowper (*Diary*, p. 125) wrote of her in 1716:—'She had all the life and fire of youth, and it was marvellous to see that the many afflictions she had suffered had not touched her wit and good nature.' For Scott's praise of her see Dryden's *Works*, ix. 228 *n.*, and the Introduction to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

Aaron Hill (*Works*, i. 326) described Gay as 'a domestic of the Duchess. He was her secretary about the year 1713.' (By *domestic* he meant an inmate of the house.) On June 8, 1714, Gay wrote to Swift:—'I am quite off from the Duchess.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 113. See also *post*, GAY, 7 *n.*

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 1; *post*, GAY, 28.

'The full extent of your country skill,' Swift wrote to him in 1732, 'is in fishing for roaches, or gudgeons at the highest.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 476. Gay replied:—'I have this season shot nineteen brace of partridges.' *Ib.* xviii. 38. The Duchess of Queensberry added to his letter:—'When he began to be a sportsman had like to have killed a dog; and now every day I expect he will kill himself.' *Ib.*

[4] Pope this year (1713) was 'in the full bloom of reputation.' *Post*, POPE, 74.

[5] In 1725 Gay received £35 17*s.* 6*d.* 'for assisting Pope in correcting the press' in his *Shakespeare*. Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* ii. 714; *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 76.

[6] He wrote to Mrs. Howard in 1723:—'I have not, and fear never shall have, a will of my own.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 432.

He describes himself in *The Hare and Many Friends*:—

'A Hare, who in a civil way,
Complied with everything like Gay,

Next year he published *The Shepherd's Week*[1], six English 4
Pastorals, in which the images are drawn from real life such as it appears among the rusticks in parts of England remote from London. Steele, in some papers of *The Guardian*, had praised Ambrose Philips as the Pastoral writer that yielded only to Theocritus, Virgil, and Spenser. Pope, who had also published Pastorals, not pleased to be overlooked, drew up a comparison of his own compositions with those of Philips, in which he covertly gave himself the preference, while he seemed to disown it[2]. Not content with this he is supposed to have incited Gay to write *The Shepherd's Week* to shew, that if it be necessary to copy nature with minuteness, rural life must be exhibited such as grossness and ignorance have made it. So far the plan was reasonable; but the Pastorals are introduced by a *Proeme*, written with such imitation as they could attain of obsolete language, and by consequence in a style that was never spoken nor written in any age or in any place.

But the effect of reality and truth became conspicuous, even 5
when the intention was to shew them groveling and degraded[3]. These Pastorals became popular, and were read with delight, as just representations of rural manners and occupations, by those who had no interest in the rivalry of the poets, nor knowledge of the critical dispute.

In 1713 he brought a comedy called *The Wife of Bath* upon 6
the stage, but it received no applause[4]; he printed it however; and seventeen years after, having altered it and, as he thought, adapted it more to the publick taste, he offered it again to the

Was known by all the bestial train,
Who haunt the wood, or graze the plain;
Her care was never to offend;
And every creature was her friend.'
*Eng. Poets*, xxxvii. 118.

Parnell, according to Goldsmith, used to give Gay the money he made by his writings. Goldsmith's *Works*, iv. 132.

[1] In 1714. *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 45.

[2] *Post*, POPE, 68, 285; A. PHILIPS, 18.

[3] Wordsworth, who rarely speaks of Johnson but with censure, praises this remark. *Poetical Works*, 1857, vi. 368.

'These *Pastorals* were originally intended, I suppose, as a burlesque on those of Philips's; but, perhaps without designing it, Gay has hit the true spirit of pastoral poetry.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 437.

'In attempting the burlesque Gay copied nature, and his unexpected success might have taught his contemporaries a better taste. Few poets seem to have possessed so quick and observing an eye.' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, &c., i. 298.

[4] . . . Steele gave it a 'puff preliminary' in *The Guardian*, May 8, 1713, No. 50.

town; but, though he was flushed with the success of *The Beggar's Opera*, had the mortification to see it again rejected[1].

7 In the last year of queen Anne's life, Gay was made secretary to the earl of Clarendon, ambassador to the court of Hanover[2]. This was a station that naturally gave him hopes of kindness from every party[3]; but the Queen's death put an end to her favours[4], and he had dedicated his *Shepherd's Week* to Bolingbroke, which Swift considered as the crime that obstructed all kindness from the house of Hanover[5].

8 He did not, however, omit to improve the right which his office had given him to the notice of the royal family[6]. On the arrival of the princess of Wales he wrote a poem[7], and obtained

[1] On Nov. 9, 1729, Gay wrote to Swift: —'I have employed my time in new writing a damned play, which I wrote several years ago, called *The Wife of Bath*.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 263; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 165. Swift replied:— 'I have heard of *The Wife of Bath*, I think in Shakespeare. If you wrote one it is out of my head.' *Ib.* p. 167. Swift apparently thought that one of Shakespeare's plays bore that name. On March 3 of the next year Gay wrote:—'My old vamped play got me no money, for it had no success.' *Ib.* p. 183; Swift's *Works*, xvii. 277. Both versions were printed.

[2] Gay wrote to Swift on June 8, 1714:—'I am every day attending my Lord Treasurer for his bounty in order to set me out; which he has promised me upon the following petition, which I sent him by Dr. Arbuthnot:—

"*The Epigrammatical Petition of John Gay.*

I'm no more to converse with the swains,
But go where fine people resort;
One can live without money on plains,
But never without it at Court.
If, when with the swains I did gambol,
I array'd me in silver and blue;
When abroad and in Courts I shall ramble,
Pray, my lord, how much money will do?"'

Swift's *Works*, xvi. 113.

On June 26 Arbuthnot wrote to Swift:—'Gay had £100 in due time, and went away a happy man.' *Ib.* p. 123.

[3] *Ante*, ADDISON, 100.

[4] She was dead when Clarendon delivered his credentials. Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), vi. 211 *n.*

[5] Swift wrote to Gay in 1723:— 'Tell me, are you not under original sin by the dedication of your *Eclogues* to Lord Bolingbroke?' *Works*, xvi. 390. Gay describes himself in the Prologue as going to Court:—

'There saw I St. John, sweet of mien,
Full steadfast both to Church and Queen.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 55.

Walpole, in 1722, made him a Commissioner of the Lottery, worth £150 a year. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 106. 'He enjoyed this office from 1722 till 1731, even during the noise made by *The Beggar's Opera*.' CROKER, *ib.* p. 426 *n.* See *post*, GAY, 16 *n.*

[6] In 1729 he wrote to Swift:— 'You have often twitted me in the teeth for hankering after the Court.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 263.

[7] *To a Lady, Occasioned by the Arrival of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.* He says (*Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 164):—

'Places, I found, were daily given away,
And yet no friendly Gazette mentioned Gay.
I asked a friend what method to pursue;

so much favour that both the Prince and Princess went to see his *What d'ye call it*, a kind of mock-tragedy, in which the images were comick and the action grave[1]; so that, as Pope relates, Mr. Cromwell, who could not hear what was said, was at a loss how to reconcile the laughter of the audience with the solemnity of the scene[2].

Of this performance the value certainly is but little; but it 9
was one of the lucky trifles that give pleasure by novelty, and was so much favoured by the audience that envy appeared against it in the form of criticism; and Griffin a player, in conjunction with Mr. Theobald[3], a man afterwards more remarkable, produced a pamphlet called the *Key to the What d'ye call it*, which, says Gay, 'calls me a blockhead, and Mr. Pope a knave[4].'

But Fortune has always been inconstant. Not long after- 10
wards (1717) he endeavoured to entertain the town with *Three Hours after Marriage*, a comedy written, as there is sufficient reason for believing, by the joint assistance of Pope and Arbuthnot[5]. One purpose of it was to bring into contempt Dr. Woodward, the Fossilist[6], a man not really or justly

He cried, "I want a place as well as you."'
Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, accents *Gazette* as Gay does.

[1] Gay says in the Preface:—'I have not called it a tragedy, comedy, pastoral, or farce, but left the name entirely undetermined in the doubtful appellation of *The What d'ye Call it*, ... but I added to it *A Tragi-Comi-Pastoral Farce*, as it comprised all those several kinds of drama.' The ballad '*Twas when the seas were roaring* is in Act ii. sc. 8.

[2] Pope tells this in a letter dated March 3, 1714-5. He adds:—'The ... pit and gallery people received it at first with great gravity and sedateness, some few with tears; but after the third day they also took the hint, and have ever since been loud in their claps.... Mr. Gay will have made about £100 of this farce.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 223.

[3] Warburton's *Pope*, vii. 223. For Theobald see *post*, POPE, 126, 145.

[4] Gay wrote in April 1715:—'There is a sixpenny criticism lately published upon the tragedy of *What d'ye Call it*, wherein he with much judgment and learning calls me a blockhead, and Mr. Pope a knave.' His grand charge is against *The Pilgrim's Progress* being read, which, he says, is directly levelled at Cato's reading Plato.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 227. See also *ib.* p. 225 *n.*, and p. 414 for a duplicate of this in a forged letter to Congreve. For Cato see *ante*, ADDISON, 152.

[5] Gay in the Preface mentions the assistance of two friends. An undated letter of his to Pope, if genuine, proves that they were Pope and Arbuthnot. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 419.

[6] Johnson speaks of 'Mr. Janes the fossilist.' *Works*, ix. 45. John Jeans, Gough's *Brit. Topog.*, 1780, ii. 634; see also *N. & Q.*, 10 S. ii. 54. The fossilist of the eighteenth century became the geologist of the next. Neither term is in Johnson's *Dictionary*.

The bridegroom of Gay's play is named Fossile. In the Epilogue it is said:—

contemptible[1]. It had the fate which such outrages deserve: the scene in which Woodward was directly and apparently ridiculed, by the introduction of a mummy and a crocodile[2], disgusted the audience, and the performance was driven off the stage with general condemnation[3].

11 Gay is represented as a man easily incited to hope, and deeply depressed when his hopes were disappointed[4]. This is not the character of a hero; but it may naturally imply something more generally welcome, a soft and civil companion. Whoever is apt to hope good from others is diligent to please them; but he that believes his powers strong enough to force their own way, commonly tries only to please himself[5].

12 He had been simple enough to imagine that those who laughed at the *What d'ye call it* would raise the fortune of its author, and finding nothing done, sunk into dejection. His friends endeavoured to divert him. The earl of Burlington sent him (1716) into Devonshire[6]; the year after Mr. Pulteney took him

'Join then your voices, be the play excused
For once, though no one living is abused.'

Woodward lived till 1728. He was ridiculed in *Martinus Scriblerus* under the name of Dr. Cornelius. Warburton's *Pope*, vi. 106 *n.*

[1] 'Who Nature's treasures would explore,
Her mysteries and arcana know,
Must high as lofty Newton soar,
Must stoop as delving Woodward low.'

DR. BENTLEY, Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 24 *n.*

In the Sale Catalogue of Johnson's Library is Woodward's *History of Fossils*. His name lives in the Woodwardian Professorship of Geology at Cambridge.

[2] Two rival lovers of Dr. Fossile's bride get themselves carried into his house, one as a mummy, the other inside a crocodile's skin. The farce is as dull as it is gross.

[3] Pope attributed the failure to 'a tide of malice and party spite that certain authors have raised against it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 464. He told Spence that 'Addison and his friends had exclaimed against it for obscenities.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 202. See also *post*, POPE, 233.

[4] A few weeks after Queen Anne's death Arbuthnot wrote :—'I advised Gay to make a poem upon the Princess before she came over.... But he was in such a grovelling condition as to the affairs of this world that his Muse would not stoop to visit him.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 215. He wrote the poem however. *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 161.

[5] Mrs. Piozzi, quoting this passage, continues:—'As Dr. Johnson said he did, till he was starved into civility; "and now," added he, "I am eminently and attentively polite."' Hayward's *Piozzi*, ii. 151. 'Johnson told Mr. Thrale that he had never sought to please till past thirty years old, considering the matter as hopeless.' *John. Misc.* i. 318.

[6] '"D' ye see now," remarked Arbuthnot, "I went to visit Gay [at Burlington House], and ordered him a poultice for his swelled face. He said Lord and Lady Burlington were very good to him, but the poor creature eat his poultice for hunger."' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 32 *n.*

Gay wrote an Epistle to the Earl entitled *A Journey to Exeter. Eng.*

to Aix[1]; and in the following year lord Harcourt invited him to his seat, where during his visit the two rural lovers were killed with lightning, as is particularly told in Pope's *Letters*[2].

Being now generally known, he published (1720) his Poems by 13
subscription, with such success that he raised a thousand pounds, and called his friends to a consultation what use might be best made of it. Lewis[3], the steward of lord Oxford, advised him to intrust it to the funds, and live upon the interest; Arbuthnot bad him intrust it to Providence, and live upon the principal; Pope directed him, and was seconded by Swift, to purchase an annuity[4].

Gay in that disastrous year had a present from young Craggs 14

*Poets*, xxxvi. 167. For the earl see *post*, POPE, 156, 272.

[1] Pope wrote on June 7, 1717:—'As to Gay, he is just upon the wing for Aix-la-Chapelle, with Mr. Pulteney, the late Secretary.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 244. In his *Epistle to Pulteney* Gay describes the society of Paris. *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 173.

[2] Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 325, ix. 285, 398. For Pope's epitaph on the lovers, entitled *On John Hughes and Sarah Drew*, see *ib.* iv. 392.

[3] Swift, on Dec. 15, 1710, described him as 'Mr. Harley's chief favourite.' *Works*, ii. 110. 'He was an Under-Secretary of State in the Harley administration and member for Lostwithiel.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 34.

'Lord Bathurst used to call Prior his verse-man, and Lewis his prose-man.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 175.

Prior has a hit at him in *Alma*, i. 355:—

'Prose-men alone for private ends
I thought forsook their ancient friends.'

Gay, in *A Welcome from Greece*, describes him as

'Lewis, who has never friend forsaken.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 193.

On July 24, 1714, just after Bolingbroke had driven Oxford from office, Lewis wrote to Swift from Whitehall:—'I feel a strange tenderness within myself, and scarce bear the thoughts of dating letters from this place, when my old friend is out, whose fortune I have shared for so many years.' Swift's *Works*, xvi. 157.

Swift wrote of Lewis:—'I am sure I can say, from my own experience, that he is the best of friends; he was so to me, when I had little hopes I should ever live to thank him.' *Ib.* ii. 411 *n.* In his *Part of the seventh Epistle of the first Book of Horace imitated and addressed to a noble Peer* [the Earl of Oxford], 1713 (*ib.* xii. 298), he thus describes him:—

'This Lewis is a cunning shaver,
And very much in Harley's favour.'

Arbuthnot wrote to Swift in Nov. 1723:—'The shaver is an honest friendly man as before.... He posts himself a good part of the year in some warm house, wins the ladies' money at ombre, and convinces them that they are highly obliged to him.' *Ib.* xvi. 413.

'I love Mr. Lewis's device,' wrote Swift, '*Piano, piano.*' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 265.

[4] It was not in 1720, but on Nov. 23, 1727, that Swift wrote to Gay:—'Get a stronger fence about your £1,000, and throw the inner fence into the heap; and be advised by your Twickenham landlord and me about an annuity.' *Ib.* vii. 105. On March 23 of the next year Pope wrote to Swift:—'Mr. Gay's opera has been acted near forty days running.... So he has more than a fence about his £1,000; he will soon be thinking of a fence about his £2,000.' *Ib.* p. 123. Warburton, in a note on this, tells of the 'consultation.' Warburton's *Pope*, ix. 76.

of some South-sea-stock, and once supposed himself to be master of twenty thousand pounds [1]. His friends persuaded him to sell his share, but he dreamed of dignity and splendour, and could not bear to obstruct his own fortune. He was then importuned to sell as much as would purchase an hundred a year for life, 'which,' says Fenton, 'will make you sure of a clean shirt and a shoulder of mutton every day.' This counsel was rejected, the profit and principal were lost, and Gay sunk under the calamity so low that his life became in danger.

15 By the care of his friends, among whom Pope appears to have shewn particular tenderness [2], his health was restored; and, returning to his studies, he wrote a tragedy called *The Captives*, which he was invited to read before the princess of Wales. When the hour came he saw the princess and her ladies all in expectation, and advancing with reverence, too great for any other attention, stumbled at a stool, and falling forwards threw down a weighty Japan screen. The princess started, the ladies screamed, and poor Gay after all the disturbance was still to read his play [3].

16 The fate of *The Captives*, which was acted at Drury-Lane in 1723, I know not [4]; but he now thought himself in favour, and undertook (1726) to write a volume of *Fables* for the improvement of the young duke of Cumberland [5]. For this he is said to have been promised a reward, which he had doubtless magnified with all the wild expectations of indigence and vanity.

17 Next year the Prince and Princess became King and Queen, and Gay was to be great and happy; but upon the settlement of the household he found himself appointed gentleman usher to the princess Louisa. By this offer he thought himself insulted, and

[1] Spence's *Anec.* p. 214. For Craggs see *ante*, ADDISON, 103; FENTON, 9; *post*, POPE, 404. Johnson again speaks of 1720 as 'that disastrous year.' *Post*, POPE, 123. See also Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 16.

[2] *Post*, POPE, 160.

[3] [Victor's *Hist. of the Theatres of London and Dublin*, ii. 156.]

[4] It was brought out on Jan. 9, 1723-4. On Jan. 30 Fenton wrote:—'Gay's play had no success. I am told he gave thirty guineas to have it acted the fifth night.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 75. The account in *Biog. Dram.* ii. 81 that 'it was acted nine nights with great applause,' cannot be true.

[5] Gay, in the Dedication to the Duke, says that the nation

'In the fair dawning of your mind,
Discern you generous, mild and kind.'

He continues:—

'Cowards are cruel; but the brave
Love mercy, and delight to save.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxvii. 32.

Twenty years later the Duke was to win at Culloden his name of the Butcher.

sent a message to the Queen, that he was too old for the place [1]. There seem to have been many machinations employed afterwards in his favour; and diligent court was paid to Mrs. Howard, afterwards countess of Suffolk, who was much beloved by the King and Queen, to engage her interest for his promotion; but solicitations, verses, and flatteries were thrown away; the lady heard them, and did nothing [2].

All the pain which he suffered from the neglect, or, as he per- 18
haps termed it, the ingratitude of the court, may be supposed to have been driven away by the unexampled success of *The Beggar's Opera*. This play, written in ridicule of the musical Italian Drama [3], was first offered to Cibber and his brethren at Drury-Lane, and rejected [4]; it being then carried to Rich had the effect, as was ludicrously said, of making Gay *rich*, and Rich *gay* [5].

[1] Gay wrote to Swift on Oct. 22, 1727:—'Upon account that I am so far advanced in life I have declined accepting the post.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 148.

'Thus Gay, the hare with many friends,
Twice seven long years the Court attends;
Who, under tales conveying truth,
To virtue form'd a princely youth;
Who paid his courtship with the crowd
As far as modest pride allow'd;
Rejects a servile usher's place,
And leaves St. James's in disgrace.'

SWIFT, *ib.* xiv. 389. See also *ib.* pp. 263, 310.

Nearly twenty years earlier Steele was gentleman-usher to Prince George of Denmark. H. R. Montgomery's *Steele*, i. 69.

[2] *Post*, SWIFT, 89. 'She could not even procure a place of £200 a year for John Gay, a very poor and honest man, and no bad poet, only because he was a poet, which the King considered as a mechanic.' CHESTERFIELD, *Letters*, ed. Mahon, 1845, ii. 441.

Walpole alone 'discerned that the power would be lodged with the wife, not with the mistress.... To Mrs. Howard Swift's ingratitude was base. *She* indubitably had exerted all her interest to second his and his faction's interests.' HORACE WALPOLE, *Letters*, Preface, p. 118.

On Jan. 8, 1732–3, Swift wrote of her:—'For these reasons, as I did always, so I do still think Mrs. Howard to be an absolute courtier. ... I take Mr. Pope and Mr. Gay, who judge more favourably, to be a couple of simpletons.' *Works*, xviii. 63. For his character of her see *ib.* ix. 270, and for Pope's and Gay's good opinion of her, *ib.* xvii. 253, 348. See also Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 280.

[3] 'This is asserted, I think, without foundation.' HAWKINS, Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 209.

[4] Cibber, in his *Apology*, p. 142, admitted that 'Gay had more skilfully gratified the public taste than all the brightest authors that ever wrote before him.'

[5] It was brought out at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre on Jan. 29, 1727–8. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 290. Rich was afterwards manager of Covent Garden Theatre.

'Immortal Rich! how calm he sits at ease,
'Mid snows of paper, and fierce hail of pease;
And proud his Mistress' orders to perform
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.'

*The Dunciad*, iii. 261. See *ante*, ADDISON, 133 *n.*

Gay wrote on March 20, 1727-8:—

19 Of this lucky piece, as the reader cannot but wish to know the original and progress, I have inserted the relation which Spence has given in Pope's words[1]:

'Dr. Swift had been observing once to Mr. Gay, what an odd pretty sort of a thing a Newgate Pastoral might make[2]. Gay was inclined to try at such a thing for some time, but afterwards thought it would be better to write a comedy on the same plan. This was what gave rise to *The Beggar's Opera*. He began on it; and when first he mentioned it to Swift the Doctor did not much like the project. As he carried it on he shewed what he wrote to both of us, and we now and then gave a correction, or a word or two of advice; but it was wholly of his own writing. When it was done neither of us thought it would succeed. We shewed it to Congreve, who, after reading it over, said, "It would either take greatly, or be damned confoundedly[3]." We were all at the first night of it in great uncertainty of the event, till we were very much encouraged by overhearing the duke of Argyle[4], who sat in the next box to us, say, "It will do—it must do! I see it in the eyes of them." This was a good while before the first act was over, and so gave us ease soon; for that duke (besides his own good taste) has a particular knack as any one now living in discovering the taste of the publick. He was quite right in this

'I have got between seven and eight hundred pounds, and Rich has cleared already near four thousand.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 171. 'Gay sold the copyright of his *Fables* and *Beggar's Opera* for ninety guineas on Feb. 6.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 126 *n*. Arbuthnot wrote to Swift on May 8, 1729:—'Mr. Gay has about twenty lawsuits with booksellers for pirating his book.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 244.

[1] Spence's *Anec.* p. 159.

[2] Swift wrote to Pope from Dublin in 1716:—'There is a young ingenious Quaker in this town who writes verses to his mistress, not very correct, but in a strain purely what a poetical Quaker should do. . . . It gave me a hint that a set of Quaker pastorals might succeed, if our friend Gay could fancy it. . . . Or what think you of a Newgate pastoral among the whores and thieves there?' *Works*, xvi. 251.

Gay wrote to Swift in 1731:—'You and I are alike in one particular. I mean that we hate to write upon other folk's hints. I love to have my own scheme, and to treat it in my own way.' *Ib.* xvii. 366. For Swift's not 'stealing a hint' see *post*, SWIFT, 141 *n*.

[3] Pope wrote to Swift in Jan. 1727–8:—'Whether it succeeds or not, it will make a great noise; but whether of claps or hisses I know not.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 111.

'This is a very odd thing, Gay,' said the Duke of Queensberry; 'I am satisfied that it is either a very good thing, or a very bad thing.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 368.

The Duchess told Dr. Warton 'that Gay could play on the flute, and that this enabled him to adapt so happily some airs.' Warton, *Pope's Works*, i. 203.

[4] Swift wrote in 1711:—'The Duke is a man that distinguishes people of merit.' *Works*, ii. 170. In later years he described him as 'an ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot.' *Ib.* xii. 241.

'Argyle, the state's whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the senate and the field.' POPE, *Epil. Sat.* ii. 86.

as usual; the good nature of the audience appeared stronger and stronger every act, and ended in a clamour of applause[1].'

Its reception is thus recorded in the notes to *The Dunciad*[2]. 20

'This piece was received with greater applause than was ever known. Besides being acted in London sixty-three days without interruption[3], and renewed the next season with equal applause [applauses], it spread into all the great towns of England; was played in many places to the thirtieth and fortieth time; at Bath and Bristol fifty, &c. It made its progress into Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, where it was performed twenty-four days successively [together. It was last acted in Minorca[4]]. The ladies carried about with them the favourite songs of it in fans[5], and houses were furnished with it in screens. The fame of it was not confined to the author only. The person who acted Polly, till then obscure, became all at once the favourite of the town; her pictures were engraved, and sold in great numbers[6]; her Life

[1] 'Quin said that it was long in a very dubious state; that there was a disposition to damn it, and that it was saved by the song,

"O ponder well! be not severe!"

the audience being much affected by the innocent looks of Polly, when she came to those two lines which exhibit at once a painful and ridiculous image,

"For on the rope that hangs my Dear
Depends poor Polly's life."
[Act i, air 12].

Quin himself had so bad an opinion of it that he refused the part of Captain Macheath.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 368.

For Burke's thinking 'it has no merit,' and for Johnson's praising 'the novelty, and the general spirit and gaiety of the piece, which keeps the audience always attentive and dismisses them in good humour,' see *ib.* iii. 321.

[2] Bk. iii. l. 330.

[3] Johnson has changed the opening words of Pope, who wrote:—'The vast success of it was unprecedented and almost incredible.... It was acted in London sixty-three days uninterrupted.'

Rich's account-book shows that 'it ran for 62 nights; of these 32 nights were in succession.... The total sum realised by these 32 performances was £5,351, of which Gay obtained £693.' *N. & Q.* 1 S. i. 178. See also *ante*, DRYDEN, 87 *n.*; ADDISON, 61.

[4] A company of players, who went to Jamaica in 1733, buried their third Polly within two months. Chetwood's *Hist. of the Stage*, 1749, p. 41.

[5] For 'Dr. Titus Oates' [i. e. Dr. Sacheverell], at the time when 'he was in all his glory,' displayed upon the opening of a lady's fan, see *The Spectator*, No. 57.

[6] Gay wrote on March 20, 1727-8:—'There is a mezzotinto print published to-day of Polly..., who was before unknown, and is now in so high vogue that I am in doubt whether her fame does not surpass that of the Opera itself.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 171.

Lavinia Fenton, otherwise Mrs. Beswick, who acted Polly, married the third Duke of Bolton. She had three sons by him before marriage. Walpole's *Letters*, i. 176 *n.*

'I have had the pleasure,' wrote Dr. Warton, 'of being at table with her, when her conversation was much admired by the first characters of the age.' He adds that the air that saved the Opera 'is said irresistibly to have conquered the lover who afterwards married her.' Pope's *Works*, 1822, ix. 91 *n.*

For Warton's 'accompanying the Duke and his mistress in a continental tour, that he might be ready to marry them the moment the breath

written[1], books of letters and verses to her published, and pamphlets made even of her sayings and jests. Furthermore, it drove out of England (for that season) the Italian Opera, which had carried all before it for ten years[2].'

21 Of this performance, when it was printed[3], the reception was different according to the different opinion of its readers. Swift commended it for the excellence of its morality, as a piece 'that placed all kinds of vice in the strongest and most odious light[4]'; but others, and among them Dr. Herring, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, censured it as giving encouragement not only to vice but to crimes, by making a highwayman the hero, and dismissing him at last unpunished. It has been even said, that after the exhibition of *The Beggar's Opera* the gangs of robbers were evidently multiplied[5].

22 Both these decisions are surely exaggerated. The play, like many others, was plainly written only to divert, without any moral purpose, and is therefore not likely to do good; nor can it be conceived, without more speculation than life requires or admits, to be productive of much evil. Highwaymen and housebreakers seldom frequent the play-house or mingle in any elegant diversion; nor is it possible for any one to imagine that he may rob with safety because he sees Macheath reprieved upon the stage[6].

was out of the body of the Duchess, who was left dying in England,' see Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 121 *n.*

[1] *The Life of L. Beswick, alias Fenton, alias Polly Peachum.* 1728.

[2] *Ante*, ADDISON, 27; HUGHES, 6. Gay wrote on Feb. 15, 1727-8:—'The outlandish (as they now call it) opera has been so thin of late that some have called that *The Beggar's Opera*.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 167. See also *ib.* ix. 92.

Mrs. Pendarves (Mrs. Delany) wrote on Dec. 20, 1729:—'The opera [one of Handel's] is too good for the vile taste of the town; it is condemned never more to appear.... *The Beggar's Opera* and *Hurlothrumbo* are only worthy of applause.' Mrs. Delany's *Auto.* i. 229. Twenty-five years later she wrote:—'The oratorio [Handel's *Allegro*, &c.] was miserably thin; the Italian opera is always full.' *Ib.* iii. 339.

[3] 'In 8vo, 1728, price 1*s.* 6*d.*' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 291.

[4] *The Intelligencer*, No. 3, Swift's *Works*, ix. 90. See also *ib.* xvii. 156.

[5] In the Preface to Herring's *Sermons*, 1763, p. 5, it is said that the sermon was preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. It is added that 'several street-robbers confessed in Newgate that they raised their courage at the Playhouse by the songs of Macheath.' The sermon does not seem to have been printed.

In *The Intelligencer* Swift attacked 'a Court Chaplain who preached against *The Beggar's Opera*, which will probably do more good than a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious and so prostitute a divine.' *Works*, ix. 92. See also *ib.* xvii. 183.

For Herring's 'true spirit' as Archbishop of York at the Jacobite rising of 1745 see Horace Walpole's *Letters*, i. 394.

[6] 'JOHNSON. I do not believe

This objection however, or some other rather political[1] than 23
moral, obtained such prevalence, that when Gay produced a second part under the name of *Polly*, it was prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain[2]; and he was forced to recompense his repulse by a subscription, which is said to have been so liberally

that any man was ever made a rogue by being present at its representation. At the same time I do not deny that it may have some influence by making the character of a rogue familiar, and in some degree pleasing.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 367.

On Sept. 15, 1773, on which day at the Old Bailey fifteen prisoners were sentenced to death, forty to transportation, and eight to a whipping, 'Sir John Fielding informed the Bench of Justices that he had last year written to Mr. Garrick concerning the impropriety of performing *The Beggar's Opera*, which never was represented without creating an additional number of real thieves.' *Annual Register*, 1773, i. 132.

Sir John Hawkins, Chairman of the Middlesex Bench of Justices, wrote in 1776:—'Rapine and violence have been gradually increasing ever since its first representation.' *Hist. of Music*, v. 317.

Sir Walter Scott takes Johnson's view. *Works*, 1834, iii. 107.

[1] Swift, in *The Intelligencer*, describes how 'the author takes the occasion of comparing the common robbers of the public, and their several stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several arts of the politicians in times of corruption.' *Works*, ix. 92.

On March 28, 1728, Swift wrote to Gay:—'We hear a million of stories about the Opera, of the "encore" at the song *That was levell'd at me* [Act ii, air 30] when two great ministers were in a box together, and all the world staring at them.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 126. The two ministers were Walpole and Townshend. Croker says in a note to Lord Hervey's *Memoirs*, i. 115:—'Macheath, Lucy, and Polly reminded the public of Walpole, his lady, and "Molly Skerrett" [his mistress, afterwards his wife].'

[2] The prohibition was issued on Dec. 12, 1728, as Gay says in the Preface to the play. Dryden, addressing Dorset in 1693, says:—'As Lord Chamberlain you can restrain the licentious insolence of poets, and their actors, in all things that shock the public quiet.' *Works*, xiii. 10.

'The Lord Chamberlain was still considered as possessing an absolute, though an undefinable authority over the stage. As the exercise of his power had been always attended with much unpopularity it was seldom exerted.' In 1735, in a bill for restraining the number of playhouses Walpole 'proposed to insert a clause to confirm, if not enlarge, the power of the Lord Chamberlain.' By the Licensing Act of 1737 such power was given. Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 513–18. See *post*, THOMSON, 31; Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 140; Cibber's *Apology*, p. 160.

Lord Hervey (*Memoirs*, i. 120), after telling how 'one Gay, a poet, had written a ballad opera,' continues:—'He wrote a second part, less pretty but more abusive, and so little disguised that Walpole resolved, rather than suffer himself to be produced for thirty nights together upon the stage in the person of a highwayman, to make use of his friend the Duke of Grafton's authority as Lord Chamberlain, to put a stop to the representation.' Croker adds in a note:—'The piece seems to me to be free from all political allusions.'

Gay wrote to Swift:—'I am sure I have written nothing that can be legally suppressed.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 206. Croker's opinion is astonishing. In Ducat, the West Indian planter, an unfriendly audience would, in the opening scene, discover Walpole.

Cibber had his *Love in a Riddle*, an imitation of *The Beggar's Opera*,

bestowed, that what he called oppression ended in profit [1]. The publication was so much favoured, that though the first part gained him four hundred pounds, near thrice as much was the profit of the second [2].

24 He received yet another recompense for this supposed hardship, in the affectionate attention of the duke and dutchess of Queensberry, into whose house he was taken, and with whom he passed the remaining part of his life [3]. The duke, considering his want of œconomy, undertook the management of his money, and gave it to him as he wanted it [4]. But it is supposed that the discountenance of the Court sunk deep into his heart, and gave him more discontent than the applauses or tenderness of his friends could overpower [5]. He soon fell into his old distemper,

damned by way of reprisal. *Apology*, p. 143. In 1777 Colman brought out *Polly* revised, but it failed. *Biog. Dram.* iii. 170.

Cervantes, in *Don Quixote* (Jervas's translation, 1820, ii. 326), urged the appointment of a licenser of plays. Jervas adds that this advice was taken by the Court. *Ib.* p. 385.

[1] Gay wrote to Swift on March 18, 1728-9:—'You see my fortune increases by oppression.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 229. The next day Arbuthnot wrote:—'The inoffensive John Gay is now become one of the obstructions to the peace of Europe, the terror of ministers. . . . He is the darling of the City.' *Ib.* p. 232.

[2] 'He got about £400 by the first, and £1,100 or £1,200 by the second.' POPE, Spence's *Anec.* p. 214. By the first he made between £700 and £800. *Ante*, GAY, 18 *n.*

For like subscriptions for Thomson and Brooke see *post*, THOMSON, 31.

[3] The Duchess's maiden name was Catherine Hyde. She was the great-granddaughter of Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Prior celebrated her in *The Female Phaethon*:—

'Thus Kitty, beautiful and young,
And wild as colt untamed.'
*Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 34.

Horace Walpole, in 1771, gave her a stanza to add to Prior's lines. 'Reflect,' he wrote, 'that she was a goddess in Prior's days.' *Letters*, v. 295.

Lord Hervey (*Memoirs*, i. 121) tells how 'at the top of the fashionable world,' she solicited subscriptions for Gay's play in the Drawing Room, 'and made even the King's servants contribute to the printing of a thing which the King had forbid being acted.' On her being forbidden the Court, he adds, 'the Duke laid down his employment of Admiral of Scotland.' See also Gay's letter in Swift's *Works*, xvii. 228, and her letter to the King. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 293.

'Of all thy blameless life the sole return
My verse, and Queensberry weeping o'er thy urn.'
POPE, *Prol. Sat.* l. 259.

Gay, in his last Fable addressed 'To Laura,' describes the Duchess. He says to her:—

'How singular are all your ways!
A woman, and averse to praise!'
*Eng. Poets*, xxxvii. 192.

These Fables were sent to the press by the Duke. *Ib.* p. 121. Lady M.W. Montagu (*Letters*, ii. 429) wrote in 1751:—'If the Duchess had had her natural good understanding cultivated by letters she would never have mistaken Johnny Gay for a wit, and much less have printed that he took the liberty of calling her his Laura.'

[4] Spence's *Anec.* p. 214. Gay wrote to Swift in 1730:—'The Duchess is a more severe check upon my finances than ever you were; and I submit, as I did to you, to comply to my own good.' Swift's *Works*, xvii. 315.

[5] Pope wrote to him about the end

an habitual colick [1], and languished, though with many intervals of ease and cheerfulness, till a violent fit at last seized him, and hurried him to the grave, as Arbuthnot reported, with more precipitance than he had ever known [2]. He died on the fourth of December, 1732, and was buried in Westminster Abbey [3]. The letter which brought an account of his death to Swift was laid by for some days unopened, because when he received it he was imprest with the preconception of some misfortune [4].

After his death was published a second volume of *Fables* [5] more political than the former. His opera of *Achilles* was acted, and the profits were given to two widow sisters, who inherited what he left as his lawful heirs [6]; for he died without a will,

of 1728, when he was ill:—'Dear Gay, be as cheerful as your sufferings will permit; God is a better friend than a Court; even any honest man is a better.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 431. On Nov. 9, 1729, Gay wrote to Swift:—'You have often twitted me in the teeth with hankering after the Court. In that you mistook me.' *Ib.* vii. 166.

[1] *Ib.* vii. 32. In *The Beggar's Opera*, Act ii, he makes Jenny Diver say:—'Indeed, Sir, I never drink strong waters but when I have the colick.' To which Macheath replies:—'Just the excuse of the fine ladies! Why, a lady of quality is never without the colick.'

[2] Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 292. For Arbuthnot's care of him see Swift's *Works*, xvii. 232. Two months before his death Swift wrote to the Duchess of Queensberry:—'I entreat your Grace will order him to move his chops less and his legs more.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 290. Gay thus described himself in 1720:—

'Gay, Maine and Cheney, boon companions dear;
Gay fat, Maine fatter, Cheney huge of size.' *Ib.* v. 176.

(For Dr. Cheney, or Cheyne, see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 27.)

'"As the French philosopher used to prove his existence by *cogito, ergo sum*, the greatest proof of Gay's existence is *edit, ergo est*" (Congreve in a letter to Pope).' Spence's *Anec.* p. 13. The letter, I think, is unpublished.

[3] 'He was interred at Westminster Abbey,' wrote Arbuthnot, 'as if he had been a peer of the realm.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 65. For Pope's epitaph on him see *post*, POPE, 427. 'I love Gay,' wrote FitzGerald, 'but yet would not interfere with the perfect Gothic of the Abbey to stick up his ugly bust in it.' *More Letters*, p. 26.

[4] The letter, dated Dec. 5, was endorsed by Swift:—'On my dear friend Mr. Gay's death. Received December 15, but not read till the 20th, by an impulse foreboding some misfortune.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 291. In 1735 he wrote to Pope:—'The deaths of Mr. Gay and the doctor [Arbuthnot] have been terrible wounds near my heart.' *Ib.* p. 332.

[5] It was published in 1738. *Eng. Poets*, xxxvii. 121. In Fable ii, *The Vulture, the Sparrow, and Other Birds*, Walpole is the Vulture and Gay the Sparrow.

[6] Pope wrote to Swift on Feb. 16, 1732–3:—'The Duke has managed the comedy (which our poor friend gave to the playhouse the week before his death) to the utmost advantage for his relatives, and proposes to do the same with some fables he left finished.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 295. The comedy was *Achilles*, and not, as stated in a note, *The Wife of Bath*, which was acted in 1729–30. *Ante*, GAY, 6. '*Achilles* met with a general applause the first night, when there was a noble and crowded

though he had gathered three thousand pounds[1]. There have appeared likewise under his name a comedy called *The Distrest Wife*[2], and *The Rehearsal at Gotham*, a piece of humour[3].

26 The character given him by Pope is this, that 'he was a natural man, without design[4], who spoke what he thought, and just as he thought it'; and that 'he was of a timid temper, and fearful of giving offence to the great,' which caution, however, says Pope, was of no avail[5].

27 As a poet he cannot be rated very high. He was, as I once heard a female critick[6] remark, 'of a lower order.' He had not in any great degree the *mens divinior*[7], the dignity of genius. Much, however, must be allowed to the author of a new species of composition, though it be not of the highest kind. We owe to Gay the Ballad Opera; a mode of comedy which at first was supposed to delight only by its novelty, but has now by the experience of half a century been found so well accommodated

audience.' *Gent. Mag.* 1733, p. 85. See also *ib.* p. 78.

On March 31 Swift wrote to Pope:—'I heartily wish his Grace had entirely stifled that comedy.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 300. On May 1 he wrote:—'I had rather the two sisters were hanged than see his works swelled by any loss of credit to his memory.' *Ib.* p. 309. The comedy was *Achilles*, and not, as stated in a note, *The Distressed Wife*. 'It was brought out at Covent Garden on Feb. 10, 1733, and ran for eighteen nights. *Biog. Dram.* ii. 3; Genest's *Hist. of the Stage*, iii. 391.

[1] Spence's *Anec.* p. 215. 'The amount was £6,000.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 295.

[2] The Duchess wrote to Swift on March 4, 1733-4:—'To-morrow will be acted a new play of our friend Mr. Gay's.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 180. It was brought out at Covent Garden on March 5, 1734. Genest's *Hist. of the Stage*, iii. 428. According to Nichols:—'It met with indifferent success.' Swift's *Works*, 1803, xix. 72 *n.* It was published in 1743. 'Altered from Gay it was acted in 1772 at Covent Garden.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 168.

[3] It is a satire on Walpole, his colleagues, and the managers of Drury Lane for the suppression of *Polly*. It was published in 1754.

[4] 'Wholly without art or design.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 214.

[5] 'He was remarkable for an unwillingness to offend the great by any of his writings; he had an uncommon timidity upon him in relation to any thing of that sort. And yet you see what ill luck he had that way, after all his care not to offend.' *Ib.* p. 160.

His friends spoke of him as 'Johnny Gay.' 'Johnny is a good-natured, inoffensive man,' wrote Broome. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 147. (See also *ib.* p. 144.) Broome adds:—'I doubt not but those lines [in *The Beggar's Opera*] against Courts and ministers are drawn, at least aggravated, by Mr. Pope.' In the original MS. of *The Dunciad* Pope drew him in 'a poet's phantom':—

'With laughing eyes that twinkled in his head,
Well-looked, well-turned, well-natured, and well-fed.'

Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), iv. 279. See also Swift's *Works*, xviii. 87, 95.

[6] Johnson's wife, according to Mrs. Piozzi. *John. Misc.* i. 258.

'Gay was a good-natured man, and a little poet.' LADY M. W. MONTAGU, Spence's *Anec.* p. 234.

[7] HORACE, *Sat.* i. 4. 43.

to the disposition of a popular audience that it is likely to keep long possession of the stage[1]. Whether this new drama was the product of judgement or of luck the praise of it must be given to the inventor; and there are many writers read with more reverence to whom such merit of originality cannot be attributed.

His first performance, *The Rural Sports*[2], is such as was 28
easily planned and executed: it is never contemptible, nor ever excellent. *The Fan*[3] is one of those mythological fictions which antiquity delivers ready to the hand; but which, like other things that lie open to every one's use, are of little value. The attention naturally retires from a new tale of Venus, Diana, and Minerva[4].

His *Fables* seem to have been a favourite work, for, having 29
published one volume, he left another behind him[5]. Of this kind of Fables the authors do not appear to have formed any distinct or settled notion. Phædrus evidently confounds them with Tales, and Gay both with Tales and Allegorical Prosopopœias[6]. A Fable or Apologue, such as is now under consideration, seems to be in its genuine state a narrative in which beings irrational, and sometimes inanimate, 'arbores loquuntur, non tantum feræ[7],' are for the purpose of moral instruction feigned to act and speak with human interests and passions[8]. To this description the compositions of Gay do not always conform. For a Fable he gives now and then a Tale or an abstracted Allegory[9]; and from some, by whatever name they may be called, it will be difficult to extract any moral principle. They are, however, told with liveliness: the versification is smooth, and the diction, though now and then a little constrained by the measure or the rhyme, is generally happy.

To *Trivia*[10] may be allowed all that it claims: it is spritely, 30

[1] 'It was the parent of that most monstrous of all dramatic absurdities, the Comic Opera.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 315.

[2] *Ante*, GAY, 3.

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 19.

[4] *Ante*, BUTLER, 41.

[5] *Ante*, GAY, 16, 25. Gay wrote of them to Swift:—'Though this is a kind of writing that appears very easy, I find it is the most difficult of any that I ever undertook.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 268. Swift replied:—'There is no writing I esteem more than fables, nor anything so difficult to succeed in. . . . I have often admired your happiness in such a kind of performance, which I have frequently endeavoured at in vain.' *Ib.* p. 274.

[6] In the first edition, 'Tales and Allegories.'

[7] PHAEDRUS, *Fabulae*, i. Prol.

[8] For 'the skill in making little fishes talk like little fishes' see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 231.

[9] In the first edition, 'or an Allegory.'

[10] *Trivia, or The Art of Walking the Streets of London, Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 101. Pope wrote of it on

various, and pleasant. The subject is of that kind which Gay was by nature qualified to adorn; yet some of his decorations may be justly wished away. An honest blacksmith might have done for Patty what is performed by Vulcan[1]. The appearance of Cloacina is nauseous and superfluous[2]; a shoeboy could have been produced by the casual cohabitation of mere mortals. Horace's rule is broken in both cases: there is no 'dignus vindice nodus[3],' no difficulty that required any supernatural interposition. A patten may be made by the hammer of a mortal, and a bastard may be dropped by a human strumpet. On great occasions and on small the mind is repelled by useless and apparent falschood.

31 Of his little poems the publick judgement seems to be right; they are neither much esteemed, nor totally despised. The story of the *Apparition* is borrowed from one of the tales of Poggio[4]. Those that please least are the pieces to which *Gulliver* gave occasion[5]; for who can much delight in the echo of an unnatural fiction[6]?

32 *Dione*[7] is a counterpart to *Amynta* and *Pastor Fido*, and other trifles of the same kind, easily imitated, and unworthy of imitation[8]. What the Italians call comedies from a happy conclusion, Gay calls a tragedy from a mournful event; but the style of the Italians and of Gay is equally tragical. There is something in the poetical Arcadia so remote from known reality and speculative possibility, that we can never support its representation through a long work. A Pastoral of an hundred lines may be

Jan. 10, 1716:—'Gay's poem is just on the brink of the press, to which we have had the interest to procure him subscriptions of a guinea a book to a pretty tolerable number. I believe it may be worth £150 to him in the whole.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 237. See also *ib.* vii. 460.

[1] Vulcan wins Patty's love by making her a pair of pattens.

'The patten now supports each frugal dame, [takes the name.'
Which from the blue-eyed Patty
*Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 112.

[2] *Ib.* p. 117.

[3] HORACE, *Ars Poet.* l. 191.

[4] This sentence is not in the first edition. For the story see *Eng. Poets*, xxxvii. 14. The last chapter of *The Decline and Fall* opens on the Capitoline Hill, where 'the learned Poggius and a friend reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples, and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation.' See also *ante*, PRIOR, 55 *n.*

[5] *Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 298.

[6] *Post*, SWIFT, 85.

[7] *Dione, A Pastoral Tragedy*, *Eng. Poets*, xxxvii. 207.

[8] *Ante*, WALLER, 153. '*Dione* has not rescued us from the imputation of having no pastoral comedy that can be compared in the smallest degree to the *Aminta* or *Pastor Fido*.' J. WARTON, *Essay on Pope*, ii. 314.

endured; but who will hear of sheep and goats, and myrtle bowers and purling rivulets, through five acts? Such scenes please barbarians in the dawn of literature, and children in the dawn of life; but will be for the most part thrown away as men grow wise, and nations grow learned [1].

[1] *Ante*, MILTON, 182. Baretti wrote in 1768:—'The fashion of pastoral plays is now so utterly exploded throughout Italy that the revered name of Politian himself cannot rescue his *Orfeo* from total disregard.' *An Account of the Customs of Italy*, &c. i. 181. See *post*, POPE, 30.

# GRANVILLE[1]

1 OF GEORGE GRANVILLE, or as others write Greenville, or Grenville, afterwards lord Lansdown of Biddeford in the county of Devon, less is known than his name and rank might give reason to expect[2]. He was born about 1667, the son of Bernard Greenville, who was entrusted by Monk with the most private transactions of the Restoration[3], and the grandson of Sir Bevil Greenville, who died in the King's cause at the battle of Lansdown[4].

2 His early education was superintended by Sir William Ellis[5]; and his progress was such that before the age of twelve he was sent to Cambridge[6], where he pronounced a copy of his own verses[7] to the princess Mary d'Esté of Modena, then dutchess of York, when she visited the university.

3 At the accession of king James, being now at eighteen, he again exerted his poetical powers, and addressed the new monarch in three short pieces, of which the first is profane, and the two others such as a boy might be expected to produce[8]; but he was commended by old Waller, who perhaps was pleased to find

[1] Johnson, in this *Life*, follows closely the *Biog. Brit.* [and Granville's *Works* (1732), which include his *Vindications of General Monk and Sir Richard Grenville*].

[2] Clarendon describes the Grenvilles as 'a very ancient and worthy family of Cornwall, which had in several ages produced men of great courage, and very signal in their fidelity to, and service of, the Crown.' *History*, iv. 563.

[3] ['My Father, Mr. Bernard Granville, was the person entrusted by the General with his last despatches to the King to invite him home and to acquaint him that everything was then ready for his reception.' *A Vindication of General Monk*, Granville's *Works*, 1732, i. 481. Bernard's elder brother Sir John Grenville played a still more important part in these negotiations. *Ib.*; Clarendon's *Hist.* vii. 443; Pepys's *Diary*, May 2, 1660.]

[4] In 1643. Clarendon's *Hist.* iv. 125.

[5] 'A gentleman bred up under Dr. Busby, and who has since been eminent in many publick stations.' Jacob's *Poetical Register*, i. 121.

At the Revolution he followed James II and was attainted in 1691. He was uncle of Welbore Ellis, first Baron Mendip. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[6] 'At the age of thirteen he was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts.' *Ib.* See *Graduati Cantabrig.* p. 202.

[7] *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 8, where, in the title of the poem, the age is given.

[8] *Ib.* xxxviii. 9–11. In the first piece he begins a comparison with James II:—'So the world's Saviour.'

himself imitated in six lines, which, though they begin with nonsense and end with dulness [1], excited in the young author a rapture of acknowledgement [2], 'in numbers such as Waller's self might use [3].'

It was probably about this time that he wrote the poem to the 4
earl of Peterborough, upon his 'accomplishment' of the duke of York's marriage with the princess of Modena [4], whose charms appear to have gained a strong prevalence over his imagination [5], and upon whom nothing ever has been charged but imprudent piety, an intemperate and misguided zeal for the propagation of popery [6].

However faithful Granville might have been to the King, or 5
however enamoured of the Queen, he has left no reason for supposing that he approved either the artifices or the violence with which the King's religion was insinuated or obtruded. He endeavoured to be true at once to the King and to the Church.

Of this regulated loyalty he has transmitted to posterity 6
a sufficient proof, in the letter which he wrote to his father about a month before the prince of Orange landed.

'Mar, near Doncaster, Oct. 6, 1688.

'To the honourable Mr. Barnard Granville, at the earl of Bathe's, St. James's [7].

'SIR,

'Your having no prospect of obtaining a commission for me can no way alter or cool my desire at this important juncture to venture my life, in some manner or other, for my King and my Country.

[1] *To Mr. Granville on his Verses to King James II*, xvi. 239. Praising the youthful poet's judgement Waller ends:—

'Still as it grows, how sweetly he will sing
The growing greatness of our matchless King.'

'Of praise Waller was very lavish, as is observed by his imitator, Lord Lansdown.' *Ante*, WALLER, 122.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 12.

[3] Addison wrote of Montagu (*Works*, i. 26):—

'To Dorset he directs his artful muse,
In numbers such as Dorset's self might use.'

[4] '*On the Happy Accomplishment*,' &c., *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 5.

[5] 'It has been a received opinion that most of his panegyricks to Myra [*post*, GRANVILLE, 8], however disguised and seemingly applied, were originally designed for that Princess.' Jacob's *Poet. Reg.* i. 122.

[6] 'So artificially did this young Italian behave herself that she deceived even the eldest and most jealous persons both in the Court and country.' BURNET'S *Hist.* i. 411. For 'her unprincely greediness and her unwomanly cruelty' see Macaulay's *Hist.* ii. 234.

[7] [This letter is in Granville's *Works*, 1732, i. 429.]

'I cannot bear living under the reproach of lying obscure and idle in a country retirement, when every man who has the least sense of honour should be preparing for the field.

'You may remember, Sir, with what reluctance I submitted to your commands upon Monmouth's rebellion, when no importunity could prevail with you to permit me to leave the Academy: I was too young to be hazarded; but, give me leave to say, it is glorious at any age to die for one's country, and the sooner the nobler the sacrifice.

'I am now older by three years. My uncle Bathe was not so old when he was left among the slain at the battle of Newbury [1]; nor you yourself, Sir, when you made your escape from your tutor's, to join your brother at the defence of Scilly [2].

'The same cause is now come round about again. The King has been misled; let those who have misled him be answerable for it. Nobody can deny but he is sacred in his own person, and it is every honest man's duty to defend it.

'You are pleased to say it is yet doubtful if the Hollanders are rash enough to make such an attempt; but, be that as it will, I beg leave to insist upon it that I may be presented to his majesty as one whose utmost ambition it is to devote his life to his service, and my country's, after the example of all my ancestors.

'The gentry assembled at York, to agree upon the choice of representatives for the country, have prepared an address, to assure his majesty they are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for him upon this and all other occasions, but at the same time they humbly beseech him to give them such magistrates as may be agreeable to the laws of the land; for, at present, there is no authority to which they can legally submit [3].

'They have been beating up for volunteers at York and the towns adjacent to supply the regiments at Hull; but nobody will list.

'By what I can hear every body wishes well to the King; but they would be glad his ministers were hanged.

'The winds continue so contrary that no landing can be so soon as was apprehended [4]; therefore I may hope, with your

[1] Sir John Grenville, son of Sir Bevill Grenville. Clarendon's *Hist.* iv. 589. He was created Earl of Bath in 1661. The patent for the Earldom was in his father's pocket when he was slain at Lansdowne. Mrs. Delany's *Auto.* i. 1. Mrs. Delany was the daughter of Bernard Grenville's youngest son, also named Bernard.

[2] ['About this time [1651], Scilly, which had been vigorously defended by Sir John Greenvil, till it wanted all things, was delivered up to Sir George Ayscue.' Clarendon's *Hist.* vi. 611.]

[3] 'Yorkshire abounded in horse, and the gentry were generally well affected, even to zeal, for the design [of the Prince of Orange].' BURNET, *Hist.* ii. 412.

[4] For the general longing for 'an east wind, which on that occasion was called a Protestant wind,' see *ib.* ii. 420; Macaulay's *Hist.* iii. 207.

leave and assistance, to be in readiness before any action can begin. I beseech you, Sir, most humbly and most earnestly, to add this one act of indulgence more to so many other testimonies which I have constantly received of your goodness; and be pleased to believe me always with the utmost duty and submission, Sir,

'Your most dutiful son,
'and most obedient servant,
'GEO. GRANVILLE.'

Through the whole reign of king William he is supposed to 7
have lived in literary retirement, and indeed had for some time few other pleasures but those of study in his power. He was, as the biographers observe, the younger son of a younger brother; a denomination by which our ancestors proverbially expressed the lowest state of penury and dependance [1]. He is said, however, to have preserved himself at this time from disgrace and difficulties by œconomy, which he forgot or neglected in life more advanced, and in better fortune.

About this time he became enamoured of the countess of 8
Newburgh, whom he has celebrated with so much ardour by the name of Mira [2]. He wrote verses to her before he was three and twenty, and may be forgiven if he regarded the face more than the mind. Poets are sometimes in too much haste to praise.

In the time of his retirement it is probable that he com- 9
posed his dramatick pieces, the *She-Gallants* (acted 1696), which he revised and called *Once a Lover and always a Lover* [3]; *The Jew of Venice*, altered from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (1701); *Heroick Love*, a tragedy (1698); *The British Enchanters* (1706), a dramatick poem [4]; and *Peleus*

[1] 'FALSTAFF. My whole charge consists of ... such as indeed were never soldiers, but discarded unjust serving-men, younger sons to younger brothers, revolted tapsters and ostlers trade-fallen.' 1 *Henry IV.* iv. 2. 25.

'Will Wimble's is the case of many a younger brother of a great family, who had rather see their children starve like gentlemen than thrive in a trade or profession that is beneath their quality. This humour fills several parts of Europe with pride and beggary.' ADDISON, *The Spectator*, No. 108.

[2] There are seventeen of these poems. One is addressed 'To the Countess of Newbourg insisting earnestly to be told who [*sic*] I meant by Myra.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 62. *Post*, GRANVILLE, 27.

[3] It was published the year after the author's death in his *Works*, ed. 1736, vol. iii. Baker thinks it was never acted in its revised form. *Biog. Dram.* iii. 98.

[4] *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 153. Downes describes it as 'very exquisitely done, especially the singing part; making love the acme of all terrestrial bliss, which infinitely arrided both sexes, and pleased the Town as well as any

*and Thetis*, a masque, written to accompany *The Jew of Venice*[1].

10 The comedies, which he has not printed in his own edition of his works, I never saw; *Once a Lover and always a Lover* is said to be in a great degree indecent and gross[2]. Granville could not admire without bigotry; he copied the wrong as well as the right from his masters, and may be supposed to have learned obscenity from Wycherley as he learned mythology from Waller.

11 In his *Jew of Venice*, as Rowe remarks, the character of *Shylock* is made comick, and we are prompted to laughter instead of detestation[3].

12 It is evident that *Heroick Love* was written and presented on the stage before the death of Dryden. It is a mythological tragedy, upon the love of Agamemnon and Chryseis, and therefore easily sunk into neglect, though praised in verse by Dryden[4], and in prose by Pope[5].

13 It is concluded by the wise Ulysses with this speech:

> 'Fate holds the strings, and men like children move
> But as they're led; success is from above.'

14 At the accession of queen Anne, having his fortune improved by bequests from his father and his uncle the earl of Bathe[6], he

English modern opera.' *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 65.

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 139. 'It was introduced in the second act.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 345.

[2] Downes, writing of it under the title of *The She Gallants*, says it was 'extraordinary witty and well acted; but offending the ears of some ladies who set up for chastity, it made its exit.' *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 60.

[3] 'Though we have seen *The Merchant of Venice* received and acted as a comedy, and the part of the Jew performed by an excellent comedian, yet I cannot but think it was designed tragically by the author.' ROWE, Johnson's *Shakespeare*, Preface, p. 155.

'*The Jew of Venice* usurped the place of the original play for above forty years.' Malone's *Dryden*, i. 403. '*The Merchant of Venice*, notwithstanding this modernized piece aided by magnificence and music, still stands its ground.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 345.

[4] *To Mr. Granville, On his Excellent Tragedy called Heroic Love*, Dryden's *Works*, xi. 61.

[5] Pope's *Iliad*, 1760, Preface, p. 57. 'It was fortunate for his Lordship that, in an age when persecution raged so fiercely against lukewarm authors, he had an intimacy with the Inquisitor-General; how else would such lines as this have escaped the *Bathos*?—

> "When thy gods *Enlighten* thee to speak their *dark* decrees" [*Heroick Love*, sc. 1].'

Horace Walpole's *Works*, i. 441. 'It was acted with great applause.' *Biog. Dram.* ii. 299.

[6] The Earl died on Aug. 22, 1701. Evelyn's *Diary*, ii. 379; [Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*]. His nephew said that he had not had 'fair play' from him in his will. Mrs. Delany's *Auto.* i. 118. Burnet (*History*, i. 106) de-

was chosen into parliament for Fowey[1]. He soon after engaged in a joint translation of the *Invectives against Philip*[2], with a design, surely weak and puerile, of turning the thunder of Demosthenes upon the head of Lewis.

He afterwards (in 1706) had his estate again augmented by an 15
inheritance from his elder brother, Sir Bevil Granville[3], who, as he returned from the government of Barbados, died at sea. He continued to serve in parliament, and in the ninth year of queen Anne was chosen knight of the shire for Cornwall[4].

At the memorable change of the ministry (1710)[5], he 16
was made secretary at war[6], in the place of Mr. Robert Walpole.

Next year, when the violence of party made twelve peers in a 17
day[7], Mr. Granville became Lord Lansdown, Baron Biddeford, by a promotion justly remarked to be not invidious, because he was the heir of a family in which two peerages, that of the earl of Bathe and lord Granville of Potheridge, had lately become extinct. Being now high in the Queen's favour, he (1712) was appointed comptroller of the household and a privy counsellor;

scribes him as 'a man who thought of nothing but of getting and spending money.'

[1] He was elected in 1702, 1705, and 1708. W. P. Courtney's *Parl. Representation of Cornwall*, p. 106.

[2] *Several Orations of Demosthenes to encourage the Athenians to oppose the exorbitant Power of Philip of Macedon.* Englished by several Hands. 1702.

[3] 'On Lord Lansdowne's death in 1735 his nephew became possessed of £800 a year and £20,000 in money; which was so settled that my Lord Lansdowne could not touch it.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 279.

[4] His name as knight of the shire is not in the list in *Parl. Hist.* vi. 919. He was elected at the general election in the autumn of 1710. His brother-member was John Trevanion. Mr. W. P. Courtney, in his *Parl. Representation*, p. 403, quotes the lines:—

'Trevanion and Granville are sound as a bell
For the Queen, the Church and Sacheverell.'

[5] *Ante*, PARNELL, 5.

[6] Swift wrote to Stella on March 27, 1711–12 (*Works*, iii. 21):—'I did not summon Lord Lansdowne [to our Society's dinner]; he and I are fallen out. There was something in an *Examiner* a fortnight ago, that he thought reflected on the abuses in his office (he is Secretary at War), and he writ to the Secretary [St. John] that he heard I had inserted that paragraph. This I resented highly, that he should complain of me before he spoke to me. I sent him a peppering letter, and would not summon him by a note, as I did the rest; nor ever will have anything to say to him, till he begs my pardon.' For the Society see *ante*, PRIOR, 45.

[7] *Ante*, ADDISON, 94. Swift wrote on Dec. 29, 1711:—'I have broke open my letter to let you know that we are all safe; the Queen has made no less than twelve lords, to have a majority. . . . Give me joy, sirrahs. Three of the new lords are of our society.' Swift's *Works*, ii. 441. See also *ib.* v. 43.

and to his other honours was added the dedication of Pope's *Windsor Forest*[1]. He was advanced next year to be treasurer of the household.

18 Of these favours he soon lost all but his title; for at the accession of King George his place was given to the Earl Cholmondeley, and he was persecuted with the rest of his party. Having protested against the bill for attainting Ormond and Bolingbroke[2] he was, after the insurrection in Scotland, seized, Sept. 26, 1715, as a suspected man, and confined in the Tower[3] till Feb. 8, 1717, when he was at last released, and restored to his seat in parliament; where (1719) he made a very ardent and animated speech against the repeal of the bill to prevent Occasional Conformity, which, however, though it was then printed, he has not inserted into his works[4].

19 Some time afterwards (about 1722)[5], being perhaps embarrassed by his profusion[6], he went into foreign countries, with the usual pretence of recovering his health. In this state of leisure and retirement he received the first volume of Burnet's *History*, of which he cannot be supposed to have approved the general tendency, and where he thought himself able to detect some particular falsehoods. He therefore undertook the vindication of general Monk from some calumnies of Dr. Burnet and some misrepresentations of Mr. Echard[7]. This was answered civilly

[1] *Post*, POPE, 65.

[2] On Aug. 18, 1715. *Parl. Hist.* vii. 143 4. See also *ante*, PRIOR, 38 *n.* 3. Berkeley (afterwards Bishop) wrote from London on Sept. 22:—'Yesterday Lord Lansdowne was seized.' On Sept. 26 he wrote:—'Lord Lansdowne is in the Tower.' *Hist. MSS. Com.* vii. App. pp. 239, 240.

[3] 'Being confined in the same room in which Sir Robert Walpole had been prisoner, and had left his name on the window, he wrote these lines under it:—

"Good unexpected, evil unforeseen,
Appear by turns, as fortune shifts the scene;
Some rais'd aloft come tumbling down amain,
And fall so hard they bound and rise again."'

Horace Walpole's *Works*, i. 442; *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 138.

[4] *Ante*, HALIFAX, 9; *Parl. Hist.* vii. 576.

[5] According to Mrs. Delany (*Auto.* i. pp. 57, 81), he went abroad in 1719.

[6] 'He was,' Mrs. Delany writes, 'fond of his wife to excess, generous to extravagance, allowing her the command of all his fortune. ... She was extravagant, and given up to dissipation, and my uncle's open, unsuspecting temper gave her full liberty to indulge the unbounded vanity of her heart.' *Ib.* p. 82.

[7] Granville's *Works*, 1732, i. 457–502.

'Be as impartial as you can,' wrote Gray to Walpole, 'and after all, the world will not believe you are so, though you should make as many protestations as Bishop Burnet.' *Letters*, i. 213. See also *ante*, MILTON, 101 *n.* 5.

Laurence Echard, in 1707–18, published a *History of England*.

by Mr. Thomas Burnet [1] and Oldmixon [2], and more roughly by Dr. Colbatch [3].

His other historical performance is a defence of his relation 20
Sir Richard Greenville [4], whom lord Clarendon has shewn in a form very unamiable [5]. So much is urged in this apology to justify many actions that have been represented as culpable, and to palliate the rest, that the reader is reconciled for the greater part; and it is made very probable that Clarendon was by personal enmity disposed to think the worst of Greenville, as Greenville was also very willing to think the worst of Clarendon. These pieces were published at his return to England.

Being now desirous to conclude his labours and enjoy his 21
reputation he published (1732) a very beautiful and splendid edition of his works, in which he omitted what he disapproved, and enlarged what seemed deficient.

He now went to Court, and was kindly received by queen 22
Caroline; to whom and to the princess Anne [6] he presented his works with verses on the blank leaves, with which he concluded his poetical labours.

He died in Hanover-square, Jan. 30, 1735, having a few days 23
before buried his wife, the lady Anne Villiers [7], widow to Mr. Thynne, by whom he had four daughters, but no son.

Writers commonly derive their reputation from their works; 24
but there are works which owe their reputation to the character of the writer [8]. The publick sometimes has its favourites, whom it rewards for one species of excellence with the honours due to

[1] *Post*, POPE, 122. His reply is not in the British Museum.

[2] *Ante*, SMITH, 57; ADDISON, 83.

[3] One of Bentley's chief opponents among the Fellows of Trinity College. Pope wished joy to him of Bentley's *Milton*—joy because by it Bentley's reputation would be lowered. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), viii. 293. Colbatch's reply is entitled *An Examination of the late Archdeacon Echard's Account of the Marriage Treaty between Charles II and Queen Catherine*, 1733.

[4] *A Letter to the Author of Reflexions Historical and Political*, &c., 1732, *Works*, i. 503-60.

[5] *Hist. of Rebellion*, iv. 563, v. 203, 210, 309.

[6] *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 137-8. She was Princess Royal.

[7] Lady Mary Villiers, to whom he addressed some poor lines. *Ib.* p. 116. She died on Jan. 15. *Gent. Mag.* 1735, p. 51. Swift wrote of a dinner of his Society on Jan. 3. 1711-12:—'The Secretary grew brisk, and would not let me go, nor Lord Lansdowne, who would fain have gone home to his lady, being newly married to Lady Mary Thynne.' *Works*, ii. 446. 'She was,' writes Mrs. Delany (*Auto.* i. 103), 'a woman of unbounded extravagance in every respect,' and had 'a venomous tongue.'

For Lansdowne's burial see *ib.* i. 526.

[8] *Ante*, HALIFAX, 12. Gay writes:—

'How Lansdowne smiles, with lasting laurel crowned!'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 193.

another. From him whom we reverence for his beneficence we do not willingly withhold the praise of genius: a man of exalted merit becomes at once an accomplished writer, as a beauty finds no great difficulty in passing for a wit.

25 Granville was a man illustrious by his birth, and therefore attracted notice; since he is by Pope styled 'the polite'[1] he must be supposed elegant in his manners, and generally loved: he was in times of contest and turbulence steady to his party, and obtained that esteem which is always conferred upon firmness and consistency. With those advantages, having learned the art of versifying, he declared himself a poet; and his claim to the laurel was allowed.

26 But by a critick of a later generation who takes up his book without any favourable prejudices, the praise already received will be thought sufficient; for his works do not shew him to have had much comprehension from nature, or illumination from learning. He seems to have had no ambition above the imitation of Waller, of whom he has copied the faults, and very little more[2]. He is for ever amusing himself with the puerilities of mythology[3]: his King is Jupiter, who, if the Queen brings no children, has a barren Juno[4]. The Queen is compounded of Juno, Venus, and Minerva[5]. His poem on the dutchess of Grafton's law-suit[6], after having rattled a while with Juno and Pallas, Mars and Alcides, Cassiope, Niobe, and the Propetides[7], Hercules, Minos, and Rhadamanthus, at last concludes its folly with profaneness[8].

[1] 'But why then publish? Granville the polite,
And knowing Walsh, would tell me I could write.' *Prol. Sat.* l. 135.
'He was as fine and finished a gentleman as, in his own or any other age, ever adorned his country.' MRS. DELANY, *Auto.* i. 82.

[2] Addison takes Granville off in *The Tatler*, No. 163. 'Ned Softly is a very pretty poet, and a great admirer of easy lines. Waller is his favourite, and as that admirable writer has the best and worst verses of any among our great English poets, Ned Softly has got all the bad ones without book.' One of Ned's sonnets is quoted, *To Myra on her Incomparable Poem.* It begins:—
'When dressed in laurel wreaths you shine,
And tune your soft melodious notes,
You seem a sister of the Nine,
Or Phoebus' self in petticoats.'
Some years earlier Addison wrote the Epilogue to Lansdowne's *British Enchanters*. Addison's *Works*, i. 82.

[3] *Ante*, MILTON, 182.

[4] *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 5.

[5] 'Who could deserve like her, in whom we see
United all that Paris found in three?' *Ib.* p. 7.

[6] *Beauty and Law, a Poetical Pleading*, *ib.* p. 27.

[7] [For 'the Propoetides' see OVID, *Met.* x. 220.]

[8] 'The thoughts of gods let Granville's verse recite.'
POPE, *Windsor Forest*, l. 425.

His verses to Mira, which are most frequently mentioned, have 27
little in them of either art or nature, of the sentiments of a lover, or the language of a poet: there may be found now and then a happier effort, but they are commonly feeble and unaffecting, or forced and extravagant [1].

His little pieces are seldom either spritely or elegant, either 28
keen or weighty. They are trifles written by idleness, and published by vanity [2]. But his Prologues and Epilogues have a just claim to praise [3].

*The Progress of Beauty* seems one of his most elaborate pieces, 29
and is not deficient in splendour and gaiety; but the merit of original thought is wanting. Its highest praise is the spirit with which he celebrates king James's consort, when she was a queen no longer [4].

The *Essay on* [*upon*] *unnatural Flights in Poetry* [5] is not in- 30
elegant nor injudicious, and has something of vigour beyond most of his other performances: his precepts are just, and his cautions proper; they are indeed not new, but in a didactick poem novelty is to be expected only in the ornaments and illustrations. His poetical precepts are accompanied with agreeable and instructive notes [6].

[1] *Ante*, GRANVILLE, 8.

'Here noble Surrey felt the sacred rage,
Surrey, the Granville of a former age.
. . . . . .
Fair Geraldine, bright object of his vow,
Then filled the groves, as heav'nly Mira now.'

POPE, *Windsor Forest*, l. 291.

Bolingbroke says of Granville's verses:—

'For after ages shall with rapture read
What we with rapture hear.'

Nichols's *Select Collection of Poems*, 1780, iv. 321.

'The Countess of Newburgh, who was Granville's Mira, will live as long as the English language.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 2348.

For Thomson's 'Mira' see *post*, THOMSON, 13.

[2] When Langton and Beauclerk knocked up Johnson at three in the morning, 'they repaired to one of the neighbouring taverns, and made a bowl of that liquor called Bishop, which Johnson had always liked; while in joyous contempt of sleep, from which he had been roused, he repeated the festive lines,

"Short, O short then be thy reign,
And give us to the world again."'

Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 251.

The lines are in Lord Lansdowne's *Drinking Song to Sleep*, and run thus:—

'Short, very short be then thy reign,
For I'm in haste to laugh and drink again.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 115.

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxxviii. 122–30.

[4] 'Princess ador'd and lov'd! If verse can give
A deathless name, thine shall for ever live;
Invok'd where'er the British lion roars,
Extended as the seas that gird the British shores.' *Ib.* p. 58.

[5] *Ib.* p. 84.

[6] In the first edition the sentence continues:—'which ought not to have been omitted in this edition.' Johnson

31 The Masque of *Peleus and Thetis*[1] has here and there a pretty line; but it is not always melodious, and the conclusion is wretched.

32 In his *British Enchanters*[2] he has bidden defiance to all chronology by confounding the inconsistent manners of different ages; but the dialogue has often the air of Dryden's rhyming plays, and the songs are lively, though not very correct. This is, I think, far the best of his works; for if it has many faults it has likewise passages which are at least pretty, though they do not rise to any high degree of excellence.

wrote to Nichols, the printer of the *Lives*:—'In examining this book I find it necessary to add to the life the preface to the *British Enchanters*, and you may add, if you will, the notes on *Unnatural Flights*.' *John. Letters*, ii. 131. Later on he wrote to Mrs. Thrale:—'What do you scold so for about Granville's life; do you not see that the appendage neither gains nor saves anything to me?' *Ib.* p. 190. In the second edition the appendage was omitted, being transferred to *Eng. Poets*.

[1] *Ante*, GRANVILLE, 9.

[2] *Ib.*

# YALDEN[1]

THOMAS YALDEN, the sixth son of Mr. John Yalden of Sussex, was born in the city of Exeter in 1671[2]. Having been educated in the grammar-school belonging to Magdalen College in Oxford, he was in 1690, at the age of nineteen[3], admitted commoner of Magdalen Hall, under the tuition of Josiah Pullen, a man whose name is still remembered in the university[4]. He became next year one of the scholars of Magdalen College, where he was distinguished by a lucky accident. 1

It was his turn one day to pronounce a declamation[5], and Dr. Hough[6], the president, happening to attend, thought the 2

[1] Yalden is one of the four poets included in the Collection on Johnson's recommendation. *Post*, WATTS, 1. 'The publishers of the English Poets have been censured for admitting Yalden. . . . His poems had never before been collected.' NICHOLS, *A Select Collection of Poems*, 1780, iii. 167.

In this *Life* Johnson follows Jacob's *Poetical Register*, ii. 238, and *Biog. Brit.* p. 4379.

[2] 'Anthony Wood is more correct in his statement of both date and place of the poet's birth. "Thomas Youlding," he writes (*Ath. Oxon.* iv. 601), "a younger son of John Youlding, a Page of the Presence and Groom of the Chamber to Prince Charles, afterwards a sufferer for his cause, and an exciseman in Oxford after the Restoration of King Charles II, was born in . . . Oxford on the 2nd day of January, 1669-70." The Merton College Register of Baptisms confirms this account: "Jan. 16, 1669-70, Thomas, son of John Yalding, an exciseman, was baptized. Born 2nd Jan."' Bloxam's *Register of Magdalen College*, vi. 113. It will be noticed that, including the form Yalden, the name is spelt three different ways.

[3] He was a chorister of the College from 1678-89, with an interval in 1687-8, when he was ejected. He matriculated in 1685, aged sixteen, and was elected a Demy or scholar (*ante*, ADDISON, 8) in 1690. *Ib.* p. 112.

[4] 'He was a great master of logic and no bad tutor, but one of the rough diamonds of the university.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 4379. The writer tells a coarse story of him, which, he adds, 'was preserved in my time.' In Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, i. 377, is a letter of Hobbes, dated Feb. 1, 1672-3, 'For my much honored freind Mr. Josias Pullen, Vice-principall of Magdalen Hall.' He was the chaplain who gave Bishop Sanderson absolution before his death, as told in Walton's *Lives*, 1838, p. 401. *Ath. Oxon.* iii. 626. 'I have the honour,' writes *The Guardian* in No. 2, 'to be well known to Mr. Joseph [*sic*] Pullen, and attribute the florid old age I now enjoy to my constant morning walks up Headington Hill in his cheerful company.' His name still lives in 'Joe Pullen's tree' at the top of the Hill, whither Gibbon and his tutor used to take their evening walks from Magdalen College. Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 61.

[5] For declamations see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 71; Gibbon's *Memoirs*, pp. 59, 288.

[6] Hough was the President who so boldly withstood James II and his Ecclesiastical Commissioners when

composition too good to be the speaker's. Some time after, the doctor, finding him a little irregularly busy in the library, set him an exercise for punishment, and, that he might not be deceived by any artifice, locked the door. Yalden, as it happened, had been lately reading on the subject given, and produced with little difficulty a composition, which so pleased the president that he told him his former suspicions, and promised to favour him [1].

3 Among his contemporaries in the college were Addison and Sacheverell, men who were in those times friends, and who both adopted Yalden to their intimacy [2]. Yalden continued throughout his life to think as probably he thought at first, yet did not lose the friendship of Addison.

4 When Namur was taken by king William Yalden made an ode [3]. There was never any reign more celebrated by the poets than that of William, who had very little regard for song himself, but happened to employ ministers who pleased themselves with the praise of patronage [4].

5 Of this ode mention is made in an humorous poem of that time, called *The Oxford Laureat*, in which, after many claims had been made and rejected, Yalden is represented as demanding the laurel, and as being called to his trial instead of receiving a reward.

'His crime was for being a felon in verse,
And presenting his theft to the king;
The first was a trick not uncommon or scarce,
But the last was an impudent thing:
Yet what he had stol'n was so little worth stealing,
They forgave him the damage and cost;
Had he ta'en the whole ode, as he took it piece-mealing,
They had fin'd him but ten pence at most.'

they trampled on the statutes of the College. Macaulay's *Hist. Eng.* iii. 34.

For 'Hough's unsullied mitre' see Pope's *Epil. Sat.* ii. 240.

[1] 'This story was communicated by the author himself to an acquaintance.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 4379.

[2] Addison matriculated two years and Sacheverell four years later than Yalden. In June 1713 is the following entry:—'Dr. Yalden et Dr. Sacheverell, beneficia adepti ecclesiastica, recessere.' *Reg. of Mag. Coll.* vi. 98, 112.

'Apollo smiles on Magd'len's peaceful bowers,
Perfumes the air, and paints the grot with flowers,
Where Yalden learned to gain the myrtle crown,
And every Muse was fond of Addison.'

TICKELL, *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 296.

For Sacheverell see *ante*, ADDISON, 14.

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 105; *ante*, PRIOR, 58.

[4] *Ante*, ADDISON, 17.

The poet whom he was charged with robbing was Congreve [1].

He wrote another poem on the death of the duke of 6
Gloucester [2].

In 1710 he became fellow of the college [3]; and next year, 7
entering into orders, was presented by the society with a living in Warwickshire, consistent with his fellowship, and chosen lecturer of moral philosophy, a very honourable office [4].

On the accession of queen Anne he wrote another poem [5]; and 8
is said, by the author of the *Biographia*, to have declared himself of the party who had the honourable distinction of High-churchmen [6].

In 1706 he was received into the family of the duke of 9
Beaufort [7]. Next year he became doctor in divinity, and soon

[1] *Ante*, CONGREVE, 37.

'Of arms and war my Muse aspires to sing,
And strikes the lyre upon an untry'd string:
New fire informs my soul, unfelt before,
And on new wings to heights unknown I soar.'

CONGREVE, *Eng. Poets*, xxxiv. 139.

'Once more, my Muse, resume thy lyre!
Of heroes, arms, and lofty triumphs sing:
Strike, boldly strike th' unpractis'd string;
'Tis William's acts my soaring thoughts inspire,
And animate my breast with nobler fire.' YALDEN, *ib.* xxxix. 105.

[2] Not included in *Eng. Poets*. It was published in 1700. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 312.

[3] 'Probationer Fellow' in 1698, and 'True and Perpetual Fellow' in 1699. *Vice President's Reg. Mag. Coll.*

[4] He became Vicar of Willoughby in 1700, and Waynflete's Lecturer in 1705. It was 'a very honourable office' because it was much more than a College appointment. 'Waynflete's three Praelectors,' the President of Magdalen informs me, 'were to give instruction without fee to all comers, whether members of the College or not. In 1673 Whyte's Professorship of Moral Philosophy became a perquisite of the Proctors, and continued so till 1829. It was so forgotten that it was never mentioned in the *Oxford Calendar*.'

[5] Not included in *Eng. Poets*.

[6] *Biog. Brit.* p. 4379. The High Churchmen had their city poet and tavern. 'Mr. Edward Ward, a very voluminous poet, of late years has kept a public-house in the City (but in a genteel way), and with his wit, humour, and good liquor has afforded his guests a pleasurable entertainment; especially the High Church party, which is composed of men of his principles, and to whom he is very much obliged for their constant resort.' *Poetical Register*, ii. 225.

[7] As Chaplain. Hearne's *Collections*, ed. Doble, i. 237. This was the second Duke, a young man of two-and-twenty. Swift, on March 6, 1711-12, wrote of the Brotherhood (*ante*, PRIOR, 45): -'The Duke of Beaufort had the confidence to propose his brother-in-law, the Earl of Danby, to be a member; but I opposed it so warmly that it was waived. Danby is not above twenty, and we will have no more boys.' *Works*, ii. 497.

Horace Walpole wrote in 1787:—'There never was a Duke of Beaufort that made it worth knowing which Duke it was.' *Letters*, ix. 92.

after resigned his fellowship and lecture [1]; and as a token of his gratitude gave the college a picture of their founder [2].

10 He was made rector of Chalton and Cleanville, two adjoining towns and benefices in Hertfordshire [3], and had the prebends or sinecures of Deans, Hains, and Pendles in Devonshire. He had before been chosen, in 1698 [4], preacher of Bridewell Hospital, upon the resignation of Dr. Atterbury.

11 From this time he seems to have led a quiet and inoffensive life, till the clamour was raised about Atterbury's plot [5]. Every loyal eye was on the watch for abettors or partakers of the horrid conspiracy; and Dr. Yalden, having some acquaintance with the bishop, and being familiarly conversant with Kelly his secretary [6], fell under suspicion, and was taken into custody.

12 Upon his examination he was charged with a dangerous correspondence with Kelly. The correspondence he acknowledged, but maintained that it had no treasonable tendency [7]. His papers were seized; but nothing was found that could fix a crime upon him except two words in his pocket-book, 'thorough-paced doctrine.' This expression the imagination of his examiners had impregnated with treason, and the doctor was enjoined to explain them. Thus pressed he told them that the words had lain unheeded in his pocket-book from the time of queen Anne, and that he was ashamed to give an account of them; but the truth was that he had gratified his curiosity one day by hearing Daniel Burgess [8] in the pulpit, and those words were a memorial

[1] In 1708 he became D.D., and in 1713 he resigned. *Reg. of Mag. Coll.* vi. 114. He could not hold his preferments with his fellowship. Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, does not give *lecture* in the sense of *lectureship*.

[2] William of Waynflete. 'This painting, placed over the High Table in the Hall, has no pretensions to be a correct portrait of the Founder. Tradition states that some artist was employed to pourtray a representation of an Anglo-Catholic Bishop of the 15th century.' *Reg. of Mag. Coll.* vi. 114.

[3] 'He was made Rector of Chalton-cum-Clanfield in Hampshire.' *Ib.* Johnson followed Jacob's *Poet. Reg.* ii. 239 in the names of the towns, but changed Hampshire into Hertfordshire.

[4] In 1713. *Reg. of Mag. Coll.* vi. 114.

[5] *Post*, POPE, 131.

[6] Atterbury, in his defence before the House of Lords on March 22, 1723, spoke of 'Mr. Kelly, my supposed amanuensis,' and added:—'That he is no stranger to me I own; but that he is in any degree intimate with me, or frequently saw me, I deny.' *Atterbury Corres.* ed. 1783, ii. 121, 138.

[7] Motte, the bookseller, describing to Swift in 1735 the examination of another bookseller about a libel, says:—'He made a confession, like poor Dr. Yalden's, of all that he knew, and more too.' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 320.

[8] 'When Burgess deafens all the listening press [tiness.'
With peals of most seraphic emp-
GARTH, *The Dispensary*, iv. 11.
'He knows very well that to brawl

hint of a remarkable sentence by which he warned his congregation to 'beware of thorough-paced doctrine, that doctrine which coming in at one ear passes through the head, and goes out at the other [1].'

Nothing worse than this appearing in his papers and no 13
evidence arising against him, he was set at liberty [2].

It will not be supposed that a man of this character attained 14
high dignities in the church; but he still retained the friendship and frequented the conversation of a very numerous and splendid set of acquaintance. He died July 16, 1736, in the 66th year of his age [3].

Of his poems many are of that irregular kind which, when he 15
formed his poetical character, was supposed to be Pindarick [4]. Having fixed his attention on Cowley as a model, he has attempted in some sort to rival him, and has written a *Hymn to Darkness* [5], evidently as a counter-part to Cowley's *Hymn to Light* [6].

This hymn seems to be his best performance, and is for the 16
most part imagined with great vigour and expressed with great propriety. I will not transcribe it. The seven first stanzas are good; but the third, fourth, and seventh are the best; the eighth seems to involve a contradiction; the tenth is exquisitely beautiful [7]; the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth are partly

out "My beloved!" and the words "grace! regeneration! sanctification! a new light! the day! ay, my beloved, the day! or rather the night! the night is coming!" and "judgment will come when we least think of it!" and so forth—He knows to be vehement is the only way to come at his audience.' SWIFT, *The Tatler*, No. 66.

Hearne called him 'that old Presbyterian rogue.' *Remains*, i. 187.

[1] 'But above all other pernicious doctrines, take heed and beware, my beloved, of the *thorough-paced doctrine*, that doctrine, I mean, which coming in at one ear passes straight through the head, and out at the opposite ear.' *Biog. Brit.* p. 4379. [Both in the *Lives* and *Biog. Brit.* 'passes' is printed 'paces.']

[2] He was taken into custody on March 26, 1723, and admitted to bail on April 12. *Atterbury Corres.* iv. 30*n*.

[3] Sixty-seventh year. *Ante*, YALDEN, 1 *n*. 2.

[4] *Ante*, COWLEY, 124; CONGREVE, 44.

[5] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 7. [It appeared first with eight other poems by him in Dryden's *Miscellany Poems*, 1693. Seven of his poems also are included in the volume of 1694.]

[6] *Eng. Poets*, vii. 259.

[7] Southey, giving this Hymn in his *Specimens* (i. 334), says:—'What has been admired may possibly find admirers again.' The following is stanza x:—

'Thou dost thy smiles impartially bestow,
And know'st no difference here below;
All things appear the same by thee,
Tho' light distinction makes, thou giv'st equality.'

mythological and partly religious, and therefore not suitable to each other: he might better have made the whole merely philosophical.

17 There are two stanzas in this poem where Yalden may be suspected, though hardly convicted, of having consulted the *Hymnus ad Umbram* of Wowerus, in the sixth stanza [1], which answers in some sort to these lines:

'Illa suo præest nocturnis numine sacris—
. . . . . .
Perque vias errare novis dat spectra figuris,
Manesque excitos medios ululare per agros
Sub noctem, et questu notos complere penates [2].'

And again at the conclusion [3]:

'Illa suo senium secludit corpore toto
Haud numerans jugi fugientia secula lapsu,
. . . . . .
Ergo ubi postremum mundi compage solutâ
Hanc rerum molem suprema absumpserit hora,
. . . . . .
Ipsa leves cineres nube amplectetur opacâ
Et prisco imperio rursus dominabitur UMBRA [4].'

18 His *Hymn to Light* is not equal to the other. He seems to think that there is an East absolute and positive where the morning rises [5].

19 In the last stanza, having mentioned the sudden eruption of new created light, he says

'Awhile th' Almighty wondering stood [viewed] [6].'

[1] 'In thy serener shades our ghosts delight,
And court the umbrage of the night;
In vaults and gloomy caves they stray
But fly the morning's beams, and sicken at the day.'

[2] Ioan. Wovweri *Dies Aestiva sive De Umbra Paegnion*, 1610, p. 133. [*Ante*, ROCHESTER, 22.]

[3] 'Yet fading light its empire must resign,
And nature's power submit to thine;
An universal ruin shall erect thy throne,
And fate confirm thy kingdom evermore thy own.'

[4] *Dies Aestiva*, p. 133.

[5] 'To thee the grateful East their altars raise,
And sing with early hymns thy praise;
Thou dost their happy soil bestow,
Enrich the heavens above, and earth below:
Thou risest in the fragrant East,
Like the fair Phoenix from her balmy nest. [thine,
No altar of the gods can equal
The air 's thy richest incense, the whole land thy shrine.'
*Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 6; [Dryden's *Misc. Poems*, 1693, p. 127.]

[6] 'Awhile th' Almighty wondering view'd, [good.'
And then himself pronounc'd it

He ought to have remembered that infinite knowledge can never wonder. All wonder is the effect of novelty upon ignorance.

Of his other poems it is sufficient to say that they deserve perusal, though they are not always exactly polished, though the rhymes are sometimes very ill sorted, and though his faults seem rather the omissions of idleness than the negligences of enthusiasm[1].

[1] Yalden, though a Doctor of Divinity, translated Ovid's *Art of Love*, bk. ii. *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 60. Of this translation it could not be said, as Johnson said of King's *Art of Love* (*ante*, KING, 12), that 'it is remarkable, notwithstanding its title, for purity of sentiment.'

In Swift's *Works*, viii. 463, is included a humorous paper by Yalden, entitled '*Squire Bickerstaff Detected, or the Astrological Impostor Convicted.* By John Partridge, Student in Physics and Astrology.' For a list of Yalden's publications see *Reg. of Mag. Coll.* vi. 115.

# TICKELL

1 THOMAS TICKELL, the son of the reverend Richard Tickell, was born in 1686 at Bridekirk in Cumberland; and in April 1701 became a member of Queen's College in Oxford[1]: in 1708 he was made Master of Arts, and two years afterwards was chosen Fellow[2]; for which, as he did not comply with the statutes by taking orders, he obtained a dispensation from the Crown[3]. He held his Fellowship till 1726, and then vacated it by marrying in that year at Dublin[4].

2 Tickell was not one of those scholars who wear away their lives in closets: he entered early into the world, and was long busy in publick affairs, in which he was initiated under the

[1] The fellowships at Queen's were confined to Cumberland and Westmorland men. Ayliffe's *Oxford*, 1714, i. 295; *ante*, ADDISON, 8.

Tickell, in a poem *On Queen Caroline's Rebuilding the Lodgings of the Black Prince and Henry V at Queen's College*, addressing that 'bright saint' Queen Philippa, says:—

'O could'st thou win young William's bloom to grace
His mother's walls, and fill thy Edward's place.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 152.

'Young William' was 'the butcher of Culloden.'

Mr. Courthope quotes the following epigram on nine Oxford wits (Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), iv. 328):—

'Alma novem genuit celebres Rhedycina poetas,
Bubb, Stubb, Cobb, Crabb, Trapp, Young, Carey, Tickell, Evans.'

Rhedycina is a fanciful name for Oxford. Parker's *Early Hist. of Oxford*, p. 364.

[2] 'Nov. 8, 1710. This day was an election of Fellows of Queen's College, when Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Tickle were elected over the heads of several of their seniors, and such as were better scholars. This Tickle is a pretender to poetry.' HEARNE, *Collections*, ed. Doble, iii. 77.

[3] I owe the following note to the Provost of Queen's:—'The College, on Sept. 23, 1715, "agreed that Mr. Tickell be dispensed with for not taking orders according to Statute, for ye full space of three years from this day. He haveing thereby a more speedy prospect of preferment." On Oct 25, 1717, "K. George's Mandamus for Mr. Tickell's Dispensation passed *unanimi consensu*." Such dispensations, though rare, were not unexampled.' See *ante*, ADDISON, 16 *n.* For degrees conferred by mandamus see *post*, AKENSIDE, 12 *n.*

[4] He married a Miss Eustace, 'with a fortune of £8,000 or £10,000, on April 23, 1726.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 319. See also Swift's *Works*, xix. 282. Mrs. Delany (*Auto.* iii. 205) wrote of Mrs. Tickell in 1753:—"She talks, and cries, and laughs as fast as she can, ringing the changes . . .; but what makes it surprising is that she really has sense and wit.' Their grandson, Richard Tickell, wrote *The Epistle from the Hon. Charles Fox*, &c., quoted in Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 292 *n.* 4, iii. 388 *n.* 3, and *The Project*, *ib.* iii. 318.

patronage of Addison, whose notice he is said to have gained by his verses in praise of *Rosamond*[1].

To those verses it would not have been just to deny regard, 3
for they contain some of the most elegant encomiastick strains; and, among the innumerable poems of the same kind, it will be hard to find one with which they need to fear a comparison. It may deserve observation that when Pope wrote long afterwards in praise of Addison he has copied, at least has resembled, Tickell[2].

'Let joy salute fair Rosamonda's shade,
And wreaths of myrtle crown the lovely maid,
While now perhaps with Dido's ghost she roves,
And hears and tells the story of their loves;
Alike they mourn, alike they bless their fate,
Since Love, which made them wretched, made [makes] them great,
Nor longer that relentless doom bemoan,
Which gain'd a Virgil and an Addison.' TICKELL[3].

'Then future ages with delight shall see
How Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's looks agree;
Or in fair series laurel'd bards be shown,
A Virgil there, and here an Addison.' POPE[4].

He produced another piece of the same kind at the appearance 4
of *Cato*[5], with equal skill but not equal happiness.

[1] See *Poetical Register*, ii. 212. For the verses see *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 173; Addison's *Works*, i. 55. For *Rosamond* see *ante*, ADDISON, 27. Steele tells how by Addison Tickell 'had been produced from a college life, and pushed into one of the most considerable employments of the kingdom as to its weight and trust.' Addison's *Works*, v. 149.

[2] Pope writing on Nov. 29, 1712, compares a passage in Tickell's *Prospect of Peace* with one in his own unpublished *Windsor Forest*. 'I desire your sincere judgment whether I ought not to strike out mine, either as they seem too like his, or as they are inferior.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 168. The editor points out that 'the close resemblance arose from their having copied a common original in Addison's *Poem to William III.*' *Ib.* i. 365.

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 174. It first appeared in Dryden's *Sixth Misc.*, 1709. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 320.

[4] *Moral Essays: Epistle to Mr. Addison*, l. 59. Published in 1721.

[5] It is entitled *A Prologue to the University of Oxford*. For *Cato* acted there see *ante*, ADDISON, 68 *n.* 6. In it he makes the players say of the Muse and the University:—

'May none pretend upon her throne to sit
But such as, sprung from you, are born to wit:
Chosen by the mob, their lawless claim we slight:
Yours is the old hereditary right.'
*Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 195.

Cibber said of an Oxford audience that 'applause was not to be purchased there but by the true sterling, the *sal atticum* of a genius. Shake-

5 When the ministers of queen Anne were negotiating with France Tickell published *The Prospect of Peace*, a poem of which the tendency was to reclaim the nation from the pride of conquest to the pleasures of tranquillity. How far Tickell, whom Swift afterwards mentioned as *Whiggissimus* [1], had then connected himself with any party I know not; this poem certainly did not flatter the practices or promote the opinions of the men by whom he was afterwards befriended.

6 Mr. Addison, however he hated the men then in power, suffered his friendship to prevail over his publick spirit, and gave in *The Spectator* [2] such praises of Tickell's poem that when, after having long wished to peruse it, I laid hold on it at last, I thought it unequal to the honours which it had received, and found it a piece to be approved rather than admired [3]. But the

speare and Jonson had there a sort of classical authority.' *Apology*, ed. 1826, p. 267.

[1] When Tickell was Secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland (*post*, TICKELL, 16) Swift wrote of him to Dr. Sheridan:—'I think you need not quit his and Balaguer's company, ... because they are above suspicions as *whiggissimi* and *unsuspectissimi*.' *Works*, xvi. 478. Swift warmly acknowledged his kindness. 'I have title to your favour,' he wrote in 1725 to him, 'as you were Mr. Addison's friend, and, in the most honourable part, his heir [*ante*, ADDISON, 103]; and if he had thought of your coming to this kingdom, he would have bequeathed me to you.' *Ib.* xix. 275, 280.

Tickell was no Whig, when in his lines *On a Picture of Charles I, Taken at the Time of his Trial*, asking who was like the King, he wrote:—

'All names but one too low—that one too high:
All parallels are wrongs—or blasphemy.'

The poem contains one fine couplet:

'In those sunk eyes the grief of years I trace,
And sorrow seems acquainted with that face.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 196.

[2] 'I hope it will meet with such a reward from its patrons as so noble a performance deserves.' *The Spectator*, No. 523. The patrons were the Tory ministers.

[3] 'For fools admire, but men of sense approve.'

POPE, *Essay on Criticism*, l. 391.

Pope wrote to Caryll on Nov. 29, 1712:—'I believe you will think Mr. Tickell's poem upon the Peace to have its beauties, especially in the versification.' He goes on to point out 'some strokes of mastery.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vi. 167.

'This,' wrote Gray, 'is not only a state-poem (my ancient aversion), but a state-poem on the peace of Utrecht. If Mr. Pope had wrote a panegyric on it, one could hardly have read him with patience; but this is only a poor short-winded imitator of Addison, who had himself not above three or four notes in poetry, sweet enough indeed, like those of a German flute, but such as soon tire and satiate the ear with their frequent return. Tickell has added to this a great poverty of sense, and a string of transitions that hardly become a school-boy.' Mitford's *Gray*, iii. 89.

One of the finest passages begins:—

'Sweet Solitude! when life's gay hours are past,
Howe'er we range, in thee we fix at last.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 165.

Perhaps this couplet lingered in Goldsmith's ear when he wrote:—

hope excited by a work of genius, being general and indefinite, is rarely gratified. It was read at that time with so much favour that six editions were sold [1].

At the arrival of king George he sung *The Royal Progress*; 7
which being inserted in *The Spectator* is well known [2], and of which it is just to say that it is neither high nor low.

The poetical incident of most importance in Tickell's life was 8
his publication of the first book of the *Iliad* [3] as translated by himself; an apparent opposition to Pope's *Homer*, of which the first part made its entrance into the world at the same time [4].

Addison declared that the rival versions were both good, but 9
that Tickell's was the best that ever was made [5]; and with Addison the wits, his adherents and followers, were certain to concur. Pope does not appear to have been much dismayed: 'for,' says he, 'I have the town, that is, the mob, on my side.' But he remarks that 'it is common for the smaller party to make up in diligence what they want in numbers'; he 'appeals to the people as his proper judges; and if they are not inclined to condemn him, he is in little care about the high-flyers at Button's [6].'

Pope did not long think Addison an impartial judge, for 10
he considered him as the writer of Tickell's version [7]. The

'I still had hopes, my long vexations past,
Here to return—and die at home at last.'
*The Deserted Village*, l. 95.

[1] *Biog. Brit.* Suppl. p. 14.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 176; *The Spectator*, No. 620. Tickell calls George I 'the world's great patriot.'

[3] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 219.

[4] In all that follows Johnson almost altogether trusts Pope's statements and letters—now known to be lies and forgeries. To these nevertheless I give the references; but the reader must remember that as evidence they are worthless. See *post*, POPE, 162.

[5] *Post*, POPE, 111; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 417.

[6] *Ib.* x. 172; *post*, POPE, 110. In a genuine letter Lintot wrote to Pope on June 10, 1715:—'Mr. Tickell's book is already condemned here, and the malice and juggle at Button's is the conversation of those who have spare moments from politics.' Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), ix. 540.

'Who that has common sense can forbear laughing, when he sees a parcel of fellows who call themselves wits sit in combination round a coffee-table, as sharpers do round a hazard-table, to trick honest gentlemen into an approbation of their works, and bubble them of their understanding.' DENNIS, *Original Letters*, 1721, p. 88.

[7] 'Mr. Watts, the printer, assured a friend of mine that "the translation was in Tickell's hand-writing, but much corrected by Addison."' NICHOLS, *A Select Collection of Poems*, 1780, iv. 317.

'The papers of the Tickell family,' writes Miss Aikin, 'prove that, so far from Tickell having thrown it off as a specimen of his powers, he had entered into an agreement with a

reasons for his suspicion I will literally transcribe from Mr. Spence's *Collection*[1].

'There had been a coldness (said Mr. Pope) between Mr. Addison and me for some time, and we had not been in company together for a good while any where but at Button's coffee-house, where I used to see him almost every day[2].—On his meeting me there, one day in particular, he took me aside, and said he should be glad to dine with me at such a tavern, if I staid [would stay] till those people were gone (Budgel[3] and Philips). We went accordingly, and after dinner Mr. Addison said "That he had wanted for some time to talk with me; that his friend Tickell had formerly whilst at Oxford translated the first book of the *Iliad*; that he [now] designed to print it, and had desired him to look it over; that he must therefore beg that I would not desire him to look over my first book, because if he did it would have the air of double-dealing." I assured him that I did not at all take it ill of Mr. Tickell that he was going to publish his translation; that he certainly had as much right to translate any author as myself; and that publishing both was entering on a fair stage. I then added that I would not desire him to look over my first book of the *Iliad*, because he had looked over Mr. Tickell's, but could wish to have the benefit of his observations on my second, which I had then finished, and which Mr. Tickell had not touched upon. Accordingly I sent him the second book the next morning, and Mr. Addison a few days after [in a few days he] returned it with very high commendations.—Soon after it was generally known that Mr. Tickell was publishing the first book of the *Iliad* I met Dr. Young in the street, and, upon our falling into that subject, the Doctor expressed a great deal of surprise at Tickell's having had such a translation so long by him. He said that it was inconceivable to him, and that there must be some mistake in the matter; that [. . .] each used to communicate to the other whatever verses they wrote, even to the least things; that Tickell could not have been busied in so long a work there without his knowing something of the matter; and that he had never heard a single word of it till on this occasion[4]. This surprise of Dr. Young, together with what

bookseller for the translation of the whole poem.' Aikin's *Addison*, ii. 127.

Gay, in *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece*, brings in:—

'Tickell, whose skiff (in partnership they say)
Set forth for Greece, but foundered on the way.'

Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), v. 177.

[1] Spence's *Anec.* p. 146.

[2] *Ante*, ADDISON, 115.

[3] *Post*, A. PHILIPS, 9.

[4] Young wrote to Tickell on June 28, [1715]:—'To be very plain, the University almost in general gives the preference to Pope. . . . I inclined some to compare the translation with the Greek; it made some small alteration in their opinions, but still Pope was their man.' Young adds that many wished Tickell to translate

Steele has said against Tickell in relation to this affair [1], make it highly probable that there was some underhand dealing in that business; and indeed Tickell himself, who is a very fair, worthy man, has since in a manner as good as owned it to me. [When it was introduced into a [in] conversation between Mr. Tickell and Mr. Pope by a third person, Tickell did not deny it; which, considering his honour and zeal for his departed friend, was the same as owning it [2].']

Upon these suspicions, with which Dr. Warburton hints that other circumstances concurred [3], Pope always in his *Art of Sinking* quotes this book as the work of Addison [4]. 11

To compare the two translations would be tedious: the palm is now given universally to Pope [5]; but I think the first lines of Tickell's were rather to be preferred, and Pope seems to have since borrowed something from them in the correction of his own [6]. 12

the *Odyssey*. 'I seriously believe your first piece of that will quite break their partiality for Pope, which your *Iliad* has weakened.' Aikin's *Addison*, ii. 130. The letter, as published, is dated 'London,' but it was certainly written at Oxford.

Young's *Letter to Mr. Tickell* begins:—

'O long with me in Oxford groves confined.' *Eng. Poets*, lx. 239.

[1] Pope said that 'Addison translated the first book of the *Iliad* that appeared as Tickell's; and Steele has blurted it out in his angry preface against Tickell.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 47.

Steele, in his *Dedication to the Drummer*, says:—'I hope nobody will be wronged, or think himself aggrieved that I give this rejected work where I do; and if a certain gentleman is injured by it, I will allow I have wronged him upon this issue, that (if the reputed translator of the first book of Homer shall please to give us another book) there shall appear another good judge in poetry, besides Mr. Alexander Pope, who shall like it.' Addison's *Works*, v. 153. Mr. Elwin remarks on this:—'An angry insinuation is not testimony.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), vii. 418.

[2] The passage included in brackets is Spence's own remark.

[3] Warburton's *Pope*, iv. 27. Warburton's evidence is only Pope's. One part of it was refuted by Judge Blackstone in *Biog. Brit.* 1778, i. 56, the conclusion of whose argument is quoted in Warton's *Pope*, iv. 33. See also *post*, POPE, 113 *n.*

[4] In ch. xii two quotations, the first from Tickell's *Iliad*, and the second from Addison's *English Poets*, are said to be 'of the same hand.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 388.

[5] Tickell, in his Preface, says that he 'had the pleasure of being diverted from that design [of translating the whole *Iliad*] by finding the work was fallen into a much abler hand.' [*The First Book of the Iliad. Translated by Mr. Tickell.*]

[6] 'Achilles' fatal wrath, whence discord rose,
That brought the sons of Greece unnumber'd woes,
O Goddess, sing. Full many a hero's ghost
Was driven untimely to th' infernal coast.'

TICKELL, *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 221.

For Pope's correction of his own version see *post*, POPE, 97. In *The Art of Sinking* many of the quotations in ch. xii are from Tickell's *Iliad*. Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 387.

'Perhaps the only passage where Tickell seriously mistakes his author's meaning is that which describes the sacrifice.' CONINGTON, *ib.* vii. 474 *n.*

13 When the Hanover succession was disputed Tickell gave what assistance his pen would supply. His *Letter to Avignon*[1] stands high among party-poems: it expresses contempt without coarseness, and superiority without insolence. It had the success which it deserved, being five times printed[2].

14 He was now intimately united to Mr. Addison, who, when he went into Ireland as secretary to the lord Sunderland[3], took him thither, and employed him in publick business; and when (1717) afterwards he rose to be secretary of state made him under-secretary[4]. Their friendship seems to have continued without abatement; for when Addison died he left him the charge of publishing his works, with a solemn recommendation to the patronage of Craggs[5].

15 To these works he prefixed an elegy on the author, which could owe none of its beauties to the assistance which might be suspected to have strengthened or embellished his earlier compositions; but neither he nor Addison ever produced nobler lines than are contained in the third and fourth paragraphs, nor is a more sublime or more elegant funeral poem to be found in the whole compass of English literature[6].

16 He was afterwards (about 1725[7]) made secretary to the Lords justices of Ireland, a place of great honour[8]; in which he continued till 1740, when he died on the twenty-third of April at Bath[9].

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 185.

[2] The five editions bear the date of 1717.

[3] *Ante*, ADDISON, 105 *n.* 8.

[4] *Ante*, ADDISON, 86. According to Steele Addison, by his preference of Tickell, 'incurred the warmest resentments of other gentlemen.' Addison's *Works*, v. 151. See also Macaulay's *Essays*, iv. 249.

[5] Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 11; vi. 523; *ante*, ADDISON, 103.

[6] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 245; Addison's *Works*, Preface, p. 13; *ante*, ADDISON, 102.

Steele, speaking of Tickell's Preface to Addison's *Works*, says that 'he adorned his heavy discourse with prose in rhyme at the end of it upon Mr. Addison's death.' Addison's *Works*, v. 154.

'This elegy is one of the finest in our language.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 438.

'Tickell bewailed his friend in an elegy which would do honour to the greatest name in our literature, and which unites the energy and magnificence of Dryden to the tenderness and purity of Cowper.' MACAULAY, *Essays*, iv. 254.

[7] In May, 1724. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 429. Swift wrote to him on July 11, 1724:—'It is hard that you last comers and lodgers should invite us old housekeepers.' *Works*, xix. 271.

[8] The Lords Justices act for the Lord Lieutenant in his absence, who (according to Swift) is absent 'usually four-fifths of his government.' *Ib.* vii. 38. See also *ib.* vi. 414. It was to benefit Tickell that Swift told the story of Addison and his fees. *Ante*, ADDISON, 32.

[9] On April 21, according to *Gent. Mag.* 1740, p. 261.

Of the poems yet unmentioned the longest is *Kensington* 17
*Gardens*[1], of which the versification is smooth and elegant, but the fiction unskilfully compounded[2] of Grecian Deities and Gothick Fairies. Neither species of those exploded beings could have done much; and when they are brought together they only make each other contemptible[3]. To Tickell, however, cannot be refused a high place among the minor poets[4]; nor should it be forgotten that he was one of the contributors to *The Spectator*. With respect to his personal character, he is said to have been a man of gay conversation, at least a temperate lover of wine and company, and in his domestick relations without censure.

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 258.

[2] Johnson at first wrote 'unnaturally compounded.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 56.

[3] *Ante*, BUTLER, 41. Addison, praising Tickell's *Prospect of Peace*, says:—'I was particularly well pleased to find that the author had not amused himself with fables out of the Pagan mythology.' *The Spectator*, No. 523.

Tickell, in *The Royal Progress*, speaks of these mythological beings as

'Exploded fancies, that in vain deceive,
While the mind nauseates what she can't believe.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 177.

[4] Wordsworth mentions Tickell as one 'to whom Dr. Johnson justly assigns a high place among the minor poets, and of whom Goldsmith rightly observes, that there is "a strain of ballad-thinking" through all his poetry, and it is very attractive.' *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, ii. 221.

Goldsmith adds that Tickell's ballad of *Colin and Lucy* 'is perhaps the best in our language in this way.' *Works*, iii. 438.

Gray ends the criticisms quoted above (TICKELL, 6 *n.* 3):—'However I forgive him for the sake of his ballad, which I always thought the prettiest in the world.' Mitford's *Gray*, iii. 89.

It contains the well-known lines:—

'I hear a voice you cannot hear,
Which says I must not stay;
I see a hand you cannot see,
Which beckons me away.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 250.

# HAMMOND

1 OF Mr. HAMMOND, though he be well remembered as a man esteemed and caressed by the elegant and great, I was at first able to obtain no other memorials than such as are supplied by a book called Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*[1]; of which I take this opportunity to testify that it was not written, nor, I believe, ever seen, by either of the Cibbers, but was the work of Robert Shiels, a native of Scotland[2], a man of very acute understanding, though with little scholastick education, who, not long after the publication of his work, died in London of a consumption. His life was virtuous, and his end was pious[3]. Theophilus Cibber, then a prisoner for debt, imparted, as I was told, his name for ten guineas[4]. The manuscript of Shiels is now in my possession.

2 I have since found that Mr. Shiels, though he was no negligent enquirer, has been misled by false accounts; for he relates that James Hammond, the author of the following *Elegies*, was the son of a Turkey merchant, and had some office at the prince of Wales's court, till love of a lady, whose name was Dashwood, for a time disordered his understanding[5]. He was unextinguishably amorous, and his mistress inexorably cruel.

[1] Vol. v. p. 307.

[2] For a curious account of the citizens of Edinburgh see Cibber's *Lives*, v. 164.

[3] Cibber's *Lives* are not free from gross stories.

[4] 'The bookseller' (said Johnson) gave Theophilus Cibber, who was then in prison, ten guineas, to allow *Mr. Cibber* to be put upon the title-page as the author; by this a double imposition was intended: in the first place, that it was the work of a Cibber at all, and, in the second place, that it was the work of old Cibber.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 29. For an attempted refutation of this see *ib.* 30 *n.* Colley Cibber died in 1757. On the title-page of vol. i 'Mr. Cibber' is given as the author; on the other volumes, 'Mr. Cibber and other Hands.' *The Gent. Mag.* 1753, p. 102, no doubt to expose the frauds, announced the book as 'by Mr. Cibber Jun.' In the same volume, p. 590, in the notice of Robert Shiels's death, it is stated that he wrote 'great part of the *Lives*.' For Johnson's kindness to him see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 187, 241.

Cibber received £21. In his receipt, dated Nov. 13, 1752, he undertook 'to revise . . . a work now printing in four volumes . . . that his name shall be made use of as the author.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 329.

[5] Mrs. Pendarves (Mrs. Delany) wrote to her sister on Dec. 6, 1742:—'I send you Hammond's *Elegies* on our friend; but don't name her when you show them. I am sure she must be touched when she reads them.' Mrs. Delany's *Auto.* ii. 203. The editor says that 'Mrs. Dashwood was the intimate friend' of the two ladies.

Croker, in the Preface to Lord

Of this narrative, part is true, and part false. He was the 3
second son of Anthony Hammond, a man of note among the wits, poets, and parliamentary orators in the beginning of this century, who was allied to Sir Robert Walpole by marrying his sister[1]. He was born about 1710[2], and educated at Westminster-school; but it does not appear that he was of any university. He was equerry to the prince of Wales[3], and seems to have come very early into publick notice, and to have been distinguished by those whose friendship[4] prejudiced mankind at that time in favour of the man on whom it was bestowed; for he was the companion of Cobham[5], Lyttelton[6], and Chesterfield[7]. He is said to have divided his life between pleasure and books; in his retirement forgetting the town, and in his gaiety losing the student[8]. Of his literary hours all the effects are here[9] exhibited,

Hervey's *Memoirs*, p. 30, says:—'Lady Corke, who died in 1840, at the age of ninety-four, told me she had known Kitty Dashwood very well, and that Hammond undoubtedly died for love; "the only instance of the kind," she said, "that she had ever known in her long life." Kitty had at first accepted, but afterwards rejected him on—Lady Corke thought—prudential reasons. She died in 1779, bedchamber-woman to Queen Charlotte.' As Hammond died four years before Lady Corke was born, all she had known was a woman for whom a man was said to have died for love. 'The bricks are alive at this day to testify it.'

Horace Walpole wrote in 1761:—'It is comical to see Kitty Dashwood, the famous old beauty of the Oxfordshire Jacobites, living in the palace as Duenna to the Queen.' *Letters*, iii. 435.

[1] Walpole's brother-in-law was neither the wit nor the father of the poet. For Horace Walpole's scornful mention of his uncle, a Norfolk squire, see *ib.* i. 247. The poet's father was Anthony Hammond, of Somersham Place, Huntingdonshire, M.P. for Shoreham. *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 780. Dr. Maty describes him as 'a good speaker in parliament, and well known by the name of "silver-tongued Hammond" given to him by Lord Bolingbroke. He was a man of wit, but wanted conduct, and had, as Lord Chesterfield used to say, "all the senses but common sense."' Chesterfield's *Misc. Works*, i. 90. He married Jane Clarges, daughter of a nephew of the Duchess of Albemarle. *N. & Q.* 2 S. xi. 493.

[2] On May 22, 1710. *Ib.*

[3] Frederick, Prince of Wales.

[4] In the first edition 'patronage and friendship.'

[5] Johnson, speaking of Pope's 'noble friends,' says 'he can derive little honour from the notice of Cobham.' *Post*, POPE, 272. To him Pope 'inscribed his *Characters of Men*.' *Post*, POPE, 202.

[6] Lyttelton was the Prince's Secretary. *Post*, LYTTELTON, 6. In 1736, writing to Pope from Bath, he speaks of Hammond as 'the joy and dread of Bath.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 173. Hammond praises Lyttelton in *Elegy* xiv. *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 332.

[7] For his friendship with Chesterfield see Chesterfield's *Misc. Works*, i. 90, 225; Mahon's *Chesterfield*, iii. 452, v. 434; and *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 329.

[8] Chesterfield's *Misc. Works*, i. 91.

[9] 'Here': i. e. *Eng. Poets*, to which Johnson contributed the *Lives* as *Prefaces*. See also 'following,' *ante*, HAMMOND, 2.

of which the *Elegies* were written very early [1], and the *Prologue* not long before his death [2].

4 In 1741 he was chosen into parliament for Truro in Cornwall, probably one of those who were elected by the Prince's influence [3]; and died next year in June at Stowe, the famous seat of the lord Cobham [4]. His mistress long outlived him, and in 1779 died unmarried [5]. The character which her lover bequeathed her was indeed not likely to attract courtship [6].

5 The *Elegies* were published after his death [7]; and while the writer's name was remembered with fondness they were read with a resolution to admire them. The recommendatory preface of the editor, who was then believed, and is now affirmed by Dr. Maty, to be the earl of Chesterfield, raised strong prejudices in their favour [8].

6 But of the prefacer, whoever he was, it may be reasonably suspected that he never read the poems; for he professes to value

[1] According to Chesterfield they were written 'before the author was two-and-twenty years old.' *Misc. Works*, ii. 394; *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 309.

[2] The Prologue to Lillo's *Elmerick*. *Ib.* p. 336. *Elmerick* was published in March, 1740. *Gent. Mag.* 1740, p. 152.

[3] According to Dr. Maty it was Chesterfield who procured Hammond a seat in parliament. Chesterfield's *Misc. Works*, i. 225. Chesterfield was one of the Prince's party. Hammond's brother-member was Clerk of the Household to the Prince. *Parl. Hist.* xii. 196. Mr. W. P. Courtney informs me that 'the Boscawens ruled Truro borough from 1659 to 1832. In 1741 Lord Falmouth [the head of the family] was in opposition to Walpole. It was no doubt through arrangement with him that the Prince of Wales in 1741 put in two of his sycophants.'

Thomson, describing Hammond as

'the darling pride,
The friend and lover of the tuneful throng,'

goes on to speak of

'that eager zeal
To serve thy country, glowing in the band
Of YOUTHFUL PATRIOTS, who sustain her name.' *Winter*, l. 555.

[4] He died on June 7, 1742. *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 330. In *Elegy* xv he says:—

'To Stowe's delightful scenes I now repair,
In Cobham's smile to lose the gloom of care.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 333.

Pope, in *Moral Essays*, iv. 69, ends a passage on 'architecture and gardening':—

'Nature shall join you; Time shall make it grow
A work to wonder at—perhaps a Stowe.'

[5] On Feb. 17, 1779. *Gent. Mag.* 1779, p. 103.

[6] Addressing Venus he says:—

'Deceived by thee, I loved a beauteous maid,
Who bends on sordid gold her low desires:
Nor worth nor passion can her heart persuade,
But Love must act what Avarice requires.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 312.

[7] They appeared in 1743.

[8] 'Chesterfield,' wrote Maty, 'was greatly affected with his loss, and testified his regard by taking care of what he left behind him, his Delia and his works.' Chesterfield's *Misc. Works*, i. 226. For Chesterfield's Preface see *ib.* ii. 394; *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 309.

them for a very high species of excellence, and recommends them as the genuine effusions of the mind, which expresses a real passion in the language of nature[1]. But the truth is these elegies have neither passion, nature, nor manners. Where there is fiction, there is no passion; he that describes himself as a shepherd, and his Neæra[2] or Delia[3] as a shepherdess, and talks of goats and lambs, feels no passion[4]. He that courts his mistress with Roman imagery deserves to lose her; for she may with good reason suspect his sincerity. Hammond has few sentiments drawn from nature, and few images from modern life. He produces nothing but frigid pedantry. It would be hard to find in all his productions three stanzas that deserve to be remembered.

Like other lovers he threatens the lady with dying[5]; and what 7
then shall follow?

'Wilt thou in tears thy lover's corse attend;
With eyes averted light the solemn pyre,
Till all around the doleful flames ascend,
Then, slowly sinking, by degrees expire?

To sooth the hovering soul be thine the care,
With plaintive cries to lead the mournful band,
In sable weeds the golden vase to bear,
And cull my ashes with thy trembling hand:

Panchaia's odours be their costly feast,
And all the pride of Asia's fragrant year;
Give them the treasures of the farthest East,
And, what is still more precious, give thy tear[6].'

Surely no blame can fall upon the nymph who rejected a swain of so little meaning.

His verses are not rugged, but they have no sweetness: they 8

[1] 'It was nature and sentiment only that dictated to a real mistress, not youthful and poetic fancy to an imaginary one.' *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 309.

[2] 'I saw Neaera, and her instant slave,
Though born a Briton, hugg'd
the servile chain.' *Ib.* p. 311.

[3] 'No wakeful guard, no doors to
stop desire,
Thrice happy times!—But oh!
I fondly rave.
Lead me to Delia; all her eyes
inspire
I'll do.—I'll plough or dig, as
Delia's slave.' *Ib.* p. 321.

[4] *Ante*, MILTON, 182.

[5] Boileau ends some lines by asking whether 'pour quelque Iris en l'air' he must
'Toujours bien mangeant mourir par métaphore.' *Sat.* ix. 261.

[6] *Eng. Poets*, xxxix. 324. 'Hammond was a young gentleman who appears to have fallen in love about the year 1740, and who translated Tibullus into English verse to let his mistress and the public know of it.' HAZLITT, *Lectures on the English Poets*, 1819, p. 234.

never glide in a stream of melody. Why Hammond or other writers have thought the quatrain of ten syllables elegiack it is difficult to tell. The character of the elegy is gentleness and tenuity, but this stanza has been pronounced by Dryden, whose knowledge of English metre was not inconsiderable, to be the most magnificent of all the measures which our language affords [1].

[1] Johnson quotes this opinion of Dryden (*ante*, DRYDEN, 24), with the variance of *majestic* for *magnificent*.

Dryden says of *Annus Mirabilis*: —'I have chosen to write my poem in quatrains, or stanzas of four in alternate rhyme, because I have ever judged them more noble and of greater dignity, both for the sound and number, than any other verse in use amongst us.' *Works*, ix. 92.

# SOMERVILE

OF Mr. SOMERVILE's life I am not able to say any thing 1
that can satisfy curiosity [1].

He was a gentleman whose estate was in Warwickshire: his 2
house, where he was born in 1692 [2], is called Edston, a seat inherited from a long line of ancestors; for he was said to be of the first family in his county [3]. He tells of himself that he was born near the Avon's banks [4]. He was bred at Winchester-school, and was elected fellow of New College [5]. It does not appear that in the places of his education he exhibited any uncommon proofs of genius or literature. His powers were first displayed in the country, where he was distinguished as a poet, a gentleman, and a skilful and useful Justice of the Peace [6].

Of the close of his life, those whom his poems have delighted 3
will read with pain the following account, copied from the letters of his friend Shenstone, by whom he was too much resembled [7].

'—Our old friend Somervile is dead! I did not imagine I could have been so sorry as I find myself on this occasion.—

[1] His Life is not in *Biog. Brit.*

[2] *The Chace* was published in 1735. *Gent. Mag.* 1735, p. 279. In it Somervile says:—'I run over in my elbow-chair some of those chaces which were once the delight of a more vigorous age.' *Eng. Poets*, xl. 6. Shenstone, in the letter below, 'imputes his foibles to age.' William Somervile matriculated at New College, Oxford, on Aug. 24, 1694, aged 18. *Alumni Oxon.* He was born therefore in 1675 or 1676. [First ed. does not give date of birth.]

[3] He describes himself as
'A squire well-born and six foot high.'
*Eng. Poets*, xl. 215.

[4] 'Born near Avona's winding stream.'
*Ib.* p. 182.
The brook which flows through Edston falls into an affluent of the Avon. Edston is five miles north of Stratford.

[5] He became a Fellow in 1694, matriculating at the same date. He was of Founder's kin, and, as such, had not only a preference in the election but was exempted from the two years of Probationary Fellowship. He resigned in 1704, on the death of his father. There is no trace of his taking his B.A. or M.A. degrees, though both were enjoined by the statutes *. For the elections to Fellowships see *post*, COLLINS, 3.

[6] In the first edition the paragraph concludes:—'He was bred at Winchester-school, but I know not whether he was of any university. I have never heard of him but as a poet, a country gentleman, and a skilful,' &c.

[7] In improvidence. *Post*, SHENSTONE, 14.

* From information received from Messrs. P. E. Matheson and R. S. Rait, Fellows of New College.

"Sublatum quærimus[1]." I can now excuse all his foibles; impute them to age, and to distress of circumstances: the last of these considerations wrings my very soul to think on[2]. For a man of high spirit, conscious of having (at least in one production) generally pleased the world, to be plagued and threatened by wretches that are low in every sense: to be forced to drink himself into pains of the body in order to get rid of the pains of the mind[3], is a misery[4].' He died July 19, 1742[5], and was buried at Wotton, near Henley on Arden[6].

4 His distresses need not be much pitied: his estate is said to be fifteen hundred a year, which by his death has devolved to lord Somervile of Scotland[7]. His mother indeed, who lived till ninety, had a jointure of six hundred.

5 It is with regret that I find myself not better enabled to exhibit memorials of a writer, who at least must be allowed to have set a good example to men of his own class by devoting part of his time to elegant knowledge, and who has shewn, by the subjects which his poetry has adorned, that it is practicable to be at once a skilful sportsman and a man of letters[8].

6 Somervile has tried many modes of poetry; and though perhaps he has not in any reached such excellence as to raise much envy, it may commonly be said at least that *he writes very well for a gentleman*[9]. His serious pieces are sometimes

[1] 'Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.' HORACE, *Odes*, iii. 24. 31.
'Though living virtue we despise,
We follow her, when dead, with envious eyes.' FRANCIS.

[2] 'Shenstone has described his private character in one of those happy sentences which, being once heard, is never to be forgotten. "I loved Mr. Somervile, because he knew so perfectly what belonged to the *flocci-nauci-nihili-pilification* of money [Shenstone's *Works*, 1791, ii. 138]."' SOUTHEY, *Specimens*, &c. i. 405.

[3] '"I wonder," said Mrs. Williams, "what pleasure men can take in making beasts of themselves!" "I wonder, Madam," replied the Doctor, "that you have not penetration enough to see the strong inducement to this excess; for he who makes a *beast* of himself gets rid of the pain of being a man."' *John. Misc.* ii. 333.

[4] The sentence continues:—'which I can well conceive, because I may, without vanity, esteem myself his equal in point of economy, and consequently *ought* to have an eye on his misfortunes.' Shenstone's *Works*, ed. 1791, iii. 48.

[5] *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 387.

[6] Wotton or Wootton is close to Edston. [First ed. does not give place of burial.]

[7] In Burke's *Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, 1883 (p. 620), under BARON SOMERVILLE, it is stated that, 'in consideration of certain sums applied to the relief of burdens, the poet settled the reversions of his estate upon Lord Somerville [the thirteenth baron of that title].'

[8] In the first edition the following passage came next:—'The compilers of this collection have neglected the order of time, and placed those pieces first which were written last. The occasional poems were written long before his *Chace*.'

[9] Johnson, speaking of the Earl of Carlisle as 'a candidate for literary

elevated, and his trifles are sometimes elegant. In his verses to Addison the couplet which mentions *Clio* is written with the most exquisite delicacy of praise [1]; it exhibits one of those happy strokes that are seldom attained. In his *Odes to Marlborough* [2] there are beautiful lines; but in the second Ode he shews that he knew little of his hero, when he talks of his private virtues [3]. His subjects are commonly such as require no great depth of thought or energy of expression. His *Fables* are generally stale, and therefore excite no curiosity. Of his favourite, *The Two Springs* [4], the fiction is unnatural, and the moral inconsequential. In his Tales there is too much coarseness, with too little care of language, and not sufficient rapidity of narration.

His great work is his *Chace*, which he undertook in his 7
maturer age [5], when his ear was improved to the approbation of blank verse, of which, however, his two first lines give a bad specimen [6]. To this poem praise cannot be totally denied. He is allowed by sportsmen to write with great intelligence of his subject, which is the first requisite to excellence; and though it is impossible to interest the common readers of verse in the dangers or pleasures of the chase, he has done all that transition and variety could easily effect, and has with great propriety enlarged his plan by the modes of hunting used in other countries [7].

With still less judgement did he chuse blank verse as the 8
vehicle of *Rural Sports* [8]. If blank verse be not tumid and

fame, was of opinion that when a man of rank appeared in that character he deserved to have his merit handsomely allowed.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 114.

[1] 'When panting virtue her last efforts made,
You brought your Clio to the virgin's aid.' *Eng. Poets*, xl. 177.
For Clio see *ante*, ADDISON, 74, and for Clio's aid to virtue, ADDISON, 123.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xl. 165, 170.

[3] 'Let all be calm as the great hero's breast,
Here no unruly passions reign,
Nor servile fear, nor proud disdain;
Each wilder lust is banished hence,
Where gentle love presides, and mild benevolence.'
*Ib.* p. 171. See *post*, SWIFT, 46.

[4] *Eng. Poets*, xl. 284.

[5] It was published in 1735 when he was fifty-nine or sixty. *Ante*, SOMERVILE, 2 *n.* 2.

[6] 'The Chase I sing, hounds and their various breed,
And no less various use. O thou, great Prince!' *Eng. Poets*, xl. 15.

[7] When he describes hunting in Warwickshire he is lively and interesting; but where, as in 200 lines of Book ii, he describes hunting 'on the banks of Gemna, Indian stream,' he is ridiculous and dull.

[8] '*Hobbinol, or the Rural Games, A Burlesque Poem in Blank Verse.* 3rd ed. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*' *Gent. Mag.* 1740, p. 208; *Eng. Poets*, xl. 89.
'*Field Sports*, Price 1*s.*' *Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 56; *Eng. Poets*, xl. 147. It is in blank verse. For blank verse see *ante*, MILTON, 275.

gorgeous, it is crippled prose; and familiar images in laboured language have nothing to recommend them but absurd novelty which, wanting the attractions of Nature, cannot please long One excellence of *The Splendid Shilling*[1] is that it is short. Disguise can gratify no longer than it deceives.

[1] *Ante*, JOHN PHILIPS, 10.

# SAVAGE[1]

IT has been observed in all ages that the advantages of nature 1
or of fortune have contributed very little to the promotion of happiness; and that those whom the splendour of their rank or the extent of their capacity have placed upon the summits of human life, have not often given any just occasion to envy in those who look up to them from a lower station[2]: whether it be that apparent superiority incites great designs, and great designs are naturally liable to fatal miscarriages; or that the general lot of mankind is misery, and the misfortunes of those whose eminence drew upon them an universal attention have been more carefully recorded, because they were more generally observed, and have in reality been only more conspicuous than those of others, not more frequent, or more severe.

That affluence and power, advantages extrinsick and adventi- 2
tious, and therefore easily separable from those by whom they are possessed, should very often flatter the mind with expectations of felicity which they cannot give, raises no astonishment: but it seems rational to hope that intellectual greatness should produce better effects; that minds qualified for great attainments should first endeavour their own benefit; and that they who are most able to teach others the way to happiness should with most certainty follow it themselves.

But this expectation, however plausible, has been very fre- 3
quently disappointed. The heroes of literary as well as civil history have been very often no less remarkable for what [they have suffered than for what] they have atchieved[3]; and volumes have been written only to enumerate the miseries of the learned, and relate their unhappy lives and untimely deaths[4].

[1] See Appendix FF.

[2] 'All times their scenes of pompous woes afford,
From Persia's tyrant to Bavaria's lord.'
JOHNSON, *Vanity of Human Wishes*, l. 223.

[3] The omission in the reprint of the words within brackets was a printer's blunder.

[4] 'If dreams yet flatter, once again attend,
Hear Lydiat's life and Galileo's end.'
JOHNSON, *ib.* l. 163.

4 To these mournful narratives I am about to add the *Life of Richard Savage*, a man whose writings entitle him to an eminent rank in the classes of learning, and whose misfortunes claim a degree of compassion not always due to the unhappy, as they were often the consequences of the crimes of others rather than his own.

5 In the year 1697 Anne Countess of Macclesfield, having lived for some time upon very uneasy terms with her husband [1], thought a public confession of adultery the most obvious and expeditious method of obtaining her liberty, and therefore declared that the child, with which she was then great, was begotten by the Earl Rivers [2]. This, as may be imagined, made her husband no less desirous of a separation than herself, and he prosecuted his design in the most effectual manner; for he applied not to the ecclesiastical courts for a divorce, but to the parliament for an act, by which his marriage might be dissolved, the nuptial contract totally annulled, and the children of his wife illegitimated [3]. This act, after the usual deliberation, he obtained, though without the approbation of some, who considered marriage as an affair only cognizable by ecclesiastical judges [4];

[1] See Appendix GG.

[2] See Appendix HH.

[3] 'The want of male issue [to the Earl of Macclesfield] was the occasion of engaging two eminent Peers, Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, in a duel in which they had the misfortune to kill each other.' *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 4.

[This duel was fought in Hyde Park on Nov. 15, 1712. Scott's *Swift*, iii. 61. The two peers had married descendants of the first Earl of Macclesfield. In 1702, through the failure of the Earl's male heirs, his descendants in the female line became co-heirs. There were complicated disputes concerning the Macclesfield real estate. Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*. An affront given by Mohun to Hamilton at a meeting concerning the lawsuit was alleged to have been the immediate cause of the duel.]

[4] 'This year was made remarkable by the dissolution of a marriage solemnized in the face of the church.' SALMON'S *Review of Hist. of Eng.* 1724, ii. 89.

The following protest is registered in the books of the House of Lords:

'Dissentient.

'Because we conceive that this is the first bill of that nature that hath passed, where there was not a divorce first obtained in the Spiritual Court; which we look upon as an ill precedent, and may be of dangerous consequence in the future.

'HALIFAX. ROCHESTER.'

NOTE BY JOHNSON.

'The canon law, which the common law follows in this case, deems so highly and with such mysterious reverence of the nuptial tie, that it will not allow it to be unloosed for any cause whatsoever that arises after the union is made. . . . With us in England adultery is only a cause of separation from bed and board. . . . However, divorces *a vinculo matrimonii*, for adultery, have of late years been frequently granted by act of parliament.' BLACKSTONE, *Com.* i. 441.

In 1694 the Duke of Norfolk had moved for a similar Act. 'All the bishops who had been made during

and on March 3d[1] was separated from his wife, whose fortune, which was very great, was repaid her[2], and who having, as well as her husband, the liberty of making another choice, was in a short time married to Colonel Brett[3].

While the Earl of Macclesfield was prosecuting this affair his 6 wife was, on the 10th of January, 1697–8[4], delivered of a son, and the Earl Rivers, by appearing to consider him as his own, left none any reason to doubt of the sincerity of her declaration; for he was his godfather, and gave him his own name, which was by his direction inserted in the register of St. Andrew's parish in Holborn[5], but unfortunately left him to the care of his mother, whom, as she was now set free from her husband, he probably imagined likely to treat with great tenderness the child that had contributed to so pleasing an event. It is not indeed easy to discover what motives could be found to overbalance that natural affection of a parent, or what interest could be promoted by neglect or cruelty. The dread of shame or of poverty, by which some wretches have been incited to abandon or to murder their children, cannot be supposed to have affected a woman who had proclaimed her crimes and solicited reproach, and on whom the clemency of the legislature had undeservedly bestowed a fortune[6], which would have been very little diminished by the expences which the care of her child could have brought upon her. It was therefore not likely that she would be wicked without temptation, that she would look upon her son from his birth with a kind of resentment and abhorrence, and, instead of supporting,

the present reign [William and Mary's] were of opinion that a second marriage in that case was lawful...; but all the bishops that had been made by the two former kings [Charles II and James II] were of another opinion.' BURNET, *Hist.* iii. 140.

Halifax was William Savile, Marquis of Halifax, and Rochester was Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester.

[1] The Bill passed the Lords on March 3, 1697–8, the Commons on March 15, and obtained the Royal Assent on April 2. *Lords' Journals*, xi. 224, 256; *Commons' Journals*, xii. 160.

[2] Luttrell recorded on March 3, 1697–8, that by a clause added to the bill of divorce 'she shall have and enjoy to her and her heirs £500 per annum for ever, and £250 per annum after her mother's decease. 'Tis said the son she had during her elopement goes by the name of Savage, and supposed father the Earl of [*sic*] Rivers.' Luttrell's *Brief Hist. Relation*, 1857, iv. 350. See also T. Salmon's *Review of Hist. of Eng.* 1724, ii. 89.

[3] See Appendix II.

[4] Johnson's authority for this date (a wrong one, see Appendix JJ) was the *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 5.

[5] See Appendix JJ.

[6] It was apparently the fortune she had brought her husband on marriage that was returned to her. *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 362.

assisting, and defending him, delight to see him struggling with misery; or that she would take every opportunity of aggravating his misfortunes and obstructing his resources, and with an implacable and restless cruelty continue her persecution from the first hour of his life to the last [1].

7 But whatever were her motives, no sooner was her son born than she discovered a resolution of disowning him; and in a very short time removed him from her sight by committing him to the care of a poor woman, whom she directed to educate him as her own, and injoined never to inform him of his true parents [2].

8 Such was the beginning of the life of Richard Savage. Born with a legal claim to honour and to affluence he was in two months illegitimated by the parliament [3] and disowned by his mother, doomed to poverty and obscurity, and launched upon the ocean of life only that he might be swallowed by its quicksands or dashed upon its rocks.

9 His mother could not indeed infect others with the same cruelty. As it was impossible to avoid the inquiries which the curiosity or tenderness of her relations made after her child, she was obliged to give some account of the measures that she had taken; and her mother, the Lady Mason [4], whether in approbation of her design or to prevent more criminal contrivances,

[1] At the trial it was proved that she had shown great fondness for her infant daughter, and when the child died had sent for a lock of its hair. A woman moreover deposed about her second confinement that 'she often heard the gentlewoman wish the child to be a boy, and was mightily pleased when she heard it was a boy.' *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 363.

Savage, it is clear, had a great difficulty to contend with in Mrs. Brett's general character for kindness. He met it by admitting it. In *The Plain Dealer*, No. 28 (*post*, SAVAGE, 59), he is said to have given her 'a character for humanity with regard to the rest of the world.' In the same number he, or Aaron Hill in his name, writes of her:—

'Yet has this sweet neglecter of my woes
The softest, tend'rest breast that pity knows.
Her eyes shed mercy wheresoe'er they shine,
And her soul melts at every woe—but mine.'

The poet with impudent hypocrisy continues:—

'But oh! whatever cause has mov'd her hate,
Let me but sigh in silence at my fate.'

Savage's *Works*, 1777, Preface, p. 22; Aaron Hill's *Works*, iv. 52.

[2] *Life of Savage*, p. 5.

[3] The child was born in Jan. 1696-7, and illegitimated in March 1697-8. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 6 *n.* 4; Appendix JJ.

[4] *Life of Savage*, p. 6. She was the wife of Sir Richard Mason, of Sutton, Surrey. *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 361. Luttrell recorded on Feb. 20, 1680-1:—'The King hath ... retrench't his family, Sir Stephen Fox and Sir Richard Mason maintaining it for 12,000*l.* per ann.' *Brief Hist. Relation*, 1857, i. 68.

engaged to transact with the nurse, to pay her for her care, and to superintend the education of the child.

In this charitable office she was assisted by his godmother 10
Mrs. Lloyd, who, while she lived, always looked upon him with that tenderness, which the barbarity of his mother made peculiarly necessary; but her death, which happened in his tenth year, was another of the misfortunes of his childhood: for though she kindly endeavoured to alleviate his loss by a legacy of three hundred pounds, yet, as he had none to prosecute his claim, to shelter him from oppression, or call in law to the assistance of justice, her will was eluded by the executors, and no part of the money was ever paid [1].

He was, however, not yet wholly abandoned. The Lady 11
Mason still continued her care, and directed him to be placed at a small grammar-school near St. Alban's [2], where he was called by the name of his nurse, without the least intimation that he had a claim to any other.

Here he was initiated in literature [3], and passed through several 12
of the classes, with what rapidity or what applause cannot now be known. As he always spoke with respect of his master, it is probable that the mean rank, in which he then appeared, did not hinder his genius from being distinguished, or his industry from being rewarded; and if in so low a state he obtained distinction and rewards, it is not likely that they were gained but by genius and industry.

It is very reasonable to conjecture that his application was 13
equal to his abilities, because his improvement was more than

[1] 'To his own mother he has not been the least obliged for his education, but to her mother, the Lady Mason; she committed him to the care of Mrs. Lloyd, his godmother, who, dying before he was ten years old, out of her tender regard left him a legacy of £300, which was embezzled by her executors.' JACOB, *Poet. Reg.* i. 298; *Life*, p. 6. Savage varied his story.
To Mrs. Carter he wrote in 1739:—'I lost her when I was but seven years of age.' Pennington's *Carter*, i. 59.
Mr. Thomas has shown that the child's godmother was not Mrs. Lloyd, but Mrs. Ousley. As Mr. Ousley lived till 1714 there had been no change of name by a second marriage. Moreover in the first fourteen years after the birth there is no will in either name 'on the register of the Archbishop's Court at Doctors' Commons.' Lady Mason lived till 1717, when her grandson, if he survived, was twenty. In the next paragraph we are told that 'she still continued her care.' 'Why,' asks Mr. Thomas, 'did he not prosecute his claim to the legacy?' *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 425-6.

[2] 'He was sent to a little Grammar School at St. Alban's.' *Life*, p. 6.

[3] In *The Plain Dealer*, No. 28, he is described as having been 'without the advantage of friends, fortune or education.'

proportioned to the opportunities which he enjoyed; nor can it be doubted that if his earliest productions had been preserved, like those of happier students, we might in some have found vigorous sallies of that sprightly humour which distinguishes *The Author to be let*[1], and in others strong touches of that ardent imagination which painted the solemn scenes of *The Wanderer*[2].

14 While he was thus cultivating his genius, his father, the Earl Rivers, was seized with a distemper, which in a short time put an end to his life. He had frequently inquired after his son, and had always been amused with fallacious and evasive answers; but, being now in his own opinion on his death-bed, he thought it his duty to provide for him among his other natural children[3], and therefore demanded a positive account of him, with an importunity not to be diverted or denied. His mother, who could no longer refuse an answer, determined at least to give such as should cut him off for ever from that happiness which competence affords, and therefore declared that he was dead[4]; which is perhaps the first instance of a lie invented by a mother to deprive her

[1] *Post*, SAVAGE, 102.

[2] *Post*, SAVAGE, 117.

[3] He died Aug. 18, 1712. Johnson's *Works*, viii. 101 *n*. Swift wrote to Stella on Oct. 9, 1712:—'Did I tell you of Lord Rivers's will? He has left legacies to about twenty paltry old whores by name, and not a farthing to any friend, dependant, or relation: he has left from his only child, Lady Barrymore, her mother's estate, and given the whole to his heir-male, a popish priest, a second cousin, who is now Earl Rivers, and whom he used in his life like a footman. After him it goes to his chief wench and bastard. . . . I loved the man, but detest his memory.' *Works*, iii. 52. Swift described him as 'an arrant knave in common dealings, and very prostitute.' *Ib.* xii. 227. See also *ib.* ii. 103, 448.

The editor of *The Wentworth Papers* (p. 300) states that 'from another letter written about this time [1712] we gather that Lord Rivers left his mistress, Mrs. Colliton, £2,500 a year for life, his natural daughter £10,000, and £500 a year to "Mrs. Oldfield the Player."' For Mrs. Oldfield see *post*, SAVAGE, 42.

[4] In 1719 Jacob stated that 'some unfair methods had been put in practice to deceive Earl Rivers by a false report of his son's death.' *Poet. Reg.* i. 297. In 1724 this statement was enlarged:—'Of two fathers whom he might have claimed, both of them noble, he lost the title of the one, and a provision from the other's pity by the means alone of this mother.' *The Plain Dealer*, No. 28. In 1727, in the *Life*, p. 7, this story was again enlarged:—'It was while he was at this school that Earl Rivers died, who had several times made enquiry after him, but could never get any satisfactory account of him; and when on his death-bed he more strenuously demanded to know what was become of him, in order to make him a partaker in the distribution of that very handsome estate he left among his natural children, he was positively told he was dead. Thus was he, whilst (as he expressed it himself) *legally* the son of one Earl, and *naturally* the son of another, by the management of his own mother denied the benefit of belonging to either of them.' There is no mention of the £6,000 of the next paragraph.

son of a provision which was designed him by another, and which she could not expect herself, though he should lose it.

This was therefore an act of wickedness which could not be 15
defeated, because it could not be suspected: the Earl did not imagine that there could exist in a human form a mother that would ruin her son without enriching herself; and therefore bestowed upon some other person six thousand pounds, which he had in his will bequeathed to Savage [1].

The same cruelty which incited his mother to intercept this 16
provision which had been intended him prompted her in a short time to another project, a project worthy of such a disposition. She endeavoured to rid herself from the danger of being at any time made known to him, by sending him secretly to the American plantations [2].

By whose kindness this scheme was counteracted, or by what 17
interposition she was induced to lay aside her design, I know not: it is not improbable that the Lady Mason might persuade or compel her to desist, or perhaps she could not easily find accomplices wicked enough to concur in so cruel an action; for it may be conceived that those who had by a long gradation of guilt hardened their hearts against the sense of common wickedness, would yet be shocked at the design of a mother to expose her son to slavery and want, to expose him without interest, and without provocation; and Savage might on this occasion find protectors and advocates among those who had long traded in crimes, and whom compassion had never touched before.

Being hindered, by whatever means, from banishing him into 18
another country, she formed soon after a scheme for burying him in poverty and obscurity in his own; and, that his station of life,

[1] His will is dated more than fourteen months before his death, and does not contain a single codicil. *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 446. For his will see Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 347.

[2] Savage's Preface to his *Miscellany*. JOHNSON. For the *Miscellany* see *post*, SAVAGE, 59. Savage wrote of her:—'Not enduring me ever to approach her, she offered a bribe to have me shipped off in an odd manner to one of the plantations.' *Works*, Preface, p. 26. In the *Life*, p. 6, he had previously said 'an attempt had been made in vain to have had him spirited away to one of the American Plantations.' By whom the attempt was made he does not say.

Defoe, in *Colonel Jack*, ch. viii, describes how his hero and four others were kidnapped in Newcastle, and carried into slavery in Virginia. Swift, in 1724, in his lines on *A Quiet Life. To a Friend who married a Shrew* (*Works*, xiv. 184), says:—

'Z—ds! I would ship her to Jamaica,
Or truck the carrion for tobacco.'

if not the place of his residence, might keep him for ever at a distance from her, she ordered him to be placed with a shoemaker in Holborn, that, after the usual time of trial, he might become his apprentice[1].

19 It is generally reported that this project was for some time successful, and that Savage was employed at the awl longer than he was willing to confess; nor was it perhaps any great advantage to him that an unexpected discovery determined him to quit his occupation.

20 About this time his nurse, who had always treated him as her own son, died, and it was natural for him to take care of those effects, which by her death were, as he imagined, become his own; he therefore went to her house, opened her boxes, and examined her papers, among which he found some letters written to her by the Lady Mason, which informed him of his birth, and the reasons for which it was conccaled[2].

[1] Preface to Savage's *Miscellanies* [*Works*, Preface, p. 26]. JOHNSON.

In the last note Johnson calls this piece Savage's *Miscellany*. For the proper title see *post*, SAVAGE, 60 *n*. The first edition, published in 1726, does not contain this Preface. Of any later edition there is no copy in the British Museum. Perhaps the Preface was bound up with later issues of the work. In the *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 7, we read:—'In a piece that was printed, but for some weighty reasons never made public, he tells us that when he was fifteen his mother's affection began to awake, and he was solicited to be bound apprentice to a shoemaker, which proposal he rejected with scorn, for he had now by the death of his nurse discovered some letters of his grandmother's, and by those means the whole contrivance that had been carried on to conceal his birth.'

On p. 19 it is said that 'he wrote a long Preface giving some account of his mother's unparalleled ill-treatment of him, but was prevailed on, through the imposition of some very considerable persons, to cancel it.'

Savage, sending to Mrs. Carter in 1739 a copy of his *Life*, says:—'As to the matters of fact contained, there are not above two or three that are false or mistaken ones. As for that of the mean nurse, she is quite a fictitious character. The person who took care of me, and as tenderly as *the apple of her eye* (this expression is in a letter of hers, a copy of which I found many years after her decease among her papers), was one Mrs. Lloyd, a lady that kept her chariot, and lived accordingly. But alas! I lost her when I was but seven years of age. That I did pass under another name till I was seventeen years of age is truth, but not the name of any person with whom I lived.' Pennington's *Carter*, i. 59.

[2] Savage, in a letter to *The Plain Dealer* for Nov. 30, 1724 (No. 73), says:—'When you shall have perused those convincing original letters which I have entrusted with the gentleman who brings you this, I shall need say no more to satisfy you, what right I have to complain in a more publick manner than I have yet allowed myself to resolve on.' The editor adds:—'The proofs he sent me are too strong to be easily mistaken.' *Ib.* [ed. 1734], p. 141. Aaron Hill was not the man to detect a forgery.

The papers should have been laid before the public. It might have been said in some such words as Johnson used in speaking of *Ossian*:

He was no longer satisfied with the employment which had 21
been allotted him, but thought he had a right to share the affluence of his mother; and therefore without scruple applied to her as her son, and made use of every art to awaken her tenderness and attract her regard. But neither his letters, nor the interposition of those friends which his merit or his distress procured him, made any impression upon her mind. She still resolved to neglect, though she could no longer disown him.

It was to no purpose that he frequently solicited her to admit 22
him to see her; she avoided him with the most vigilant precaution, and ordered him to be excluded from her house, by whomsoever he might be introduced and what reason soever he might give for entering it.

Savage was at the same time so touched with the discovery of 23
his real mother that it was his frequent practice to walk in the dark evenings[1] for several hours before her door, in hopes of seeing her as she might come by accident to the window, or cross her apartment with a candle in her hand.

But all his assiduity and tenderness were without effect, for 24
he could neither soften her heart nor open her hand, and was reduced to the utmost miseries of want, while he was endeavouring to awaken the affection of a mother[2]. He was therefore obliged to seek some other means of support; and, having no profession, became by necessity an author.

At this time the attention of all the literary world was 25
engrossed by the Bangorian controversy, which filled the press with pamphlets and the coffee-houses with disputants[3]. Of this

—'If there are manuscripts, let them be shown, with some proof that they are not forged for the occasion.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 310.

[1] See *The Plain Dealer*. JOHNSON.

The account of Savage in *The Plain Dealer* for June 26, 1724 (No. 28), is in a letter signed 'Amintas.' 'I have known him walk three or four times in a dark evening through the street this mother lives in, only for the melancholy pleasure of looking up at her windows, in hopes to catch a moment's sight of her, as she might cross the room by candle light.'

[2] He played the part of an orphan too long. At the age of four-and-thirty he wrote how hope had whispered to him that Her Majesty meant

'With pitying hands an orphan's tears to screen,
And o'er the motherless extend the Queen.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 215.

[3] On June 21, 1717, Steele wrote to his wife:—'Mr. Hoadly, the Bishop of Bangor, has in the sermon for which he is so ill-treated done like an apostle, and asserted the true dominion established by our blessed Saviour.' Montgomery's *Memoirs of Steele*, ii. 129. Hoadly that year published *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors*, and preached a sermon before the king under the title of *The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ*.

subject, as most popular, he made choice for his first attempt, and, without any other knowledge of the question than he had casually collected from conversation, published a poem against the Bishop [1].

26 What was the success or merit of this performance, I know not; it was probably lost among the innumerable pamphlets to which that dispute gave occasion. Mr. Savage was himself in a little time ashamed of it, and endeavoured to suppress it by destroying all the copies that he could collect [2].

27 He then attempted a more gainful kind of writing, and in his eighteenth year offered to the stage a comedy borrowed from a Spanish plot, which was refused by the players, and was therefore given by him to Mr. Bullock, who, having more interest, made some slight alterations, and brought it upon the stage under the title of *Woman's a Riddle* [3], but allowed the unhappy author no part of the profit [4].

28 Not discouraged however at his repulse, he wrote two years afterwards *Love in a Veil* [5], another comedy, borrowed likewise

A Committee of Convocation 'censured both performances as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ, &c.' Smollett's *England*, ii. 358. The government stopped further proceedings by a prorogation. From that date till 1861 Convocation was never allowed to meet as a deliberative body. For Johnson's 'explosion of High Church zeal' at this, when 'his eyes flashed with indignation,' see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 464.

Gibbon (*Memoirs*, p. 22) describes how 'while the Bangorian controversy was a fashionable theme, William Law entered the lists on the subject of Christ's kingdom, and the authority of the priesthood.' See also *ib.* p. 274.

Addison wrote of Hoadly in 1710: —'Little Ben winks, speaks half sentences, and grows more mysterious than ever.' *Works*, v. 382.

[1] *The Convocation, or a Battle of Pamphlets. A Poem.* Written by Mr. Richard Savage. London, 1717. 8vo. Price 6*d.*

[2] *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 10.

[3] This play was printed first in 8vo; and afterwards in 12mo, the fifth edition. JOHNSON.

In the British Museum there is the first ed., 1717, in 4to, the second, 1729, in 12mo, and the fourth, 1770, in 8vo.

[4] Jacob's *Lives of Dramatic Poets* [*Poetical Register*]. JOHNSON.

According to Jacob, i. 298, it was acted in 1716. 'The author, being unacquainted with the management of the stage, permitted Mr. C. Bullock to dedicate it, and put his name to the title-page, on account of some few alterations he procured to be made in the performance.' Jacob, in the article on Christopher Bullock, assigns this play to him. 'He was joint manager of the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields.' *Ib.* p. 284.

According to *Biog. Dram.* 1812, iii. 418, the play was translated from the Spanish, by Mrs. Price, wife of a Judge of the Exchequer. She gave both Bullock and Savage a copy. 'Bullock made some considerable alterations, and brought it out in the form in which it long made its appearance on the stage.'

In *Brit. Mus. Cata.* it is entered under Christopher Bullock.

[5] *Love in a Veil, a Comedy, As it*

from the Spanish, but with little better success than before; for though it was received and acted, yet it appeared so late in the year that the author obtained no other advantage from it than the acquaintance of Sir Richard Steele and Mr. Wilks, by whom he was pitied, caressed, and relieved [1].

Sir Richard Steele, having declared in his favour with all the 29
ardour of benevolence which constituted his character, promoted his interest with the utmost zeal, related his misfortunes, applauded his merit, took all opportunities of recommending him, and asserted that 'the inhumanity of his mother had given him a right to find every good man his father [2].'

Nor was Mr. Savage admitted to his acquaintance only, but 30
to his confidence, of which he sometimes related an instance too extraordinary to be omitted, as it affords a very just idea of his patron's character [3].

He was once desired by Sir Richard, with an air of the utmost 31
importance, to come very early to his house the next morning. Mr. Savage came as he had promised, found the chariot at the door, and Sir Richard waiting for him, and ready to go out. What was intended, and whither they were to go, Savage could not conjecture, and was not willing to inquire, but immediately seated himself with Sir Richard; the coachman was ordered to drive, and they hurried with the utmost expedition to Hyde-Park Corner, where they stopped at a petty tavern, and retired to a private room. Sir Richard then informed him that he intended to publish a pamphlet, and that he had desired him to come thither that he might write for him. They soon sat down to the work. Sir Richard dictated, and Savage wrote, till the dinner

*is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesties Servants*. Written by Richard Savage, Gent. Son of the late Earl Rivers. London, 1719, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

In the Dedication to Lord Lansdowne Savage says:—'It is my misfortune to stand in such relationship to the late Earl Rivers by the Countess of ——— as neither of us can be proud of owning. I am one of those sons of sorrow to whom he left nothing to alleviate the sin of my birth.'

[1] Jacob only mentions that 'it was acted in Drury Lane Theatre, in 1718, with applause.' *Poet. Reg.* i. 298. Johnson's authority is the *Life*, p. 11. For Wilks see *post*, SAVAGE, 38. For the play see Savage's *Works*, i. 1.

[2] *Plain Dealer* [No. 73]. JOHNSON. 'I think it was finely said by a gentleman whose writings and humanity were for many years the admiration of the kingdom, that it ought to be the care of all in whose power it lay to lift Mr. Savage above a sense of his mother's cruelty; because a misery so undeserved had entitled him to a right of finding every good man his father.'

[3] *Ante*, HUGHES, 13.

that had been ordered was put upon the table. Savage was surprised at the meanness of the entertainment, and after some hesitation ventured to ask for wine, which Sir Richard, not without reluctance, ordered to be brought. They then finished their dinner, and proceeded in their pamphlet, which they concluded in the afternoon.

32 Mr. Savage then imagined his task over, and expected that Sir Richard would call for the reckoning, and return home; but his expectations deceived him, for Sir Richard told him that he was without money, and that the pamphlet must be sold before the dinner could be paid for; and Savage was therefore obliged to go and offer their new production to sale for two guineas, which with some difficulty he obtained. Sir Richard then returned home, having retired that day only to avoid his creditors, and composed the pamphlet only to discharge his reckoning.

33 Mr. Savage related another fact equally uncommon, which, though it has no relation to his life, ought to be preserved. Sir Richard Steele having one day invited to his house a great number of persons of the first quality, they were surprised at the number of liveries which surrounded the table; and after dinner, when wine and mirth had set them free from the observation of rigid ceremony, one of them inquired of Sir Richard how such an expensive train of domestics could be consistent with his fortune. Sir Richard very frankly confessed that they were fellows of whom he would very willingly be rid. And being then asked why he did not discharge them, declared that they were bailiffs who had introduced themselves with an execution, and whom, since he could not send them away, he had thought it convenient to embellish with liveries that they might do him credit while they staid [1].

34 His friends were diverted with the expedient, and, by paying the debt, discharged their attendance, having obliged Sir Richard

[1] 'I have heard,' says *The Examiner* for Oct. 5, 1710 (No. 11), 'of a certain illustrious person who, having a guard *du corps* that forced their attendance upon him, put them into livery, and maintained them as his servants; thus answering that famous question, *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes* [JUVENAL, *Sat.* vi. 346]. For he, I think, might properly be said to keep his keepers, in English at least, if not in Latin. If you intend, Mr. Tatler, to keep your attendants, you must be a little more punctual in your payments. They complain that they have nothing to feed upon, and are in great danger of starving.' [Dr. King wrote this number. Swift's *Works*, 1803, v. 3.]

See *ante*, ADDISON, 7.

to promise that they should never again find him graced with a retinue of the same kind.

Under such a tutor Mr. Savage was not likely to learn pru- 35
dence or frugality; and perhaps many of the misfortunes, which the want of those virtues brought upon him in the following parts of his life, might be justly imputed to so unimproving an example [1].

Nor did the kindness of Sir Richard end in common favours. 36
He proposed to have established him in some settled scheme of life, and to have contracted a kind of alliance with him, by marrying him to a natural daughter, on whom he intended to bestow a thousand pounds. But though he was always lavish of future bounties, he conducted his affairs in such a manner that he was very seldom able to keep his promises or execute his own intentions; and, as he was never able to raise the sum which he had offered, the marriage was delayed. In the mean time he was officiously informed that Mr. Savage had ridiculed him; by which he was so much exasperated that he withdrew the allowance which he had paid him, and never afterwards admitted him to his house [2].

It is not indeed unlikely that Savage might by his imprudence 37
expose himself to the malice of a tale-bearer; for his patron had many follies, which, as his discernment easily discovered, his imagination might sometimes incite him to mention too ludicrously. A little knowledge of the world is sufficient to discover that such weakness is very common, and that there are few who do not sometimes, in the wantonness of thoughtless mirth or the heat of transient resentment, speak of their friends and benefactors with

[1] For a story how Savage, Steele, and A. Philips 'flew off different ways,' on hearing that 'two or three suspicious-looking persons, who appeared to be bailiffs, were at the bottom of Hedge Lane,' see *John. Misc.* ii. 161.

[2] In the *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 11, it is stated that Steele 'gave him a constant allowance.' Savage wrote in his letter to Mrs. Carter (*ante*, SAVAGE, 10*n.*):—'The account [in the *Life*, p. 11] of what passed between me and Sir Richard Steele is partly true, and partly not so. That there was a slander raised against me, which caused a difference between us which lasted a long while, is truth, and the worthy Mr. Curll, the bookseller, was the person who raised it; but we were afterwards reconciled, he being fully convinced of my innocence. As for the constant allowance I received from him the author is quite mistaken; I never had any such, not even a single present from him. As to the proposal of my marrying his natural daughter, the reasons why, and the terms on which he proposed it, the author has not erred in.... I quite declined the proposal, and never could be induced to see the lady.' Pennington's *Carter*, i. 59.

levity and contempt, though in their cooler moments they want neither sense of their kindness nor reverence for their virtue. The fault therefore of Mr. Savage was rather negligence than ingratitude; but Sir Richard must likewise be acquitted of severity, for who is there that can patiently bear contempt from one whom he has relieved and supported, whose establishment he has laboured, and whose interest he has promoted?

38 He was now again abandoned to fortune without any other friend than Mr. Wilks, a man who, whatever were his abilities or skill as an actor[1], deserves at least to be remembered for his virtues[2], which are not often to be found in the world, and perhaps less often in his profession than in others. To be humane, generous, and candid is a very high degree of merit in any case, but those qualities deserve still greater praise when they are found in that condition which makes almost every other man, for whatever reason, contemptuous, insolent, petulant, selfish, and brutal[3].

[1] 'The first of the present stage are Wilks and Cibber, perfect actors in their different kinds. Wilks has a singular talent in representing the graces of nature; Cibber the deformity in the affectation of them.... Cibber hits exquisitely the flat civility of an affected gentleman-usher, and Wilks the easy frankness of a gentleman.' *The Tatler*, No. 182.

[2] As it is a loss to mankind when any good action is forgotten, I shall insert another instance of Mr. Wilks's generosity, very little known. Mr. Smith, a gentleman educated at Dublin, being hindered by an impediment in his pronunciation from engaging in orders, for which his friends designed him, left his own country, and came to London in quest of employment, but found his solicitations fruitless, and his necessities every day more pressing. In this distress he wrote a tragedy, and offered it to the players, by whom it was rejected. Thus were his last hopes defeated, and he had no other prospect than of the most deplorable poverty. But Mr. Wilks thought his performance, though not perfect, at least worthy of some reward, and therefore offered him a benefit. This favour he improved with so much diligence, that the house afforded him a considerable sum, with which he went to Leyden, applied himself to the study of physic, and prosecuted his design with so much diligence and success that, when Dr. Boerhaave was desired by the Czarina to recommend proper persons to introduce into Russia the practice and study of physic, Dr. Smith was one of those whom he selected. He had a considerable pension settled on him at his arrival, and was one of the chief physicians at the Russian court. JOHNSON.

In the first edition the last sentence runs:—'And is now one.' &c.

Dr. Smith wrote to Wilks from St. Petersburg (year not given):—'My Royal Mistress is a good, plump, round-faced lady.... Were you here, you would have but a small share in amours; love goes by weight in Russia.... My greatest task is to keep sober amongst a nation of drunkards.' Chetwood's *Hist. of the Stage*, ed. 1749, p. 241.

For Wilks see Cibber's *Apology*, ch. vii.

[3] Boswell refers to this passage as 'a very strong symptom of Johnson's prejudice against players.... At all periods of his life he used to talk contemptuously of players; but in this

As Mr. Wilks was one of those to whom calamity seldom 39
complained without relief, he naturally took an unfortunate wit into his protection, and not only assisted him in any casual distresses [1], but continued an equal and steady kindness to the time of his death.

By his interposition Mr. Savage once obtained from his mother 40
fifty pounds [2], and a promise of one hundred and fifty more; but it was the fate of this unhappy man that few promises of any advantage to him were performed. His mother was infected among others with the general madness of the South Sea traffic [3]; and, having been disappointed in her expectations, refused to pay what perhaps nothing but the prospect of sudden affluence prompted her to promise.

Being thus obliged to depend upon the friendship of Mr. Wilks, 41
he was consequently an assiduous frequenter of the theatres; and in a short time the amusements of the stage took such possession

work he speaks of them with peculiar acrimony.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 167. See also *ib.* ii. 234, 404, iii. 184; *John. Misc.* i. 457.

When this *Life* was published [1744] Garrick, for more than two years, had been carrying all before him on the stage.

'Quel est donc, au fond, l'esprit que le Comédien reçoit de son état? Un mélange de bassesse, de fausseté, de ridicule orgueil, et d'indigne avilissement, qui le rend propre à toutes sortes de personnages, hors le plus noble de tous, celui d'homme qu'il abandonne.' ROUSSEAU, *Œuvres*, 1782, xi. 302.

Scott wrote to Southey in 1819:—'To write for low, ill-informed and conceited actors, whom you must please, for your success is necessarily at their mercy, I cannot away with. How would you, or how do you think I should relish being the object of such a letter as Kean wrote t'other day to a poor author, who, though a pedantic blockhead, had at least the right to be treated as a gentleman by a copper-laced, twopenny tear-mouth, rendered mad by conceit and success?' Lockhart's *Scott*, vi. 44. See *post*, POPE, 21 *n.*

[1] Savage wrote to Mrs. Carter:—'I did subsist at that time on such obligations as he [the author of the *Life*] mentions; but they came from Mrs. Oldfield, not from Mr. Wilks.' Pennington's *Carter*, i. 60.

[2] This I write upon the credit of the author of his life, which was published 1727. JOHNSON.

'About that time [1726, the year of the publication of his *Miscellanies*] he had a pension of £50 a year settled upon him. I will not venture to say whether this allowance came directly from *her* [his mother], or, if so, upon what motives she was induced to grant it to him; but choose to leave the reader to guess at it. This was the first time that he may properly be said to have enjoyed any certainty in life, and this alas! of how short a duration is it like to be from the unhappy affair that has brought him under the heaviest sentence of the law!' *Life of Savage*, p. 19.

[3] In 1720. *Ante*, GAY, 14.

The pension therefore, which the *Life* of 1727 suggests as conferred by his mother in 1726, and was likely to come to a sudden end by his execution for murder at the beginning of 1728, had already ceased in 1720. Moreover it was not his mother but Mrs. Oldfield who gave it (*post*, SAVAGE, 42), and the pension was paid till her death in 1730.

of his mind, that he never was absent from a play in several years.

42 This constant attendance naturally procured him the acquaintance of the players, and, among others, of Mrs. Oldfield, who was so much pleased with his conversation and touched with his misfortunes, that she allowed him a settled pension of fifty pounds a year, which was during her life regularly paid [1].

43 That this act of generosity may receive its due praise, and that the good actions of Mrs. Oldfield may not be sullied by her general character, it is proper to mention what Mr. Savage often declared in the strongest terms, that he never saw her alone, or in any other place than behind the scenes.

44 At her death he endeavoured to shew his gratitude in the most decent manner, by wearing mourning as for a mother, but did not celebrate her in elegies, because he knew that too great profusion of praise would only have revived those faults which his natural equity did not allow him to think less, because they

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 14 *n.*, 39 *n.*; *post*, 175, 272. She died on Oct. 23, 1730. In Cibber's *Lives*, v. 33, it is stated that 'she so much disliked the man, and disapproved his conduct, that she never admitted him to her conversation.' It is added that she never allowed him a pension, though she often relieved him with donations on the solicitation of friends.

Mr. Thomas points out that she neither subscribed to his *Miscellanies*, nor left him in her will so much as a mourning ring. *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 446.

She was the mistress of General Charles Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough's brother. Their son, Colonel Churchill, married Sir Robert Walpole's daughter. The Earls of Cadogan are descended from them. Horace Walpole's *Letters*, Preface, p. 114 *n.*

'Even her amours,' wrote Chetwood, 'seemed to lose that glare which appears round the persons of the failing fair.' *Hist. of the Stage*, 1749, p. 202. See *ib.* p. 206 for a poem in her memory ascribed to Savage.

'The Royal family did not disdain to see her at their levees. One day the Princess of Wales [Queen Caroline] told her she had heard that General Churchill and she were married: "So it is said, may it please your Highness, but we have not owned it yet."' Davies's *Dram. Misc.* iii. 463. She was, Davies adds, Narcissa, the dying coquette in Pope's *Epistle to Sir Richard Temple*, l. 246. He points out that 'her conversation was stigmatized by the word *Oldfieldismos* in Pope's *Art of Sinking*, ch. xii.' Pope, in 'the alamode style,' includes 'the prurient,' under which come 'Κιββεριτσμος and 'Ολδφιελδισμος' [*sic*]. It is strange that, in the editions of Pope by Warburton, Warton, and Elwin and Courthope, this attack on Cibber and Mrs. Oldfield is not noticed.

She was buried in Westminster Abbey. Voltaire writes in his lines on Lecouvreur, who, as an actress, was buried dishonourably in 1730:—

'Le vainqueur de Tallard, le fils de la Victoire,
Le sublime Dryden, et le sage Addison,
Et la charmante Ophils [Oldfield], et l'immortel Newton,
Ont part au temple de mémoire:
Et Lecouvreur à Londres aurait eu des tombeaux
Parmi les beaux esprits, les rois, et les héros.' *Œuvres*, x. 360.

were committed by one who favoured him, but of which, though his virtue would not endeavour to palliate them, his gratitude would not suffer him to prolong the memory, or diffuse the censure.

In his *Wanderer*[1] he has indeed taken an opportunity of 45
mentioning her, but celebrates her not for her virtue, but her beauty, an excellence which none ever denied her: this is the only encomium with which he has rewarded her liberality, and perhaps he has even in this been too lavish of his praise. He seems to have thought that never to mention his benefactress would have an appearance of ingratitude, though to have dedicated any particular performance to her memory would have only betrayed an officious partiality that, without exalting her character, would have depressed his own[2].

He had sometimes, by the kindness of Mr. Wilks, the advantage 46
of a benefit, on which occasions he often received uncommon marks of regard and compassion; and was once told by the Duke of Dorset[3] that it was just to consider him as an injured nobleman, and that, in his opinion, the nobility ought to think themselves obliged without solicitation to take every opportunity of supporting him by their countenance and patronage. But he had generally the mortification to hear that the whole interest of his mother was employed to frustrate his applications, and that she never left any expedient untried by which he might be cut off from the possibility of supporting life. The same disposition she endeavoured to diffuse among all those over whom nature or fortune gave her any influence, and indeed succeeded too well in her design; but could not always propagate her effrontery with her cruelty, for some of those, whom she incited against him, were ashamed of their own conduct, and boasted of that relief which they never gave him.

In this censure I do not indiscriminately involve all his 47
relations; for he has mentioned with gratitude the humanity of one lady, whose name I am now unable to recollect, and to whom therefore I cannot pay the praises which she deserves for having acted well in opposition to influence, precept, and example.

The punishment which our laws inflict upon those parents who 48

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xli. 171. See also *ib.* p. 255, for *An Epistle to Mrs. Oldfield*, by Savage.

[2] It is strange that Johnson should have thus reported, without indignation, Savage's sickly cant.

[3] *Post*, A. PHILIPS, 3.

murder their infants is well known, nor has its justice ever been contested; but if they deserve death who destroy a child in its birth, what pains can be severe enough for her who forbears to destroy him only to inflict sharper miseries upon him; who prolongs his life only to make it miserable; and who exposes him, without care and without pity, to the malice of oppression, the caprices of chance, and the temptations of poverty; who rejoices to see him overwhelmed with calamities; and, when his own industry or the charity of others has enabled him to rise for a short time above his miseries, plunges him again into his former distress?

49 The kindness of his friends not affording him any constant supply, and the prospect of improving his fortune by enlarging his acquaintance necessarily leading him to places of expence, he found it necessary to endeavour once more at dramatick poetry[1], for which he was now better qualified by a more extensive knowledge and longer observation. But having been unsuccessful in comedy, though rather for want of opportunities than genius, he resolved now to try whether he should not be more fortunate in exhibiting a tragedy.

50 The story which he chose for the subject was that of Sir Thomas Overbury, a story well adapted to the stage, though perhaps not far enough removed from the present age, to admit properly the fictions necessary to complete the plan; for the mind, which naturally loves truth, is always most offended with the violation of those truths of which we are most certain, and we, of course, conceive those facts most certain which approach nearest to our own time.

51 Out of this story he formed a tragedy which, if the circumstances in which he wrote it be considered, will afford at once an uncommon proof of strength of genius and evenness of mind, of a serenity not to be ruffled, and an imagination not to be suppressed.

52 During a considerable part of the time in which he was employed upon this performance he was without lodging, and often without meat; nor had he any other conveniences for study than the fields or the street allowed him: there he used to walk and form his speeches, and afterwards step into a shop, beg for a few moments the use of the pen and ink, and write down

[1] In 1724. JOHNSON.

what he had composed upon paper which he had picked up by accident [1].

If the performance of a writer thus distressed is not perfect, its 53
faults ought surely to be imputed to a cause very different from want of genius, and must rather excite pity than provoke censure.

But when under these discouragements the tragedy was 54
finished, there yet remained the labour of introducing it on the stage, an undertaking which to an ingenuous mind was in a very high degree vexatious and disgusting; for, having little interest or reputation, he was obliged to submit himself wholly to the players, and admit, with whatever reluctance, the emendations of Mr. Cibber, which he always considered as the disgrace of his performance.

He had indeed in Mr. Hill [2] another critick of a very different 55
class, from whose friendship he received great assistance on many occasions, and whom he never mentioned but with the utmost tenderness and regard [3]. He had been for some time distinguished by him with very particular kindness, and on this occasion it was natural to apply to him as an author of an established character. He therefore sent this tragedy to him, with a short copy of verses [4], in which he desired his correction. Mr. Hill, whose humanity and politeness are generally known, readily complied with his request, but as he is remarkable for singularity

[1] The late Mr. Samuel J. Davey, autograph-dealer of 47 Great Russell Street, showed me the MS. of this play. It was written on folio paper of a uniform size, roughly stitched together with string in a thick paper cover. On a loose sheet were lines written in another hand. It was perhaps the MS. of the revised tragedy. *Post*, SAVAGE, 58 *n.*

For Johnson's living at one period of his life 'in poverty, total idleness and the pride of literature . . . an author by profession without pen, ink or paper,' see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 350 *n.*; *John. Misc.* i. 416. See also *post*, SAVAGE, 223.

[2] *Post*, POPE, 154; THOMSON, 8; MALLET, 8. Jacob (*Poet. Register*, ii. 298) described Hill as 'A Poet and Projector.' He was at Westminster School till the age of fourteen, where 'he filled his pockets by doing the tasks of young gentlemen who had not equal capacity.' Hill's *Dram. Works*, ed. 1760, Preface, p. 8.

[3] In the first edition of Johnson's *Life of Savage* [p. 24] there is the following note:—'He inscribed to him a short Poem, called *The Friend*, printed in his *Miscellanies* [p. 126], in which he addresses him with the utmost ardour of affection.' Johnson quotes from it a passage beginning, 'O lov'd Hillarius.' In this poem, as published in *Eng. Poets*, xli. 274, 'O lov'd Hillarius' has been changed into 'O my lov'd Hill.' See also *ib.* p. 259 for 'bright Hillarius.'

[4] Printed in the late collection of his poems. JOHNSON.

In the first edition of the *Life of Savage* [p. 24] there is the following note:—'*To A. Hill, Esq., with the Tragedy of Sir Thomas Overbury.*' The poem is quoted, for which see *Eng. Poets*, xli. 247.

of sentiment and bold experiments in language[1], Mr. Savage did not think his play much improved by his innovation, and had even at that time the courage to reject several passages which he could not approve; and, what is still more laudable, Mr. Hill had the generosity not to resent the neglect of his alterations[2], but wrote the prologue and epilogue, in which he touches on the circumstances of the author with great tenderness[3].

56 After all these obstructions and compliances he was only able to bring his play upon the stage in the summer, when the chief actors had retired and the rest were in possession of the house for their own advantage. Among these, Mr. Savage was admitted to play the part of Sir Thomas Overbury, by which he gained no great reputation; the theatre being a province for which nature seemed not to have designed him, for neither his voice, look, nor gesture were such as are expected on the stage; and he was so much ashamed of having been reduced to appear as a player, that he always blotted out his name from the list when a copy of his tragedy was to be shown to his friends[4].

57 In the publication of his performance[5] he was more successful,

[1] Sewell (*ante*, ADDISON, 68), in 1720, criticized in Hill's *Creation* such lines as:—

'Begot existence, and bid being be.'
'The word was God's! 'twas said and done!
Out-blaz'd at once the glorious sun!'

Hill's *Works*, 1754, i. 21, iv. 189.

Of his prose the following is a specimen:—'I consider Mr. Pope, as a poet, of so general and extensive a genius that I look up to him as to a *new* constellation, wide enough to *cross-spangle* the whole Heaven of poetry with a milky way of fancy, and breaking out upon our nation with equal heat and brightness.' *Ib.* i. 22. See also *ib.* ii. 239.

'Hill's poems,' writes Southey (*Specimens*, ii. 141), 'are all faulty, and yet all bear the marks of talent.'

[2] Savage in the 'Advertisement' thanks Hill 'for his many judicious corrections.' *Works*, i. 113. This is quoted in the *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 12.

[3] In the Epilogue Savage is not mentioned. In a note in the first edition of Johnson's *Life of Savage* [p. 25] a quotation is given from the Prologue, where it is said of him:—

'Yet amidst sorrow he disdains complaint,
Nor languid in the race of life grows faint.' Savage's *Works*, i. 116.

[4] 'It was acted only three nights, the first on June 12, 1723. When the House opened for the winter season it was once more performed for the author's benefit, Oct. 2.' Johnson's *Works*, viii. 112.

In the 'Advertisement' Savage thanks 'the town for their favourable reception of this play, and the applause their indulgence bestowed on the young actors; particularly for my own success in a double capacity, as actor and author, I shall ever publicly confess their generosity, as it will ever prove my secret satisfaction.' Savage's *Works*, i. 114.

In the *Life* (1727), p. 12, it is said that 'he performed the principal part himself with much applause.'

[5] *The Tragedy of Sir Thomas Overbury.* As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane By His Majesty's Company of Comedians. Written by Richard Savage, Son of the late Earl Rivers: London, 1724.

for the rays of genius that glimmered in it[1], that glimmered through all the mists which poverty and Cibber had been able to spread over it[2], procured him the notice and esteem of many persons eminent for their rank, their virtue, and their wit.

Of this play, acted, printed, and dedicated, the accumulated 58
profits arose to an hundred pounds, which he thought at that time a very large sum, having been never master of so much before[3].

In the Dedication[4], for which he received ten guineas, there is 59
nothing remarkable. The Preface contains a very liberal encomium on the blooming excellences of Mr. Theophilus Cibber[5], which Mr. Savage could not, in the latter part of his life, see his friends about to read without snatching the play out of their hands[6]. The generosity of Mr. Hill did not end on this occasion; for afterwards, when Mr. Savage's necessities returned, he encouraged a subscription to a *Miscellany of Poems* in a very extraordinary manner, by publishing his story in *The Plain Dealer*[7], with some affecting lines, which he asserts to have been written by

[1] How bad was Savage's blank verse is shown by the opening lines:—
'How cheerfully hath this day's light
broke forth!
The new risen sun, drest rich in
orient beams, [Essex
Beholds with triumph the late wife of
Transplant her beauties from his
barren shade,
To flourish by the heat of love and
Somerset.' *Works*, i. 119.

[2] Colley Cibber was alive when this attack on him appeared. What Johnson calls 'his impenetrable impudence' (*post*, POPE, 238) would have made the blow unfelt: Mr. Hussey (*John. Misc.* Preface, p. 12) recorded on the margin of a copy of the first edition of Boswell's *Johnson* [i. 78], Birkbeck Hill's edition, i. 149: —'I have heard Johnson speak respectfully and with kindness of Colley Cibber.' See also *post*, SAVAGE, 177; POPE, 230.

[3] Savage rewrote the play. *Post*, SAVAGE, 246, 279. According to *Biog. Dram.* iii. 280, Savage's revision was the basis of a further revision by William Woodfall and George Colman, which 'was well received' at Covent Garden in 1777. The Prologue by R. B. Sheridan contains the following couplet:—
'Ill-fated Savage, at whose birth was
given
No parent but the Muse, no friend
but Heaven.'
Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 115.

[4] To Herbert Tryst, Esq., of Herefordshire [of the City of Hereford. Savage's *Works*, i. 111]. JOHNSON.

[5] 'Though he labours under the present disadvantage of small stature, I cannot help concurring with the opinion of many others that in action and elocution he is certainly a prodigy.' SAVAGE, *Works*, i. 115. For T. CIBBER, see *ante*, HAMMOND, 1.

[6] Cibber, in his *Lives of the Poets*, 1753, v. 211, as an answer to this attack of Johnson's in 1744, says that Thomson told him it was by Savage's advice that he [Thomson] gave him the part of Melisander in *Agamemnon*. 'Savage with an oath affirmed that Theo. Cibber would taste it, feel it, and act it.'

[7] *The Plain Dealer* was a periodical paper, written by Mr. Hill and Mr. Bond, whom Mr. Savage called the two contending powers of light and darkness. They wrote by turns each

Mr. Savage upon the treatment received by him from his mother, but of which he was himself the author, as Mr. Savage afterwards declared[1]. These lines, and the paper in which they were inserted, had a very powerful effect upon all but his mother, whom, by making her cruelty more publick, they only hardened in her aversion[2].

60 Mr. Hill not only promoted the subscription to the *Miscellany*[3], but furnished likewise the greatest part of the Poems of which it is composed, and particularly *The Happy Man*, which he published as a specimen[4].

61 The subscriptions of those whom these papers should influence to patronize merit in distress, without any other solicitation, were directed to be left at Button's coffee-house[5]; and Mr. Savage going thither a few days afterwards, without expectation of any effect from his proposal, found to his surprise seventy guineas[6],

six Essays; and the character of the work was observed regularly to rise in Mr. Hill's weeks, and fall in Mr. Bond's. JOHNSON.

In 1736 Aaron Hill translated Voltaire's *Zaire* 'for the benefit of Mr. William Bond; it was represented first at the Long Room in Villars Street, York Buildings, where that poor gentleman performed the part of Lusignan (the old expiring King), a character he was too well suited to, being, and looking, almost dead, as in reality he was before the run of it was over.' Cibber's *Lives*, v. 264, 269.

In the first edition of Johnson's *Life of Savage* [p. 27] these 'affecting lines' from *The Plain Dealer* [*ante*, SAVAGE, 23 *n.*], No. 28, June 26, 1724, are quoted.

[The opening couplet runs:

'Hopeless, abandon'd, aimless and oppress'd,
Lost to delight and ev'ry way distressed.'

The lines are included in Aaron Hill's *Works* (1754, vol. iv. p. 51) where they are entitled, 'Verses made for Mr. S—v—e, and sent to my Lady M—ls—d his mother.' Savage, in a letter ascribed to him, published in *The Plain Dealer*, Nov. 30, 1724, speaks of them as 'a few ineffectual lines which I had written.']

[1] Savage, addressing Hill, writes:

'Me shun'd, me ruin'd, such a mother's rage,
You sung, till pity wept o'er every page.
You call'd my lays and wrongs to early fame;
Yet, yet th' obdurate mother felt no shame.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 275.

[2] 'Even the most shocking personal repulses, and a series of contempt and injuries received at her hands, through the whole course of his life, have not been able to erase from his heart the impressions of his filial duty; nor, which is much more strange, of his affection.' *The Plain Dealer*, No. 28. His 'filial duty' might have led him not to make her cruelty public.

[3] *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations by several Hands.* Publish'd by Richard Savage, Son of the late Earl Rivers. London, 1726. Dyer's *Grongar Hill* was published in it, p. 60; *post*, DYER, 3.

[4] The following couplet is a specimen of *The Happy Man*:—

'Lengths of wild garden his near views adorn,
And far-seen fields wave with domestic corn.'

Hill's *Works*, iii. 163.

[5] *Ante*, ADDISON, 115.

[6] The names of those who so generously contributed to his relief, having been mentioned in a former

which had been sent him in consequence of the compassion excited by Mr. Hill's pathetick representation.

To this *Miscellany* he wrote a Preface, in which he gives an 62
account of his mother's cruelty in a very uncommon strain of humour, and with a gaiety of imagination which the success of his subscription probably produced [1].

The Dedication is addressed to the Lady Mary Wortley 63
Montague, whom he flatters without reserve, and, to confess the truth, with very little art [2]. The same observation may be extended to all his Dedications; his compliments are constrained and violent, heaped together without the grace of order, or the decency of introduction: he seems to have written his panegyricks for the perusal only of his patrons, and to have imagined that he had no other task than to pamper them with praises however

account, ought not to be omitted here. They were the Dutchess of Cleveland, Lady Cheyney, Lady Castlemain, Lady Gower, Lady Lechmere, the Dutchess Dowager and Dutchess of Rutland, Lady Strafford, the Countess Dowager of Warwick, Mrs. Mary Floyer, Mrs. Sofuel [*sic*] Noel, Duke of Rutland, Lord Gainsborough, Lord Milsington, Mr. John Savage. JOHNSON.

The 'former account' is the *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 18. Additional names to those there given have been added by Johnson from the list of subscribers in the *Miscellany*. In the list are also Steele and Young. About 110 copies were subscribed for; the subscription was half a guinea. *The Plain Dealer*, No. 73.

[1] For this Preface see *ante*, SAVAGE, 18 *n*. The following is an instance of his 'gaiety of imagination':—'Thus, while legally the son of one Earl, and naturally of another, I am nominally nobody's son at all: for the Lady, having given me too much father, thought it but an equivalent deduction to leave me no mother, by way of balance. So I am spurted into the world, a kind of shuttlecock between law and nature.' Savage's *Works*, Preface, p. 24.

[2] This the following extract from it will prove:

'Since our country has been honoured with the glory of your wit, as elevated and immortal as your soul, it no longer remains a doubt whether your sex have strength of mind in proportion to their sweetness. There is something in your verses as distinguished as your air. They are as strong as truth, as deep as reason, as clear as innocence, and as smooth as beauty. They contain a nameless and peculiar mixture of force and grace, which is at once so movingly serene, and so majestically lovely, that it is too amiable to appear any where but in your eyes and in your writings.

['As fortune is not more my enemy than I am the enemy of flattery,] I know not how I can forbear this application to your Ladyship, because there is scarce a possibility that I should say more than I believe, when I am speaking of your Excellence.' JOHNSON. [The words in brackets are not in the Dedication to *Misc. Poems*, 1726, nor are they a summary of any expressions in it.]

In *The Wanderer* (*Eng. Poets*, xli. 171) he praises:—

'Fair Wortley's angel-accent, eyes and mind.'

He received from her, through Dr. Young, a present of money. See her *Works*, 1837, Preface, p. 53.

For his gross flattery of Miss Carter see Pennington's *Carter*, i. 61, 62, and of Lord Tyrconnel, see *post*, SAVAGE, 129. For Lady M. W. Montagu see *post*, POPE, 265.

gross, and that flattery would make its way to the heart, without the assistance of elegance or invention.

64 Soon afterwards the death of the king furnished a general subject for a poetical contest, in which Mr. Savage engaged [1], and is allowed to have carried the prize of honour from his competitors; but I know not whether he gained by his performance any other advantage than the increase of his reputation, though it must certainly have been with farther views that he prevailed upon himself to attempt a species of writing, of which all the topicks had been long before exhausted, and which was made at once difficult by the multitudes that had failed in it, and those that had succeeded [2].

65 He was now advancing in reputation, and, though frequently involved in very distressful perplexities, appeared, however, to be gaining upon mankind, when both his fame and his life were endangered by an event, of which it is not yet determined whether it ought to be mentioned as a crime or a calamity.

66 On the 20th of November, 1727, Mr. Savage came from Richmond, where he then lodged, that he might pursue his studies with less interruption, with an intent to discharge another lodging which he had in Westminster, and accidentally meeting two gentlemen his acquaintances, whose names were Merchant and Gregory, he went in with them to a neighbouring coffee-house, and sat drinking till it was late; it being in no time of Mr. Savage's life any part of his character to be the first of the company that desired to separate [3]. He would willingly have gone to bed in the same house; but there was not room for the whole company, and therefore they agreed to ramble about the streets,

[1] The copy in the British Museum is of the Dublin edition of 1727. It is entitled *A Poem Sacred to the Glorious Memory of our Late Most Gracious Sovereign Lord King George.* Inscribed to the Right Honourable George Dodington, Esq. By Richard Savage, Son of the late Earl Rivers.

[2] The following lines are specimens of the poem:—

'O Exclamation! lend thy sad relief!
O Dodington! indulge the righteous grief!
. . . . . .
Ye great Plantagenets! distinguish'd race!
One greater meets you on celestial space. [name!
And thou, Nassau, the fairest noblest
Ev'n mid the Blest, superior still thy flame!
Behold an equal now!—How dear th' embrace!
Oh fly!—present him at the throne of grace!
'Tis done!—He's crowned with a resplendent joy,
Which care shall never dim, nor time destroy.'

The poem is neither in Savage's *Misc. Works* nor in the *English Poets.*

[3] *Post*, SAVAGE, 228, 287, 334.

and divert themselves with such amusements as should offer themselves till morning[1].

In this walk they happened unluckily to discover a light in 67
Robinson's coffee-house, near Charing-cross, and therefore went in. Merchant, with some rudeness, demanded a room, and was told that there was a good fire in the next parlour, which the company were about to leave, being then paying their reckoning[2]. Merchant, not satisfied with this answer, rushed into the room, and was followed by his companions. He then petulantly placed himself between the company and the fire, and soon after kicked down the table. This produced a quarrel, swords were drawn on both sides, and one Mr. James Sinclair was killed. Savage, having wounded likewise a maid that held him, forced his way with Merchant out of the house; but being intimidated and confused, without resolution either to fly or stay, they were taken in a back-court by one of the company and some soldiers, whom he had called to his assistance[3].

Being secured and guarded that night they were in the morn- 68
ing carried before three justices, who committed them to the Gate-house[4], from whence, upon the death of Mr. Sinclair, which happened the same day, they were removed in the night to Newgate, where they were, however, treated with some distinction,

[1] 'They went away thence with a resolution to waste time as well as they could till morning, when they purposed to go together to Richmond.' *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 21. From this *Life*, which ends with a letter dated Dec. 13, 1727, most of this account is taken. There is also a report of the trial in *The Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, Dec. 1727, and in *Select Trials at the Session House in the Old Bailey*, 1735, ii. 246.

[2] There were five men. The evidence of one of them showed that they had been drinking. 'We stayed till one or two in the morning. We had drank two three-shilling bowls of punch.' *Select Trials*, ii. 246.

[3] 'I went to a night-cellar,' said one of the witnesses, 'and called two or three soldiers.' *Ib.* p. 247. For night-cellars see *post*, SAVAGE, 223.

[4] It was situated in Tothill Street, Westminster. Dodsley's *London*, 1761, iii. 3.

In *Gent. Mag.* 1764, p. 17, we read that in 1750 one of the London Aldermen, after the gaol-fever had swept away the Lord Mayor, the two Judges, and sixty-one persons besides who had attended the Old Bailey Sessions, 'found this prison in a most noisome state. He ordered it to be thoroughly cleansed and washed with vinegar, and the prisoners to be washed, before they were removed to Newgate against the approaching sessions.'

Gwyn, in 1761, in his *Thoughts on the Coronation* (corrected by Johnson) describes the gate-house as 'a continual nuisance to neighbours and passengers.' Johnson's *Works*, v. 455; Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 361.

It was in this prison that Raleigh, the night before his execution, wrote the lines 'Even such is time.' Wheatley's *London*, ii. 89.

exempted from the ignominy of chains, and confined, not among the common criminals, but in the Press-yard [1].

69 When the day of trial came the court was crowded in a very unusual manner, and the public appeared to interest itself as in a cause of general concern. The witnesses against Mr. Savage and his friends were the woman who kept the house, which was a house of ill fame [2], and her maid, the men who were in the room with Mr. Sinclair, and a woman of the town, who had been drinking with them, and with whom one of them had been seen in bed. They swore in general that Merchant gave the provocation, which Savage and Gregory drew their swords to justify; that Savage drew first, and that he stabbed Sinclair when he was not in a posture of defence, or while Gregory commanded his sword; that after he had given the thrust he turned pale, and would have retired, but that the maid clung round him, and one of the company endeavoured to detain him, from whom he broke by cutting the maid on the head, but was afterwards taken in a court [3].

70 There was some difference in their depositions; one did not see Savage give the wound, another saw it given when Sinclair held his point towards the ground; and the woman of the town asserted that she did not see Sinclair's sword at all: this difference,

[1] For thirty years before 1750 nothing had been done in cleansing Newgate. *Gent. Mag.* 1764, p. 17.

'Those confined as criminals are, even before they are found guilty, packed so close together that the air, being corrupted by the stench, occasions a dismal contagious disease called the gaol distemper.' Dodsley's *London*, 1761, v. 30.

It was in the press-yard that 'the *peine forte et dure* was inflicted on persons charged with felony who, with a view to save their property, refused to plead at the bar.' Wheatley's *London*, ii. 591. 'By standing mute, and suffering this heavy penance, the judgment, and of course the corruption of the blood and escheat of the lands, were saved in felony and petit treason.' Blackstone's *Comm.* ed. 1775, iv. 329.

Fifteen separate cells for malefactors under sentence of death were building at this time, but were not finished. *Daily Post*, Dec. 9, 1727. Savage and Gregory after condemnation 'were put into the room in the Press Yard that the late Major Oneby was confined in.' *Daily Journal*, Dec. 13, 1727.

[2] 'Mr. Savage protested he was entirely ignorant of the character of the house.' *Life*, p. 21.

[3] 'Savage,' said one of the witnesses, 'made a thrust at the deceased, who stooped and cried, "Oh!" At which Savage turned pale, stood for some time astonished, and then endeavoured to get away; but I held him. The lights were then put out. We struggled together. The maid came to my assistance, pulled off his hat and wig and clung about him. He, in striving to force himself from her, struck at her, cut her in the head with his sword, and at last got away.' *Select Trials*, ii. 247.

however, was very far from amounting to inconsistency; but it was sufficient to show that the hurry of the dispute was such that it was not easy to discover the truth with relation to particular circumstances, and that therefore some deductions were to be made from the credibility of the testimonies.

Sinclair had declared several times before his death that he 71
received his wound from Savage [1]; nor did Savage at his trial deny the fact, but endeavoured partly to extenuate it by urging the suddenness of the whole action, and the impossibility of any ill design or premeditated malice, and partly to justify it by the necessity of self-defence, and the hazard of his own life if he had lost that opportunity of giving the thrust: he observed that neither reason nor law obliged a man to wait for the blow which was threatened, and which, if he should suffer it, he might never be able to return; that it was always allowable to prevent an assault, and to preserve life by taking away that of the adversary by whom it was endangered.

With regard to the violence with which he endeavoured to 72
escape, he declared that it was not his design to fly from justice or decline a trial, but to avoid the expences and severities of a prison [2], and that he intended to have appeared at the bar without compulsion.

This defence, which took up more than an hour, was heard by 73
the multitude that thronged the court with the most attentive and respectful silence: those who thought he ought not to be acquitted owned that applause could not be refused him; and those who before pitied his misfortunes, now reverenced his abilities.

The witnesses which appeared against him were proved to be 74
persons of characters which did not entitle them to much credit: a common strumpet, a woman by whom strumpets were entertained, and a man by whom they were supported; and the character of Savage was by several persons of distinction asserted to be that of a modest inoffensive man, not inclined to broils, or to

[1] Mr. Taylor, a clergyman, gave evidence that after he had 'recommended the deceased to the mercy of Almighty God, Mr. Nuttal, willing to have a witness to the words of a dying man, turning to the deceased, said:—"Do you know from which of the gentlemen you received the wound?" The deceased answered:—"From the shortest in black (which was Mr. Savage); the tallest commanded my sword, and the other stabbed me."' *Select Trials*, ii. 248. Merchant was in coloured clothes. *Ib.* p. 247.

[2] 'Mr. Savage declared that his endeavour to escape was only to avoid the inclemencies of a gaol.' *Ib.* p. 248.

insolence [1], and who had, to that time, been only known for his misfortunes and his wit.

75 Had his audience been his judges he had undoubtedly been acquitted; but Sir Francis Page [2], who was then upon the

[1] *Select Trials*, ii. 248. In the *Life*, p. 20, it is said that 'his good nature and meekness of temper had, before this fatal accident, been remarkable among all who conversed with him, if I may be allowed the expression, even to a fault.' On p. 22 he is called 'a man of unspotted character and inoffensive behaviour.' The writer of a letter dated Dec. 13, 1727 (most likely Aaron Hill), says: 'I have known him several years, and I have discovered in him a mind uncapable of evil; I have beheld him sigh for the distressed, when more distressed himself. . . . He was always more ready to stifle the remembrance of an injury than to resent it.' *Ib.* p. 26.

[2] ['Mr. Page' in the *Lives of the Poets*. He had been knighted by George I in 1715.]

'Morality by her false guardians drawn, [lawn,
Chicane in furs and Casuistry in
Gasps, as they straighten at each end the cord,
And dies when Dulness gives her Page the word.'
*The Dunciad*, iv. 27.

Warburton added in a note—'There was a judge of this name always ready to hang any man that came before him; of which he was suffered to give a hundred miserable examples during a long life, even to his dotage.—Though the candid *Scriblerus* imagined *Page* here to mean no more than a *Page* or *Mute*, and to allude to the custom of strangling state criminals in Turkey by *Mutes* or *Pages*; a practice more decent than that of *our Page*, who, before he hanged any one, loaded him with reproachful language.'

In *Imit. Hor., Sat.* ii. 1. 81, Pope attacked him in a couplet which, in the first edition, ran as follows:—

'Slander or poison dread from Delia's rage,
Hard words and hanging if your J—ge be —.'

For a story about Page sending his clerk to Pope to complain of the insult, see Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iv. 134.

Pope made a third attack on the Judge in *Epil. Sat.* ii. 159. His satire is never good evidence against a man's character; in this case it is the less to be trusted as he was intimate with Savage. Fielding, however, at the time too that he was a Justice of the Peace, is equally severe. In 1749, eight years after Page's death, in *Tom Jones*, bk. viii. ch. 11, he puts into Partridge's mouth a description of him when trying a man for horse-stealing. 'Frank was had up for a witness. To be sure, I shall never forget the face of the Judge when he began to ask him what he had to say against the prisoner. He made poor Frank tremble and shake in his shoes. "Well, you fellow," says my Lord, "what have you to say? Don't stand humming and hawing, but speak out." But, however, he soon turned altogether as civil to Frank, and began to thunder at the fellow; and when he asked him, if he had anything to say for himself, the fellow said, he had found the horse. "Ay!" answered the Judge; "thou art a lucky fellow: I have travelled the circuit these forty years, and never found a horse in my life; but I'll tell thee what, friend, thou wast more lucky than thou didst know of; for thou didst not only find a horse but a halter too, I promise thee." To be sure, I shall never forget the word. Upon which every body fell a-laughing, as how could they help it? Nay, and twenty other jests he made, which I can't remember now.'

In Foss's *Judges of England*, viii. 146, the following story is told of him:—'When old and decrepit he was coming out of Court one day, shuffling along, an acquaintance inquired after his health. "My dear Sir," he answered, "you see I keep *hanging on*; *hang-*

bench, treated him with his usual insolence and severity, and when he had summed up the evidence endeavoured to exasperate the jury, as Mr. Savage used to relate it, with this eloquent harangue:

'Gentlemen of the jury, you are to consider that Mr. Savage is a very great man, a much greater man than you or I, gentlemen of the jury; that he wears very fine clothes, much finer clothes than you or I, gentlemen of the jury; that he has abundance of money in his pocket, much more money than you or I, gentlemen of the jury; but, gentlemen of the jury, is it not a very hard case, gentlemen of the jury, that Mr. Savage should therefore kill you or me, gentlemen of the jury'?'

Mr. Savage, hearing his defence thus misrepresented, and the 76
men who were to decide his fate incited against him by invidious comparisons, resolutely asserted that his cause was not candidly explained, and began to recapitulate what he had before said with regard to his condition, and the necessity of endeavouring to escape the expences of imprisonment; but the judge, having ordered him to be silent, and repeated his orders without effect, commanded that he should be taken from the bar by force.

The jury then heard the opinion of the judge that good char- 77
acters were of no weight against positive evidence, though they might turn the scale where it was doubtful; and that though, when two men attack each other, the death of either is only manslaughter; but where one is the aggressor, as in the case

*ing on.*"' Foss adds that 'the few cases reported in the State Trials at which he presided, do not appear to warrant the character given of him.'

In 1722, when he was a Judge, he was acquitted by a majority of only four of attempting corruption in a parliamentary election. *Parl. Hist.* vii. 962. For Savage's satire on him see *post*, SAVAGE, 94 *n.*

'The following is the report of the summing up in *Select Trials*, ii. 248:—

'The Court having summed up the evidence observed to the jury, that as the deceased and his company were in possession of the room, if the prisoners were the aggressors by coming into that room, kicking down the table, and immediately thereupon drawing their swords without provocation, and the deceased retreated, was pursued, attacked and killed in the manner as had been sworn by the witnesses, it was murder, not only in him who gave the wound, but in the others who aided and abetted him. That as to the characters of the prisoners, good character is of weight when the proof is doubtful, but flies up where put in the scale against plain and positive evidence: and as to the suddenness of the action, where there is a sudden quarrel, and a provocation is given by him who is killed, or where suddenly and mutually persons attack each other and fight, and one of them is killed in the heat of blood, it is manslaughter. But where one is the aggressor, pursues the insult, and kills the person attacked, without any provocation, though on a sudden, the law implies malice and it is murder.'

before them, and, in pursuance of his first attack, kills the other, the law supposes the action, however sudden, to be malicious. They then deliberated upon their verdict, and determined that Mr. Savage and Mr. Gregory were guilty of murder [1], and Mr. Merchant, who had no sword, only of manslaughter [2].

78 Thus ended this memorable trial, which lasted eight hours. Mr. Savage and Mr. Gregory were conducted back to prison, where they were more closely confined, and loaded with irons of fifty pounds weight [3]; four days afterwards they were sent back to the court to receive sentence [4], on which occasion Mr. Savage made, as far as it could be retained in memory, the following speech:

'It is now, my Lord, too late to offer any thing by way of defence or vindication, nor can we expect from your Lordships, in this court, but the sentence which the law requires you, as judges, to pronounce against men of our calamitous condition.—But we are also persuaded that as mere men, and out of this seat of rigorous justice, you are susceptive of the tender passions, and too humane, not to commiserate the unhappy situation of those whom the law sometimes perhaps—exacts—from you to pronounce upon. No doubt you distinguish between offences which arise out of premeditation and a disposition habituated to vice or immorality and transgressions, which are the unhappy and unforeseen effects of [a] casual absence of reason, and sudden impulse of passion: we therefore hope you will contribute all you can to an extension of that mercy, which the gentlemen of the jury have been pleased to shew Mr. Merchant, who (allowing facts as sworn against us by the evidence) has led us into this our calamity.

[1] 'The Coroner's Inquest had brought in their verdict manslaughter against all three.' *Life*, p. 21.

[2] 'Dec. 11. William Merchant having prayed the benefit of his clergy, as in cases of manslaughter, the same was allowed him, and the execution of the sentence ordered to be done this morning before the Court.' *Daily Journal*, Dec. 11, 1727.

'Dec. 12. Mr. Merchant was burnt in the hand, and gave security for his good behaviour, and was discharged.' *Ib.* Dec. 12.

'He was bound by recognizances in the sum of £200, and his two sureties in £100 each for his good behaviour for a year.' *Daily Post*, Dec. 12.

'The statute directs that no person, once admitted to the benefit of clergy, shall be admitted thereto a second time, unless he produces his orders; and, in order to distinguish their persons, all laymen who are allowed this privilege shall be burnt with a hot iron in the brawn of the left thumb.' BLACKSTONE, *Comm.* 1775, iv. 367.

[3] *Life*, p. 23.

[4] Fielding, in his *Causes of the Increase of Robbers*, &c., says:—'Suppose that the Court at the Old Bailey was at the end of the trials to be adjourned during four days; that against the adjournment day a gallows was erected in the area before the Court; that the criminals were all brought down on that day to receive sentence, and that this was executed the very moment after it was pronounced in the sight and presence of the Judges.' *Works*, 1806, x. 465.

I hope this will not be construed as if we meant to reflect upon that gentleman, or remove any thing from us upon him, or that we repine the more at our fate, because he has no participation of it. No, my Lord! For my part, I declare nothing could more soften my grief than to be without any companion in so great a misfortune[1].'

Mr. Savage had now no hopes of life but from the mercy of 79
the crown[2], which was very earnestly solicited by his friends, and which, with whatever difficulty the story may obtain belief, was obstructed only by his mother.

To prejudice the Queen against him she made use of an 80
incident, which was omitted in the order of time, that it might be mentioned together with the purpose which it was made to serve. Mr. Savage, when he had discovered his birth, had an incessant desire to speak to his mother, who always avoided him in publick, and refused him admission into her house. One evening walking, as it was his custom, in the street that she inhabited, he saw the door of her house by accident open; he entered it, and, finding no person in the passage to hinder him, went up stairs to salute her. She discovered him before he could enter her chamber, alarmed the family with the most distressful outcries, and when she had by her screams gathered them about her, ordered them to drive out of the house that villain, who had forced himself in upon her, and endeavoured to murder her. Savage, who had attempted with the most submissive tenderness to soften her rage, hearing her utter so detestable an accusation, thought it prudent to retire; and, I believe, never attempted afterwards to speak to her.

But, shocked as he was with her falsehood and her cruelty, he 81
imagined that she intended no other use of her lie than to set herself free from his embraces and solicitations, and was very far from suspecting that she would treasure it in her memory as an instrument of future wickedness, or that she would endeavour for this fictitious assault to deprive him of his life.

But when the Queen was solicited for his pardon, and informed 82
of the severe treatment which he had suffered from his judge, she answered that, however unjustifiable might be the manner of his

[1] Mr. Savage's *Life* [p. 23]. JOHNSON. This speech is given in *Select Trials*, ii. 249.

[2] 'Mr. Savage had even bespoke the clothes in which he was to suffer.' Aaron Hill's *Dram. Works*, ed. 1760, Preface, p. 2.

trial, or whatever extenuation the action for which he was condemned might admit, she could not think that man a proper object of the King's mercy, who had been capable of entering his mother's house in the night, with an intent to murder her.

83 By whom this atrocious calumny had been transmitted to the Queen; whether she that invented had the front to relate it; whether she found any one weak enough to credit it, or corrupt enough to concur with her in her hateful design, I know not: but methods had been taken to persuade the Queen so strongly of the truth of it, that she for a long time refused to hear any of those who petitioned for his life.

84 Thus had Savage perished by the evidence of a bawd, a strumpet, and his mother, had not justice and compassion procured him an advocate of rank too great to be rejected unheard, and of virtue too eminent to be heard without being believed. His merit and his calamities happened to reach the ear of the Countess of Hertford [1], who engaged in his support with all the tenderness that is excited by pity, and all the zeal which is kindled by generosity; and, demanding an audience of the Queen [2], laid before her the whole series of his mother's cruelty, exposed the improbability of an accusation by which he was charged with an intent to commit a murder that could produce no advantage, and soon convinced her how little his former conduct could deserve to be mentioned as a reason for extraordinary severity.

85 The interposition of this Lady was so successful that he was soon after admitted to bail, and, on the 9th of March, 1728, pleaded the King's pardon [3].

[1] *Post*, THOMSON, 16. At the supper on the marriage of the Princess Royal she carved for the Royal Family. *Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 161.

[2] Eight years later the Duke of Argyle, in *The Heart of Midlothian*, 'demanded an audience of the Queen' for himself and Jeanie Deans on behalf of Effie.

Savage had other advocates besides the Countess. In *The Daily Journal* for Dec. 20, it is recorded:—'The case of Mr. Richard Savage, containing an Account of his unhappy Birth and Sufferings [*post*, SAVAGE, 89] previous to the Misfortune of his killing Mr. Sinclair, was yesterday presented to their Majesties by a noble Peer of Ireland.' In Cibber's *Lives*, v. 44, it is stated that 'Lord Tyrconnel [*post*, SAVAGE, 99] delivered a petition to his Majesty, and Mrs. Oldfield [*ante*, SAVAGE, 42] solicited Sir Robert Walpole on Savage's account. This joint interest procured him his pardon.'

In dedicating *The Wanderer* to Tyrconnel he writes:—'That I live, my Lord, is a proof that dependence on your Lordship and the present Ministry is an assurance of success.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 118.

[3] 'Dec. 21. Yesterday the Report of the Malefactors under Sentence of

It is natural to enquire upon what motives his mother could 86
persecute him in a manner so outrageous and implacable; for what reason she could employ all the arts of malice, and all the snares of calumny, to take away the life of her own son, of a son who never injured her, who was never supported by her expence, nor obstructed any prospect of pleasure or advantage; why she should endeavour to destroy him by a lie—a lie which could not gain credit, but must vanish of itself at the first moment of examination, and of which only this can be said to make it probable, that it may be observed from her conduct that the most execrable crimes are sometimes committed without apparent temptation.

This mother is still alive[1], and may perhaps even yet, though 87
her malice was so often defeated, enjoy the pleasure of reflecting that the life, which she often endeavoured to destroy, was at least shortened by her maternal offices; that though she could not transport her son to the plantations, bury him in the shop of a mechanick, or hasten the hand of the publick executioner, she has yet had the satisfaction of imbittering all his hours, and forcing him into exigences that hurried on his death.

It is by no means necessary to aggravate the enormity of 88
this woman's conduct, by placing it in opposition to that of the Countess of Hertford: no one can fail to observe how much more amiable it is to relieve than to oppress, and to rescue innocence from destruction than to destroy without an injury.

Mr. Savage, during his imprisonment, his trial, and the time 89
in which he lay under sentence of death, behaved with great firmness and equality of mind, and confirmed by his fortitude the esteem of those who before admired him for his abilities[2]. The peculiar circumstances of his life were made more generally

Death in Newgate was made to his Majesty in Council by the Recorder. Mr. Savage and Mr. Gregory were reprieved *sine die*.' *Daily Journal*, Dec. 21, 1727.

'At the end of the next Sessions, which was on Saturday, Jan. 20, Savage and Gregory were admitted to bail in order to their pleading the King's pardon. On the last day of the following Sessions, March 5, 1727-28, they accordingly pleaded his Majesty's pardon, and their bail was discharged. *Select Trials*, ii. 250.

[1] Hawkins, in 1787, thirty-four years after her death, and ninety years after her divorce, remarks on the statement in the text:—'This was true in the year 1744, when Johnson's *Life of Savage* was first published, but is not so now.' Johnson's *Works*, 1787, iii. 273.

[2] For an extract from a letter written by him in prison see Johnson's *Works*, viii. 121 *n*.

known by a short account[1], which was then published, and of which several thousands were in a few weeks dispersed over the nation[2]; and the compassion of mankind operated so powerfully in his favour that he was enabled by frequent presents not only to support himself, but to assist Mr. Gregory in prison[3]; and, when he was pardoned and released, he found the number of his friends not lessened.

90 The nature of the act for which he had been tried was in

[1] Written by Mr. Beckingham and another gentleman. JOHNSON.

Of Charles Beckingham we read in Jacob's *Poet. Reg.* i. 281:—'At nineteen years of age he gave us a tragedy, called *Scipio Africanus*, acted at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1717, with applause.' See also *Gent. Mag.* 1739, p. 255, for some verses from his *Henry IV of France*.

This 'short account' of Savage was got out in all haste to rouse sympathy for him. It was presented to the King and Queen.

*Ante*, SAVAGE, 84 *n.* It was entitled:—*Life of Mr. Richard Savage. Who was condemn'd with Mr. James Gregory the last Sessions at the Old Bailey for the Murder of Mr. James Sinclair, at Robinson's Coffee-house at Charing Cross. With some very remarkable Circumstances relating to the Birth and Education of that Gentleman which were never yet made public.*

'Quis talia fando
Temperet a lachrymis' [*Aencid*, ii. 6]. London. Printed for and sold by J. Roberts. 1727. Price Six Pence.

[2] Fielding, in *The Covent Garden Journal* for June 27, 1752, describes Savage as 'an author whose manufactures had long lain uncalled for in the warehouse, till he happened, very fortunately for his bookseller, to be found guilty of a capital crime at the Old Bailey. The merchant instantly took the hint, and the very next day advertised the Works of Mr. Savage, now under sentence of death for murder. This device succeeded, and immediately (to use their phrase) carried off the whole impression. Encouraged by this success the merchant, not doubting the execution of his author, bad very high for his dying speech, which was accordingly penned and delivered. Savage however was contrary to all expectation pardoned, and would have returned the money; but the merchant insisted on his bargain, and published the dying speech which Mr. Savage should have made at Tyburn, of which, it is probable, as many were sold as there were people in town who could read.' Fielding's *Works*, ed. 1806, x. 98.

In *The Daily Post*, Dec. 15 and 18, 1727, and *The Daily Journal*, Dec. 18 and 20, is an advertisement of the 'Books written by the present Unhappy Mr. Savage.' In *The Daily Courant*, Dec. 20, is the following:—'This day is published *The Proceedings at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey. . . in which are the very Remarkable Tryals of Mr. Savage, Mr. Gregory and Mr. Merchant for the Murder of Mr. Sinclair, exactly taken down and carefully corrected. With the Remarkable Tryals of several others,*' &c. Price 4*d.*

[3] 'Mr. Pope desired Dr. Young to forward five guineas to poor Savage when he was in Newgate. The doctor was so good as to carry it himself; and Mr. Pope afterwards told him that if Savage should be in want of necessaries he had five more ready for his service.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 356.

Savage wrote when he was under sentence of death:—'Dr. Young to-day sent me a letter most passionately kind.' Johnson's *Works*, viii. 122 *n.*

In *The Daily Journal*, Dec. 13, 1727, it is recorded that 'Mr. Savage and Mr. Gregory are visited daily by the Rev. Dr. Young, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxon.'

itself doubtful; of the evidences which appeared against him, the character of the man was not unexceptionable, that of the woman notoriously infamous: she, whose testimony chiefly influenced the jury to condemn him, afterwards retracted her assertions. He always himself denied that he was drunk, as had been generally reported. Mr. Gregory, who is now Collector of Antigua [1], is said to declare him far less criminal than he was imagined, even by some who favoured him; and Page himself afterwards confessed that he had treated him with uncommon rigour. When all these particulars are rated together, perhaps the memory of Savage may not be much sullied by his trial.

Some time after he had obtained his liberty he met in the 91
street the woman that had sworn with so much malignity against him. She informed him that she was in distress, and, with a degree of confidence not easily attainable, desired him to relieve her. He, instead of insulting her misery, and taking pleasure in the calamities of one who had brought his life into danger, reproved her gently for her perjury; and changing the only guinea that he had, divided it equally between her and himself.

This is an action which in some ages would have made a saint, 92
and perhaps in others a hero, and which, without any hyperbolical encomiums, must be allowed to be an instance of uncommon generosity, an act of complicated virtue; by which he at once relieved the poor, corrected the vicious, and forgave an enemy; by which he at once remitted the strongest provocations, and exercised the most ardent charity.

Compassion was indeed the distinguishing quality of Savage; 93
he never appeared inclined to take advantage of weakness, to attack the defenceless, or to press upon the falling: whoever was distressed was certain at least of his good wishes; and when he could give no assistance to extricate them from misfortunes, he endeavoured to sooth them by sympathy and tenderness [2].

But when his heart was not softened by the sight of misery he 94
was sometimes obstinate in his resentment, and did not quickly lose the remembrance of an injury. He always continued to speak with anger of the insolence and partiality of Page, and a short time before his death revenged it by a satire [3].

[1] [In 1744. For his appointment and death, see *Gent. Mag.* 1743, p. 51; *ib.* 1746, p. 108.]

[2] *Post*, SAVAGE, 324, 337.

[3] In the first edition of Johnson's *Life of Savage* [p. 49] is this note :— 'The Satire from which the following lines are extracted was called by Mr.

95 It is natural to enquire in what terms Mr. Savage spoke of this fatal action, when the danger was over, and he was under no necessity of using any art to set his conduct in the fairest light. He was not willing to dwell upon it; and, if he transiently mentioned it, appeared neither to consider himself as a murderer, nor as a man wholly free from the guilt of blood [1]. How much and how long he regretted it, appeared in a poem which he published many years afterwards [2]. On occasion of a copy of verses, in which the failings of good men were recounted, and in which the author had endeavoured to illustrate his position, that 'the best may sometimes deviate from virtue,' by an instance of murder committed by Savage in the heat of wine, Savage remarked, that it was no very just representation of a good man, to suppose him liable to drunkenness, and disposed in his riots to cut throats.

96 He was now indeed at liberty, but was as before without any other support than accidental favours and uncertain patronage afforded him; sources by which he was sometimes very liberally supplied, and which at other times were suddenly stopped; so that he spent his life between want and plenty, or, what was yet worse, between beggary and extravagance: for as whatever he

Savage *An Epistle on Authors*. It was never printed intire, but several fragments were inserted by him in the [*Gentleman's*] *Magazine* [1741, p. 494], after his retirement into the country.' Johnson goes on to quote almost the whole of the poem, styled *A Character*, from which the following is an extract. After describing such Judges as Yorke [Lord Chancellor Hardwicke] and Fortescue the poet continues:—

'Of heart impure and impotent of head, [read;
In history, rhetoric, ethics, law un-
How far unlike such worthies, once a drudge [a judge.
From floundering in low cases rose
Form'd to make pleaders laugh his nonsense thunders,
And on low juries breathes contagious blunders.
. . . . . .
Why pause you scornful when he dins the court? [report.
Note well his cruel quirks and well
Let his own words against himself point clear
Satire more sharp than verse when most severe.'

*Eng. Poets*, xli. 297.

[1] In one of his letters he styles it 'a fatal quarrel, but too well known.' JOHNSON.

[2] In the first edition [p. 50] Johnson quotes a long passage from *The Bastard* (*post*, SAVAGE, 157 *n.* 2), of which the following is a specimen:—

'Is chance a guilt, that my disastrous heart,
For mischief never meant, must ever smart?
Can self-defence be sin? Ah! plead no more!
What though no purpos'd malice stain'd thee o'er!
Had Heaven befriended thy unhappy side,
Thou hadst not been provoked—or thou hadst died.'

*Eng. Poets*, xli. 201.

received was the gift of chance, which might as well favour him at one time as another, he was tempted to squander what he had, because he always hoped to be immediately supplied.

Another cause of his profusion was the absurd kindness of his 97
friends, who at once rewarded and enjoyed his abilities, by treating him at taverns and habituating him to pleasures which he could not afford to enjoy, and which he was not able to deny himself, though he purchased the luxury of a single night by the anguish of cold and hunger for a week [1].

The experience of these inconveniences determined him to 98
endeavour after some settled income, which, having long found submission and intreaties fruitless, he attempted to extort from his mother by rougher methods. He had now, as he acknowledged, lost that tenderness for her which the whole series of her cruelty had not been able wholly to repress, till he found, by the efforts which she made for his destruction, that she was not content with refusing to assist him, and being neutral in his struggles with poverty, but was as ready to snatch every opportunity of adding to his misfortunes, and that she was to be considered as an enemy implacably malicious, whom nothing but his blood could satisfy. He therefore threatened to harass her with lampoons, and to publish a copious narrative of her conduct, unless she consented to purchase an exemption from infamy, by allowing him a pension.

This expedient proved successful. Whether shame still survived 99
though virtue was extinct, or whether her relations had more delicacy than herself, and imagined that some of the darts which satire might point at her would glance upon them, Lord Tyrconnel [2], whatever were his motives, upon his promise to lay aside his design of exposing the cruelty of his mother [3], received

[1] Otway suffered from the same 'absurd kindness.' *Ante*, OTWAY, 7. Don Quixote, in his description of a scholar's life, says:—'I will not mention other trifles, such as want of linen, deficiency of shoes, his thin and threadbare clothes, nor the surfeits to which he is liable from intemperance, when good fortune sets a plentiful table in his way.' Jervas's *Don Quixote*, 1820, ii. 180.

[2] Viscount Tyrconnel, an Irish peer, 'was son of Sir William Brownlow, by his first wife, the sister of Mrs. Brett.' *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 389. He was member for Grantham. *Parl. Hist.* viii. 8.

[3] 'Dr. Johnson,' writes Boswell, 'has forgotten that he himself has mentioned, that Savage's story had been told several years before [in 1724] in *The Plain Dealer* [*ante*, SAVAGE, 29]. . . . At the same time, it must be acknowledged that Lady Macclesfield and her relations might still wish that her story should not be brought into more conspicuous notice by the satirical pen of Savage.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 173.

See also *ante*, SAVAGE, 89, for the publication of 1727.

him into his family, treated him as his equal, and engaged to allow him a pension of two hundred pounds a year [1].

100 This was the golden part of Mr. Savage's life; and for some time he had no reason to complain of fortune: his appearance was splendid, his expences large, and his acquaintance extensive. He was courted by all who endeavoured to be thought men of genius, and caressed by all who valued themselves upon a refined taste. To admire Mr. Savage was a proof of discernment, and to be acquainted with him was a title to poetical reputation. His presence was sufficient to make any place of publick entertainment popular; and his approbation and example constituted the fashion. So powerful is genius when it is invested with the glitter of affluence [2]! Men willingly pay to fortune that regard which they owe to merit, and are pleased when they have an opportunity at once of gratifying their vanity and practising their duty.

101 This interval of prosperity furnished him with opportunities of enlarging his knowledge of human nature by contemplating life from its highest gradations to its lowest; and, had he afterwards applied to dramatick poetry, he would perhaps not have had many superiors: for as he never suffered any scene to pass before his eyes without notice, he had treasured in his mind all the different combinations of passions and the innumerable mixtures of vice and virtue, which distinguish one character from another; and, as his conception was strong, his expressions were clear, he easily received impressions from objects, and very forcibly transmitted them to others.

102 Of his exact observations on human life he has left a proof,

[1] Why Tyrconnel befriended Savage cannot be known. Johnson gives Savage's account. Perhaps he did it out of opposition to his aunt. He had exerted himself to save his life, when, if we are to believe Savage, she had tried to destroy him. The following year the poet, joining him with her in *Nature in Perfection* [*post*, SAVAGE, 157 *n.* 2], said that he was

'In manners different as in kindred joined.'

In *The Wanderer*, part of which Tyrconnel had read in manuscript, there is an attack on her. This poem was written while Savage was under his protection. *Post*, SAVAGE, 117, 123, 129. Aaron Hill wrote to him on March 10, 1730–1, of 'that bravery of goodness you have shown in behalf of the fatherless, motherless, and, but for you, the lifeless Mr. Savage.' Hill's *Works*, i. 103. On June 23, 1736, Hill wrote to Savage:—'What you say of Lord Tyrconnel reminds me of something I have heard (though very obscurely) concerning a breach in that friendship which was once so useful and so ornamental to you.' *Ib.* p. 327.

[2] 'How much is added to the lustre of genius by the ornaments of wealth.' *Post*, SAVAGE, 143.

which would do honour to the greatest names[1], in a small pamphlet called *The Author to be let*[2], where he introduces Iscariot Hackney, a prostitute scribbler, giving an account of his birth, his education, his disposition and morals, habits of life, and maxims of conduct. In the introduction are related many secret histories of the petty writers of that time, but sometimes mixed with ungenerous reflections on their birth, their circumstances, or those of their relations[3]; nor can it be denied that some passages are such as Iscariot Hackney might himself have produced.

He was accused likewise of living in an appearance of friend- 103
ship with some whom he satirised, and of making use of the confidence which he gained by a seeming kindness to discover failings and expose them: it must be confessed that Mr. Savage's esteem was no very certain possession, and that he would lampoon at one time those whom he had praised at another.

It may be alleged that the same man may change his 104
principles, and that he, who was once deservedly commended, may be afterwards satirised with equal justice, or that the poet was dazzled with the appearance of virtue, and found the man whom he had celebrated, when he had an opportunity of examining him more narrowly, unworthy of the panegyrick which he had too hastily bestowed; and that, as a false satire ought to be recanted, for the sake of him whose reputation may be injured, false praise ought likewise to be obviated, lest the distinction between vice and virtue should be lost, lest a bad man should be trusted upon the credit of his encomiast, or lest others should endeavour to obtain the like praises by the same means.

But though these excuses may be often plausible and some- 105
times just, they are very seldom satisfactory to mankind, and the writer, who is not constant to his subject, quickly sinks into

[1] 'I know nobody,' said Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, 'who blasts by praise as you do.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 81. In all her exaggerations she never surpassed him in the praise he had here bestowed.

[2] Printed in his *Works*, vol. ii. p. 231 [ed. 1777, ii. 245]. JOHNSON. See *ante*, SAVAGE, 13.

*An Author To Be Let. Being a Proposal humbly addressed to the Consideration of the Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen and other wonderful and weighty Members of the Solid and Ancient Society of the Bathos.* By their Associate and Well-Wisher Iscariot Hackney.

Evil be thou my good.

SATAN.

I am surprised to find 'to be let' for 'to let' used so long ago. In this pamphlet he uses *seedy* in what I had thought was a modern sense. He describes how his 'brother bards, after an evening's hard boosing, have been what we call seedy or cropsick.' *Works*, 1777, ii. 272.

[3] *Post*, SAVAGE, 146.

contempt, his satire loses its force, and his panegyrick its value, and he is only considered at one time as a flatterer, and as a calumniator at another.

106 To avoid these imputations it is only necessary to follow the rules of virtue, and to preserve an unvaried regard to truth. For though it is undoubtedly possible that a man, however cautious, may be sometimes deceived by an artful appearance of virtue, or by false evidences of guilt, such errors will not be frequent; and it will be allowed that the name of an author would never have been made contemptible had no man ever said what he did not think, or misled others but when he was himself deceived.

107 *The Author to be let* was first published in a single pamphlet, and afterwards inserted in a collection of pieces relating to *The Dunciad*[1], which were addressed by Mr. Savage to the Earl of Middlesex, in a dedication[2] which he was prevailed upon to sign, though he did not write it, and in which there are some positions that the true author would perhaps not have published under his own name[3], and on which Mr. Savage afterwards reflected with no great satisfaction. The enumeration of the bad effects of 'the uncontrouled freedom of the press,' and the assertion that the 'liberties taken by the writers of Journals with their superiors were exorbitant and unjustifiable[4],' very ill became men who have themselves not always shewn the exactest regard to the laws of subordination in their writings, and who have often satirised

[1] *A Collection of Pieces of Verse and Prose which have been published in occasion of the Dunciad.* Dedicated to the Right Honourable the Earl of Middlesex by Mr. Savage. London, 1732.

[2] See his *Works*, vol. ii. p. 233 [ed. 1775, ii. 239]. JOHNSON.

In the first edition of Johnson's *Life of Savage* [p. 57] this Dedication is given in a note. In it Savage states that he had refused to contribute to a certain paper, 'on finding admitted into it two or three lines reflecting on a *Great Minister*.' 'The paper here meant,' Johnson writes, 'was probably the *Grub-street Journal*, which Mr. Savage was once invited to undertake, but which he declined; whether for the reason here mentioned is not certain.'

Horace Walpole on April 14, 1743 (*Letters*, i. 240), thus described the Earl of Middlesex:—'There is a new subscription formed for an Opera next year, to be carried on by the *Dilettanti*, a club for which the nominal qualification is having been in Italy, and the real one, being drunk; the two chiefs are Lord Middlesex and Sir Francis Dashwood, who were seldom sober the whole time they were in Italy.'

[3] Had Johnson carefully revised this *Life* for republication in the *Lives of the Poets* he would certainly have stated that 'the true author,' whose name he had not ventured to give, was Pope. See *post*, POPE, 148, where he attributes it to him, and quotes a large part of it.

[4] 'I ever thought the exorbitant liberty which most of those papers take with their superiors unjustifiable in any rank of men.' Savage's *Works*, ii. 240.

those that at least thought themselves their superiors, as they were eminent for their hereditary rank and employed in the highest offices of the kingdom. But this is only an instance of that partiality which almost every man indulges with regard to himself: the liberty of the press is a blessing when we are inclined to write against others, and a calamity when we find ourselves overborne by the multitude of our assailants[1]; as the power of the crown is always thought too great by those who suffer by its influence[2], and too little by those in whose favour it is exerted; and a standing army is generally accounted necessary by those who command, and dangerous and oppressive by those who support it[3].

Mr. Savage was likewise very far from believing that the letters 108
annexed to each species of bad poets in *The Bathos* were, as he was directed to assert, 'set down at random[4],' for when he was charged by one of his friends with putting his name to such an improbability he had no other answer to make than that 'he did not think of it'; and his friend had too much tenderness to reply that next to the crime of writing contrary to what he thought, was that of writing without thinking.

After having remarked what is false in his dedication it is 109
proper that I observe the impartiality which I recommend, by

[1] For the liberty of the press see *ante*, MILTON, 58.

[2] For the influence of the Crown see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 118, 353, iii. 4, 205, iv. 220; *John. Misc.* ii. 55; *John. Letters*, i. 107 *n.*

[3] 'A national militia has been the cry of every patriot since the Revolution.' GIBBON, *Memoirs*, p. 135. In a note, *ib.* p. 298, I give quotations showing the dislike of a standing army. To these I would add the following from Gay's *Epistle to W. Lowndes, Author of the Land-Tax Bill*:—

'Truce with thy dreaded pen; thy annals cease;
Why need we armies when the land's in peace?
Soldiers are perfect devils in their way;
When once they're rais'd, they're cursed hard to lay.'

*Eng. Poets*, xxxvi. 213.

[4] 'It happened that in one chapter of this piece [*The Treatise of the Bathos*] the several species of bad poets were ranged in classes, to which were prefixed almost all the letters of the alphabet (the greatest part of them at random).' Savage's *Works*, ii. 241; *post*, POPE, 148.

Pope used the same words when 'he was reduced to sneak and shuffle' in his reply to Aaron Hill (*post*, POPE, 154). He wrote to him on Jan. 26, 1730–1:—'In truth (except some few) those letters were set at random, to occasion, what they did occasion, the suspicion of bad and jealous writers.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 9. In a letter dated Feb. 5 he added:—'That the letters A. H. were applied to you in the papers I did not know (for I seldom read them); I heard it only from Mr. Savage, as from yourself, and sent my assurances to the contrary.' *Ib.* p. 16; Hill's *Works*, i. 56, 69.

declaring what Savage asserted, that the account of the circumstances which attended the publication of *The Dunciad*, however strange and improbable, was exactly true.

110 The publication of this piece at this time raised Mr. Savage a great number of enemies among those that were attacked by Mr. Pope, with whom he was considered as a kind of confederate, and whom he was suspected of supplying with private intelligence and secret incidents: so that the ignominy of an informer was added to the terror of a satirist[1].

111 That he was not altogether free from literary hypocrisy, and that he sometimes spoke one thing and wrote another, cannot be denied; because he himself confessed that, when he lived in great familiarity with Dennis, he wrote an epigram against him[2].

[1] Fielding, in 1752, wrote of the King of the Wits—'Alexander, surnamed Pope':—'He is said to have been extremely jealous of the affections of his subjects, and to have employed various spies, by whom, if he was informed of the least suggestion against his title, he never failed of branding the accused person with the word *dunce* on his forehead in broad letters, after which the accused person was obliged to lay by his pen for ever, for no bookseller would venture to print a word that he wrote.' Fielding's *Works*, x. 45.

Savage was certainly aimed at as one of the spies.

Thomas['Hesiod'] Cooke attacked Savage in a second version of *The Battle of the Poets* (included in his *Tales, Epistles, &c.*, 1729, p. 142):—

'Savage my name, unblest my natal morn,
Who to the ills of poetry was born.
From Pope deputed, from my heart's ally,
To yonder camp I tend, a dauntless spy.
Through great and many dangers safe I go,
My only guard my falsehood to the foe;
Before a friend profess'd they know no fear,
But trust their secrets to a faithless ear;
I watch their motions and each word they say, [betray;
And all, and more than all I know,
In kind return he cheers my soul with praise,
And mends, where such he finds, my feeble lays.'

In the first edition of this poem (1725, p. 16) Savage is stopped as 'one that was, or seem'd, a spy,' but is dismissed with honour. [In the 1729 ed., p. 140, Savage is 'one that seem'd, and was a spy.']

[2] This epigram was, I believe, never published.

'Should Dennis publish you had stabb'd your brother,
Lampoon'd your monarch, or debauch'd your mother;
Say, what revenge on Dennis can be had, [mad?
Too dull for laughter, for reply too
On one so poor you cannot take the law, [to draw.
On one so old your sword you scorn
Uncag'd then, let the harmless monster rage,
Secure in dulness, madness, want, and age.' JOHNSON.

This epigram is in *Gent. Mag.* 1731, p. 306.

The first couplet runs:—

'Should D—s print how once you robb'd your brother,
Traduc'd your monarch and debauch'd your mother.'

Johnson's version is inserted in a note on *The Dunciad*, i. 106. Warburton's *Pope*, v. 28. Most of the note is in the edition of 1729. For Dennis see *ante*, ADDISON, 63; *post*, POPE, 34.

Mr. Savage, however, set all the malice of all the pigmy writers 112
at defiance, and thought the friendship of Mr. Pope cheaply purchased by being exposed to their censure and their hatred[1]; nor had he any reason to repent of the preference, for he found Mr. Pope a steady and unalienable friend almost to the end of his life[2].

About this time, notwithstanding his avowed neutrality with 113
regard to party, he published a panegyrick on Sir Robert Walpole[3], for which he was rewarded by him with twenty guineas, a sum not very large, if either the excellence of the performance or the affluence of the patron be considered; but greater than he afterwards obtained from a person of yet higher rank, and more desirous in appearance of being distinguished as a patron of literature[4].

As he was very far from approving the conduct of Sir Robert 114
Walpole, and in conversation mentioned him sometimes with acrimony, and generally with contempt; as he was one of those who were always zealous in their assertions of the justice of the late opposition, jealous of the rights of the people, and alarmed by the long-continued triumph of the court; it was natural to ask him what could induce him to employ his poetry in praise of that man who was, in his opinion, an enemy to liberty, and an oppressor of his country[5]? He alleged that he was then dependent upon the Lord Tyrconnel, who was an implicit follower of the ministry[6]; and that being enjoined by him, not without menaces, to write in praise of his leader, he had not

[1] In one passage Savage draws his own portrait. 'Most of these persons are of a very low parentage, and without any pretence of merit are aspiring to the rank of gentlemen. Thus they become ill economists; poverty is the consequence of ill economy, and dirty tricks the consequence of their poverty.' *Works*, ii. 249.

[2] *Post*, SAVAGE, 328.

[3] *Works*, ii. 103; *Eng. Poets*, xli. 207; *post*, SAVAGE, 141, 203. For dedications see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 1.

[4] The Duke of Chandos. *Post*, SAVAGE, 238.

[5] Johnson had joined the 'patriots' in their attack on Walpole. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 129, 141, 164. In later life 'he honoured his memory for having kept this country in peace many years, as also for the goodness and placability of his temper.' Hawkins's *Johnson*, p. 514.

'Walpole,' he said, 'was the best minister this country ever had; as, if *we* would have let him (he speaks of his own violent faction), he would have kept the country in perpetual peace.' *John. Misc.* ii. 309. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 339; *post*, THOMSON, 22.

[6] In *Parl. Hist.* viii. 869, 1262, in the years 1732 and 1733, speeches of his in support of the ministry are reported.

resolution sufficient to sacrifice the pleasure of affluence to that of integrity.

115 On this, and on many other occasions, he was ready to lament the misery of living at the tables of other men, which was his fate from the beginning to the end of his life; for I know not whether he ever had, for three months together, a settled habitation, in which he could claim a right of residence.

116 To this unhappy state it is just to impute much of the inconstancy of his conduct; for though a readiness to comply with the inclination of others was no part of his natural character, yet he was sometimes obliged to relax his obstinacy, and submit his own judgement, and even his virtue, to the government of those by whom he was supported; so that if his miseries were sometimes the consequences of his faults, he ought not yet to be wholly excluded from compassion, because his faults were very often the effects of his misfortunes.

117 In this gay period[1] of his life, while he was surrounded by affluence and pleasure, he published *The Wanderer*[2], a moral poem, of which the design is comprised in these lines:

> 'I fly[3] all public care, all venal strife,
> To try the still compar'd with active life;
> To prove, by these the sons of men may owe
> The fruits of bliss to bursting clouds of woe;
> That ev'n calamity, by thought refin'd,
> Inspirits and adorns the thinking mind.'

118 And more distinctly in the following passage:

> 'By woe, the soul to daring action swells;
> By woe, in plaintless patience it excels;
> From patience, prudent clear experience springs,
> And traces knowledge thro' the course of things!
> Thence hope is form'd, thence fortitude, success,
> Renown:—whate'er men covet and caress[4].'

119 This performance was always considered by himself as his master-piece; and Mr. Pope, when he asked his opinion of it,

[1] 1729. JOHNSON.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xli. 115; Savage's *Works*, ii. 1. Murphy thinks that the title of *The Rambler* 'was most probably suggested by *The Wanderer*.' *John. Misc.* i. 391.

[3] In the original 'She [the Muse] flies.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 121.

[4] *Ib.* p. 143; *Works*, ii. 30. Both reprints [*Works*, 1775 and 1777] have 'paintless patience,' for 'plaintless patience'; and in *Eng. Poets* the third line runs:—

'From patient, prudent dear experience springs.'

[Johnson's version is that of *The Wanderer*, 1st ed. 1729.]

told him that he read it once over, and was not displeased with it, that it gave him more pleasure at the second perusal, and delighted him still more at the third [1].

It has been generally objected to *The Wanderer* that the 120
disposition of the parts is irregular; that the design is obscure, and the plan perplexed; that the images, however beautiful, succeed each other without order; and that the whole performance is not so much a regular fabrick as a heap of shining materials thrown together by accident, which strikes rather with the solemn magnificence of a stupendous ruin than the elegant grandeur of a finished pile.

This criticism is universal, and therefore it is reasonable to 121
believe it at least in a great degree just; but Mr. Savage was always of a contrary opinion, and thought his drift could only be missed by negligence or stupidity, and that the whole plan was regular, and the parts distinct [2].

It was never denied to abound with strong representations 122
of nature, and just observations upon life; and it may easily be observed that most of his pictures have an evident tendency to illustrate his first great position, 'that good is the consequence of evil [3].' The sun that burns up the mountains, fructifies the vales [4]; the deluge that rushes down the broken rocks with

[1] Pope is celebrated in it as
'the monarch of the tuneful train,
To whom be Nature's and Britannia's praise!
All their bright honours rush into his lays!' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 133.
The following lines would be thought an imitation of his *Essay on Man* had not *The Wanderer* been the earlier poem:—
'Lo! I meet wrong; perhaps the wrong I feel
Tends by the scheme of things to public weal.
I of the whole am part—the joy men see
Must circulate, and so revolve to me.
. . . . . .
The wind that binds one bark within the bay
May waft a richer freight its wish'd-for way.
. . . . . .
Shall clouds but at my welfare's call descend?
Shall gravity for me her laws suspend?' *Ib.* p. 134.
See *ante*, BLACKMORE, 46 *n.*; *post*, POPE, 179 *n.*, for the prevalence of such doctrines at that time.

[2] Scott, writing to A. Cunningham about the drama of *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell*, says:—'Did you ever read Savage's beautiful poem of *The Wanderer*? If not, do so, and you will see the fault which, I think, attaches to Lord Maxwell—a want of distinct precision and intelligibility about the story, which counteracts, especially with ordinary readers, the effect of beautiful and forcible diction, poetical imagery and animated description.' Lockhart's *Scott*, vi. 309.

[3] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 118, 119 *n.*
'We pass through want to wealth, through dismal strife
To calm content, through death to endless life.'
*Eng. Poets*, xli. 175.

[4] *Ib.* p. 134.

dreadful impetuosity, is separated into purling brooks[1]; and the rage of the hurricane purifies the air[2].

123 Even in this poem he has not been able to forbear one touch upon the cruelty of his mother[3], which, though remarkably delicate and tender, is a proof how deep an impression it had upon his mind.

124 This must be at least acknowledged, which ought to be thought equivalent to many other excellences, that this poem can promote no other purposes than those of virtue, and that it is written with a very strong sense of the efficacy of religion.

125 But my province is rather to give the history of Mr. Savage's performances than to display their beauties, or to obviate the criticisms which they have occasioned; and therefore I shall not dwell upon the particular passages which deserve applause[4]: I shall neither shew the excellence of his description[5], nor expatiate on the terrifick portrait of suicide[6], nor point out the artful touches[7] by which he has distinguished the intellectual features of the rebels, who suffered death in his last canto. It is, however, proper to observe that Mr. Savage always declared the characters wholly fictitious, and without the least allusion to any real persons or actions.

126 From a poem so diligently laboured, and so successfully

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xli. 170.

[2] *Ib.* p. 175.

[3] In the first edition of *The Life* [p. 67] the following lines are quoted:—

'False pride! What vices on our conduct steal,
From the world's eye one frailty to conceal!
Ye cruel mothers!—Soft! those words command;
So near shall cruelty and mother stand?
Can the dove's bosom snaky venom draw?
Can its foot sharpen like the vulture's claw?
Can the fond goat, or tender fleecy dam,
Howl like the wolf to tear the kid or lamb?
Yes, there are mothers—There I fear'd his aim,
And conscious trembled at the coming name,
Then, with a sigh, his issuing words oppos'd;
Straight with a falling tear the speech he clos'd.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 153.

[4] 'Dr. Johnson pointed out a passage in Savage's *Wanderer*, saying, "These are fine verses." "If (said he) I had written with hostility of Warburton in my *Shakespeare* I should have quoted this couplet:—

'Here Learning, blinded first and then beguil'd, [wild.'"'

Looks dark as Ignorance, as Fancy Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 288. In the original 'as Frenzy wild.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 141.

[5] 'Of his descriptions the following specimen may be offered.' Note in first edition of Johnson's *Life of Savage*, p. 68. The specimen is taken from Canto v. 15–46.

[6] 'Who in the second Canto is thus introduced.' Note in first edition [p. 69]. Canto ii. 159–216 is quoted.

[7] 'These three Rebels are thus described.' Note in first edition [p. 70]. Canto v. 417–28, 481–88, 493–522, 529–70 is quoted.

finished, it might be reasonably expected that he should have gained considerable advantage; nor can it, without some degree of indignation and concern, be told that he sold the copy for ten guineas[1], of which he afterwards returned two, that the two last sheets of the work might be reprinted, of which he had in his absence intrusted the correction to a friend, who was too indolent to perform it with accuracy.

A superstitious regard to the correction of his sheets was one 127
of Mr. Savage's peculiarities: he often altered, revised, recurred to his first reading or punctuation, and again adopted the alteration; he was dubious and irresolute without end, as on a question of the last importance, and at last was seldom satisfied: the intrusion or omission of a comma was sufficient to discompose him, and he would lament an error of a single letter as a heavy calamity[2]. In one of his letters relating to an impression of some verses, he remarks that he had, with regard to the correction of the proof, 'a spell upon him'; and indeed the anxiety with which he dwelt upon the minutest and most trifling niceties deserved no other name than that of fascination.

That he sold so valuable a performance for so small a price, 128
was not to be imputed either to necessity, by which the learned and ingenious are often obliged to submit to very hard conditions, or to avarice, by which the booksellers are frequently incited to oppress that genius by which they are supported[3]; but to that intemperate desire of pleasure and habitual slavery to his passions, which involved him in many perplexities. He happened at that time to be engaged in the pursuit of some trifling gratification, and, being without money for the present occasion, sold his poem to the first bidder, and perhaps for the first price that was proposed, and would probably have been content with less, if less had been offered him[4].

[1] Johnson received ten guineas for his *London* and fifteen guineas for the *Life of Savage*. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 124, 165 *n.*

[2] In this he was like Lord Lyttelton. *Post*, LYTTELTON, 20.

[3] Johnson, with reference to the booksellers at the end of the seventeenth century, said:—'The general conduct of traders was much less liberal in those times than in our own; their views were narrower and their manners grosser.' *Ante*, DRYDEN, 187. For his praise of them in later times see *ante*, DRYDEN, 187, *n.* 3.

'Booksellers,' wrote Southey in 1818, 'are not the most liberal, nor the most amiable of men. They are necessarily *tradesmen*; and a constant attention to profit and loss is neither wholesome for the heart nor the understanding.' *Corres. of Southey and C. Bowles*, p. 5.

[4] Johnson himself, from indifference

129 This poem was addressed to the Lord Tyrconnel, not only in the first lines [1], but in a formal dedication filled with the highest strains of panegyrick and the warmest professions of gratitude, but by no means remarkable for delicacy of connection or elegance of style [2].

130 These praises in a short time he found himself inclined to retract, being discarded by the man on whom he had bestowed them, and whom he then immediately discovered not to have deserved them. Of this quarrel, which every day made more bitter, Lord Tyrconnel and Mr. Savage assigned very different reasons, which might perhaps all in reality concur, though they were not all convenient to be alleged by either party. Lord Tyrconnel affirmed that it was the constant practice of Mr. Savage to enter a tavern with any company that proposed it, drink the most expensive wines with great profusion, and when the reckoning was demanded to be without money. If, as it often happened, his company were willing to defray his part, the affair ended, without any ill consequences; but, if they were refractory, and expected that the wine should be paid for by him that drank it, his method of composition was to take them with him to his own apartment, assume the government of the house, and order the butler in an imperious manner to set the best wine in the cellar before his company, who often drank till they forgot the respect due to the house in which they were entertained, indulged themselves in the utmost extravagance of merriment, practised the most licentious frolicks, and committed all the outrages of drunkenness.

131 Nor was this the only charge which Lord Tyrconnel brought against him. Having given him a collection of valuable books, stamped with his own arms, he had the mortification to see them in a short time exposed to sale upon the stalls, it being usual with Mr. Savage, when he wanted a small sum, to take his books to the pawnbroker.

132 Whoever was acquainted with Mr. Savage easily credited both these accusations: for, having been obliged, from his first entrance

to bargaining, received, at all events for the *Lives of the Poets*, a far smaller sum than he might have obtained. Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 111 *n.*

[1] In the first edition of Johnson's *Life of Savage* [p. 75], these lines are quoted. They begin:—

'Fain would my verse, Tyrconnel, boast thy name,
Brownlowe, at once my subject and my fame!' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 121.

[2] *Ib.* p. 117. For his gross praises see *ante*, SAVAGE, 63.

into the world to subsist upon expedients, affluence was not able to exalt him above them; and so much was he delighted with wine and conversation, and so long had he been accustomed to live by chance, that he would at any time go to the tavern without scruple, and trust for the reckoning to the liberality of his company, and frequently of company to whom he was very little known. This conduct indeed very seldom drew upon him those inconveniences that might be feared by any other person; for his conversation was so entertaining, and his address so pleasing, that few thought the pleasure which they received from him dearly purchased by paying for his wine. It was his peculiar happiness that he scarcely ever found a stranger whom he did not leave a friend; but it must likewise be added that he had not often a friend long, without obliging him to become a stranger.

Mr. Savage, on the other hand, declared that Lord Tyrconnel[1] 133
quarrelled with him, because he would substract from his own luxury and extravagance what he had promised to allow him, and that his resentment was only a plea for the violation of his promise. He asserted that he had done nothing that ought to exclude him from that subsistence which he thought not so much a favour as a debt, since it was offered him upon conditions which he had never broken; and that his only fault was that he could not be supported with nothing.

He acknowledged that Lord Tyrconnel often exhorted him to 134
regulate his method of life, and not to spend all his nights in taverns, and that he appeared very desirous that he would pass those hours with him which he so freely bestowed upon others. This demand Mr. Savage considered as a censure of his conduct, which he could never patiently bear, and which, in the latter and cooler part of his life, was so offensive to him, that he declared it as his resolution 'to spurn that friend who should presume to dictate to him'; and it is not likely that in his earlier years he received admonitions with more calmness[2].

He was likewise inclined to resent such expectations as tending 135
to infringe his liberty, of which he was very jealous when it was necessary to the gratification of his passions; and declared that

[1] His expression in one of his letters was 'that Lord Tyrconnel had involved his estate, and therefore poorly sought an occasion to quarrel with him,' JOHNSON.

[2] So awkward a sentence as this can scarcely be paralleled in Johnson's writings.

the request was still more unreasonable, as the company to which he was to have been confined was insupportably disagreeable. This assertion affords another instance of that inconsistency of his writings with his conversation, which was so often to be observed. He forgot how lavishly he had, in his Dedication to *The Wanderer*, extolled the delicacy and penetration, the humanity and generosity, the candour and politeness of the man[1], whom, when he no longer loved him, he declared to be a wretch without understanding, without good-nature, and without justice; of whose name he thought himself obliged to leave no trace in any future edition of his writings, and accordingly blotted it out of that copy of *The Wanderer* which was in his hands.

136 During his continuance with the Lord Tyrconnel he wrote *The Triumph of Health and Mirth*, on the recovery of Lady Tyrconnel from a languishing illness[2]. This performance is remarkable not only for the gaiety of the ideas and the melody of the numbers, but for the agreeable fiction upon which it is formed. Mirth, overwhelmed with sorrow for the sickness of her favourite, takes a flight in quest of her sister Health, whom she finds reclined upon the brow of a lofty mountain amidst the fragrance of perpetual spring, with the breezes of the morning sporting about her. Being solicited by her sister Mirth she readily promises her assistance, flies away in a cloud, and impregnates the waters of Bath with new virtues, by which the sickness of Belinda is relieved[3].

137 As the reputation of his abilities, the particular circumstances of his birth and life, the splendour of his appearance, and the distinction which was for some time paid him by Lord Tyrconnel intitled him to familiarity with persons of higher rank than those to whose conversation he had been before admitted, he did not

[1] 'To be admitted into the honour of your Lordship's conversation (permit me to speak but justice) is to be elegantly introduced into the most instructive, as well as entertaining parts of literature; it is to be furnished with the finest observations upon human nature, and to receive from the most unassuming, sweet and winning candour the worthiest and most polite maxims—such as are always enforced by the actions of your own life.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 118. Aaron Hill, writing to Savage after the quarrel, reminds him of 'the character you have given me of my Lord's good-nature.' Hill's *Works*, i. 327.

[2] *Eng. Poets*, xli. 203. It was published in 1730. In the first edition of the *Life of Savage* [p. 79] is the following note:—'Of the numbers and sentiments the following lines will afford a specimen.' Johnson quotes forty lines.

[3] The Viscountess in the first edition of the poem [1730] is spoken of as Tyrconnel, not Belinda.

fail to gratify that curiosity which induced him to take a nearer view of those whom their birth, their employments, or their fortunes, necessarily place at a distance from the greatest part of mankind, and to examine whether their merit was magnified or diminished by the medium through which it was contemplated; whether the splendour with which they dazzled their admirers was inherent in themselves, or only reflected on them by the objects that surrounded them; and whether great men were selected for high stations, or high stations made great men.

For this purpose he took all opportunities of conversing familiarly 138
with those who were most conspicuous at that time for their power or their influence; he watched their looser moments and examined their domestick behaviour with that acuteness which nature had given him, and which the uncommon variety of his life had contributed to increase, and that inquisitiveness which must always be produced in a vigorous mind by an absolute freedom from all pressing or domestick engagements[1]. His discernment was quick, and therefore he soon found in every person and in every affair something that deserved attention: he was supported by others without any care for himself, and was therefore at leisure to pursue his observations.

More circumstances to constitute a critick on human life could 139
not easily concur; nor indeed could any man, who assumed from accidental advantages more praise than he could justly claim from his real merit, admit an acquaintance more dangerous than that of Savage: of whom likewise it must be confessed that abilities really exalted above the common level, or virtue refined from passion, or proof against corruption, could not easily find an abler judge or a warmer advocate.

What was the result of Mr. Savage's inquiry, though he was 140

[1] 'He could,' writes Boswell, 'communicate to Johnson an abundant supply of such materials as his philosophical curiosity most eagerly desired.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 162.

'Curiosity is one of the permanent and certain characteristics of a vigorous intellect.' JOHNSON, *The Rambler*, No. 103. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 89.

'Curiosity, or the love of knowledge, has a very limited influence, and requires youth, leisure, education, genius and example to make it govern any person.' HUME, *Essays*, ed. 1770, i. 130.

'Il est remarquable comme Rabelais veut que son royal élève soit en quête et curieux de toutes choses utiles.' SAINTE-BEUVE, *Causeries*, iii. 12.

not much accustomed to conceal his discoveries, it may not be entirely safe to relate, because the persons whose characters he criticised are powerful; and power and resentment are seldom strangers: nor would it perhaps be wholly just, because what he asserted in conversation might, though true in general, be heightened by some momentary ardour of imagination, and, as it can be delivered only from memory, may be imperfectly represented; so that the picture at first aggravated and then unskilfully copied may be justly suspected to retain no great resemblance of the original.

141 It may, however, be observed that he did not appear to have formed very elevated ideas of those to whom the administration of affairs or the conduct of parties has been intrusted; who have been considered as the advocates of the crown, or the guardians of the people; and who have obtained the most implicit confidence and the loudest applauses. Of one particular person, who has been at one time so popular as to be generally esteemed, and at another so formidable as to be universally detested, he observed that his acquisitions had been small or that his capacity was narrow, and that the whole range of his mind was from obscenity to politicks, and from politicks to obscenity[1].

142 But the opportunity of indulging his speculations on great characters was now at an end. He was banished from the table of Lord Tyrconnel, and turned again adrift upon the world, without prospect of finding quickly any other harbour. As prudence was not one of the virtues by which he was distinguished he had made no provision against a misfortune like this. And though it is not to be imagined but that the separation must for some time have been preceded by coldness, peevishness, or neglect, though it was undoubtedly the consequence of accumulated provocations on both sides; yet every one that knew Savage will readily believe that to him it was sudden as a stroke of thunder; that, though he might have transiently suspected it, he had never suffered any thought so unpleasing to sink into his mind, but that

[1] Walpole. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 113. Johnson, speaking of dinner-parties, said:—'When there is solid conversation, people differ in opinion, and get into bad humour, or some of the company, who are not capable of such conversation, are left out, and feel themselves uneasy. It was for this reason, Sir Robert Walpole said, he always talked bawdy at his table, because in that all could join.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 57.

For Chesterfield's explanation of Walpole's habit of talk, see his *Letters*, i. 284; also iii. 355.

he had driven it away by amusements, or dreams of future felicity and affluence, and had never taken any measures by which he might prevent a precipitation from plenty to indigence.

This quarrel and separation, and the difficulties to which Mr. 143
Savage was exposed by them, were soon known both to his friends and enemies; nor was it long before he perceived, from the behaviour of both, how much is added to the lustre of genius by the ornaments of wealth [1].

His condition did not appear to excite much compassion; for 144
he had not always been careful to use the advantages he enjoyed with that moderation which ought to have been with more than usual caution preserved by him, who knew, if he had reflected, that he was only a dependant on the bounty of another, whom he could expect to support him no longer than he endeavoured to preserve his favour by complying with his inclinations, and whom he nevertheless set at defiance, and was continually irritating by negligence or encroachments [2].

Examples need not be sought at any great distance to prove 145
that superiority of fortune has a natural tendency to kindle pride, and that pride seldom fails to exert itself in contempt and insult; and if this is often the effect of hereditary wealth, and of honours enjoyed only by the merit of others, it is some extenuation of any indecent triumphs to which this unhappy man may have been betrayed, that his prosperity was heightened by the force of novelty, and made more intoxicating by a sense of the misery in which he had so long languished, and perhaps of the insults which he had formerly borne, and which he might now think himself entitled to revenge. It is too common for those who have unjustly suffered pain to inflict it likewise in their turn with the same injustice, and to imagine that they have a right to treat others as they have themselves been treated.

That Mr. Savage was too much elevated by any good fortune 146
is generally known; and some passages of his Introduction to *The Author to be let* sufficiently shew that he did not wholly

[1] 'So powerful is genius when it is invested with the glitter of affluence.' *Ante*, SAVAGE, 100.

[2] Sir Walter Scott wrote of Thomas Campbell's residence in Lord Minto's house:—'He was kindly treated, but would not see it in the right view, and suspected slights, where no such thing was meant. There was a turn of Savage about Tom; though without his blackguardism—a kind of waywardness of mind and irritability that must have made a man of his genius truly unhappy.' Scott's *Journal*, 1891, p. 62.

refrain from such satire, as he afterwards thought very unjust when he was exposed to it himself[1]; for when he was afterwards ridiculed in the character of a distressed poet, he very easily discovered that distress was not a proper subject for merriment, or topick of invective. He was then able to discern that, if misery be the effect of virtue, it ought to be reverenced; if of ill-fortune, to be pitied; and if of vice, not to be insulted, because it is perhaps itself a punishment adequate to the crime by which it was produced. And the humanity of that man can deserve no panegyrick who is capable of reproaching a criminal in the hands of the executioner.

147 But these reflections, though they readily occurred to him in the first and last parts of his life, were, I am afraid, for a long time forgotten; at least they were, like many other maxims, treasured up in his mind rather for shew than use, and operated very little upon his conduct, however elegantly he might sometimes explain, or however forcibly he might inculcate, them.

148 His degradation therefore from the condition which he had enjoyed with such wanton thoughtlessness was considered by many as an occasion of triumph. Those who had before paid their court to him without success, soon returned the contempt which they had suffered; and they who had received favours from him, for of such favours as he could bestow he was very liberal, did not always remember them. So much more certain are the effects of resentment than of gratitude: it is not only to many more pleasing to recollect those faults which place others below them, than those virtues by which they are themselves comparatively depressed, but it is likewise more easy to neglect, than to recompense; and though there are few who will practise a laborious virtue, there will never be wanting multitudes that will indulge an easy vice[2].

149 Savage, however, was very little disturbed at the marks of contempt which his ill-fortune brought upon him from those whom he never esteemed, and with whom he never considered himself as levelled by any calamities; and though it was not without some uneasiness that he saw some, whose friendship he valued, change their behaviour, he yet observed their coldness without much

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 102.

[2] 'JOHNSON. Sir, gratitude is a fruit of great cultivation; you do not find it among gross people.' Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 232.

emotion, considered them as the slaves of fortune and the worshippers of prosperity, and was more inclined to despise them than to lament himself.

It does not appear that, after this return of his wants, he found 150
mankind equally favourable to him as at his first appearance in the world. His story, though in reality not less melancholy, was less affecting, because it was no longer new; it therefore procured him no new friends; and those that had formerly relieved him thought they might now consign him to others. He was now likewise considered by many rather as criminal than as unhappy; for the friends of Lord Tyrconnel and of his mother were sufficiently industrious to publish his weaknesses, which were indeed very numerous, and nothing was forgotten that might make him either hateful or ridiculous.

It cannot but be imagined that such representations of his 151
faults must make great numbers less sensible of his distress; many, who had only an opportunity to hear one part, made no scruple to propagate the account which they received; many assisted their circulation from malice or revenge; and perhaps many pretended to credit them, that they might with a better grace withdraw their regard or withhold their assistance.

Savage, however, was not one of those who suffered himself to 152
be injured without resistance, nor was less diligent in exposing the faults of Lord Tyrconnel, over whom he obtained at least this advantage, that he drove him first to the practice of outrage and violence; for he was so much provoked by the wit and virulence of Savage that he came with a number of attendants, that did no honour to his courage, to beat him at a coffee-house. But it happened that he had left the place a few minutes, and his lordship had without danger the pleasure of boasting how he would have treated him. Mr. Savage went next day to repay his visit at his own house, but was prevailed on by his domesticks to retire without insisting upon seeing him [1].

[1] 'As a specimen of his temper,' writes Boswell, 'I insert the following letter from him to a noble Lord, to whom he was under great obligations, but who, on account of his bad conduct, was obliged to discard him. The original was in the hands of the late Francis Cockayne Cust, Esq., one of His Majesty's Counsel learned in the law [see Appendix KK]:

"*Right Honourable* BRUTE, *and* BOOBY,

"I find you want (as Mr. —— is pleased to hint) to swear away my life, that is, the life of your creditor, because he asks you for a debt.—The publick shall soon be acquainted with this, to judge whether you are

153 Lord Tyrconnel was accused by Mr. Savage of some actions which scarcely any provocations will be thought sufficient to justify; such as seizing what he had in his lodgings, and other instances of wanton cruelty, by which he increased the distress of Savage without any advantage to himself.

154 These mutual accusations were retorted on both sides for many years with the utmost degree of virulence and rage, and time seemed rather to augment than diminish their resentment. That the anger of Mr. Savage should be kept alive is not strange, because he felt every day the consequences of the quarrel; but it might reasonably have been hoped that Lord Tyrconnel might have relented, and at length have forgot those provocations, which, however they might have once inflamed him, had not in reality much hurt him.

155 The spirit of Mr. Savage indeed never suffered him to solicit a reconciliation[1]; he returned reproach for reproach, and insult for insult: his superiority of wit supplied the disadvantages of his fortune, and enabled him to form a party, and prejudice great numbers in his favour.

156 But though this might be some gratification of his vanity it afforded very little relief to his necessities; and he was very frequently reduced to uncommon hardships, of which, however, he never made any mean or importunate complaints, being formed rather to bear misery with fortitude than enjoy prosperity with moderation.

157 He now thought himself again at liberty to expose the cruelty of his mother[2], and therefore, I believe, about this time published

not fitter to be an Irish Evidence, than to be an Irish Peer.—I defy and despise you.

"I am,
"Your determined adversary,
"R. S."'

Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 161 *n.*

The 'Irish Peer' was no doubt Tyrconnel.

[1] Boswell, quoting this passage, says that Mr. Cust 'has in his possession a letter from Savage, after Lord Tyrconnel had discarded him, addressed to the Reverend Mr. Gilbert, his Lordship's Chaplain, in which he requests him, in the humblest manner, to represent his case to the Viscount.' *Ib.* i. 173 *n.*

See also *post*, SAVAGE, 231, 269.

[2] In 1728, a month before the publication of *The Bastard*, appeared a poem entitled:—*Nature in Perfection; or the Mother unveiled, Being a Congratulatory Poem to Mrs. Bret upon his Majesty's most gracious Pardon granted to Mr. Richard Savage, Son of the late Earl Rivers, &c.*

In this poem Savage attacks the daughter of Mrs. Brett:—

'Your Anna dear, taught by your matchless mind,
Copies that glorious frailty of her kind.' *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 388.

For the daughter's frailty see App. II. The poem is in Savage's style.

*The Bastard*[1], a poem remarkable for the vivacious sallies of thought in the beginning, where he makes a pompous enumeration of the imaginary advantages of base birth[2]; and the pathetick sentiments at the end, where he recounts the real calamities which he suffered by the crime of his parents[3].

The vigour and spirit of the verses, the peculiar circumstances 158
of the author, the novelty of the subject, and the notoriety of the story to which the allusions are made, procured this performance a very favourable reception; great numbers were immediately dispersed, and editions were multiplied with unusual rapidity[4].

One circumstance attended the publication, which Savage used 159
to relate with great satisfaction. His mother, to whom the poem was 'with due reverence' inscribed[5], happened then to be at

[1] It is advertised in *The Country Journal*, April 27, 1728, as 'published this day.' In *Gent. Mag.* 1737, p. 113, where it is given in full, it is stated that 'it was printed some years ago, but is become so scarce (though five editions have been published) that it must be new to most of our readers. It has been revised by the author.'

Goldsmith says of it (*Works*, iii. 438):—'Almost all things written from the heart, as this certainly was, have some merit. The poet here describes sorrows and misfortunes which were by no means imaginary; and thus there runs a truth of thinking through this poem, without which it would be of little value, as Savage is, in other respects, an indifferent poet.'

In Aaron Hill's *Dram. Works*, ed. 1760, Preface, p. 3, it is said that Hill is the author of *The Bastard*. I do not think he could have written it.

[2] In the first edition of Johnson's *Life of Savage* [p. 91] many passages of the poem are quoted—among them the following:—

'Blest be the Bastard's birth! through wondrous ways
He shines eccentric like a comet's blaze!
No sickly fruit of faint compliance he!
He! stampt in nature's mint of ecstasy!
He lives to build, not boast, a gen'rous race;
No tenth transmitter of a foolish face.
His daring hope no sire's example bounds;
His first-born lights no prejudice confounds.
He, kindling from within, requires no flame;
He glories in a Bastard's glowing name.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 199.

The note continues:—'After the mention of the death of Sinclair he goes on thus.' The lines that Johnson goes on to quote are quoted a second time, *post*, SAVAGE, 171.

In one of 'the advantages of base birth' Savage did not share. It could never be said of him that

'Strong as necessity he starts away,
Climbs against wrongs and brightens into day.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 200.

[3] *Post*, SAVAGE, 171.

[4] [A second edition is advertised as forthcoming in *The Daily Post*, May 3, 1728.]

[5] 'Inscribed with all due reverence to Mrs. Brett, once Countess of Macclesfield.'

'Colley Cibber, I am informed,' writes Boswell, 'had so high an opinion of her taste and judgment as to genteel life and manners, that he submitted every scene of his *Careless Husband* to her revisal and correction. Colonel Brett was reported to be free in his gallantry with his lady's maid. Mrs. Brett came into a room one day in her own house, and found the Colonel and her maid both fast asleep in two chairs. She tied

Bath, where she could not conveniently retire from censure, or conceal herself from observation; and no sooner did the reputation of the poem begin to spread than she heard it repeated in all places of concourse; nor could she enter the assembly-rooms or cross the walks without being saluted with some lines from *The Bastard.*

160 This was perhaps the first time that ever she discovered a sense of shame, and on this occasion the power of wit was very conspicuous; the wretch who had without scruple proclaimed herself an adulteress[1], and who had first endeavoured to starve her son, then to transport him, and afterwards to hang him, was not able to bear the representation of her own conduct, but fled from reproach, though she felt no pain from guilt, and left Bath with the utmost haste to shelter herself among the crowds of London[2].

161 Thus Savage had the satisfaction of finding that, though he could not reform his mother, he could punish her, and that he did not always suffer alone.

162 The pleasure which he received from this increase of his poetical reputation was sufficient for some time to overbalance the miseries of want, which this performance did not much alleviate; for it was sold for a very trivial sum to a bookseller, who, though the success was so uncommon that five impressions were sold, of which many were undoubtedly very numerous[3], had not generosity sufficient to admit the unhappy writer to any part of the profit.

163 The sale of this poem was always mentioned by Savage with

a white handkerchief round her husband's neck, which was a sufficient proof that she had discovered his intrigue; but she never at any time took notice of it to him. This incident, as I am told, gave occasion to the well-wrought scene of Sir Charles and Lady Easy, and Edging [in *The Careless Husband*].' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 174 *n.*

[1] See App. HH for Boswell's criticism of this assertion.

[2] In *Fulvia*, a poem which begins:—

'Let Fulvia's wisdom be a slave to will,
Her darling passions scandal and quadrille,'

Savage, speaking of *The Bastard*, continues:—

'The verse now flows, the manuscript she claims.
'Tis fam'd—the fame each curious fair enflames:
The wild-fire runs; from copy copy grows:
The Bretts alarmed a separate peace propose.
'Tis ratified—how alter'd Fulvia's look!
My wit 's degraded, and my cause forsook.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 282.

[3] The only copy in the British Museum is one of the Dublin reprints of 1728.

the utmost elevation of heart, and referred to by him as an incontestable proof of a general acknowledgement of his abilities. It was indeed the only production of which he could justly boast a general reception.

But though he did not lose the opportunity which success gave 164
him, of setting a high rate on his abilities, but paid due deference to the suffrages of mankind when they were given in his favour, he did not suffer his esteem of himself to depend upon others, nor found any thing sacred in the voice of the people[1] when they were inclined to censure him; he then readily shewed the folly of expecting that the publick should judge right, observed how slowly poetical merit had often forced its way into the world: he contented himself with the applause of men of judgement, and was somewhat disposed to exclude all those from the character of men of judgement who did not applaud him.

But he was at other times more favourable to mankind than to 165
think them blind to the beauties of his works, and imputed the slowness of their sale to other causes; either they were published at a time when the town was empty, or when the attention of the publick was engrossed by some struggle in the parliament, or some other object of general concern[2]; or they were by the neglect of the publisher not diligently dispersed, or by his avarice not advertised with sufficient frequency. Address, or industry, or liberality, was always wanting; and the blame was laid rather on any person than the author.

By arts like these, arts which every man practises in some 166
degree, and to which too much of the little tranquillity of life is to be ascribed, Savage was always able to live at peace with himself. Had he indeed only made use of these expedients to alleviate the loss or want of fortune or reputation, or any other advantages, which it is not in man's power to bestow upon himself, they might have been justly mentioned as instances of a philosophical mind, and very properly proposed to the imitation of multitudes, who, for want of diverting their imaginations with the same dexterity, languish under afflictions which might be easily removed.

It were doubtless to be wished that truth and reason were 167
universally prevalent; that every thing were esteemed according to its real value; and that men would secure themselves from

[1] 'Vox populi vox Dei.'

[2] *Post*, SAVAGE, 219.

being disappointed in their endeavours after happiness, by placing it only in virtue, which is always to be obtained: but if adventitious and foreign pleasures must be pursued it would be perhaps of some benefit, since that pursuit must frequently be fruitless, if the practice of Savage could be taught that folly might be an antidote to folly, and one fallacy be obviated by another.

168 But the danger of this pleasing intoxication must not be concealed; nor indeed can any one, after having observed the life of Savage, need to be cautioned against it. By imputing none of his miseries to himself he continued to act upon the same principles, and to follow the same path; was never made wiser by his sufferings, nor preserved by one misfortune from falling into another. He proceeded throughout his life to tread the same steps on the same circle; always applauding his past conduct, or at least forgetting it, to amuse himself with phantoms of happiness which were dancing before him, and willingly turned his eyes from the light of reason, when it would have discovered the illusion and shewn him, what he never wished to see, his real state [1].

169 He is even accused, after having lulled his imagination with those ideal opiates, of having tried the same experiment upon his conscience; and, having accustomed himself to impute all deviations from the right to foreign causes, it is certain that he was upon every occasion too easily reconciled to himself, and that he appeared very little to regret those practices which had impaired his reputation. The reigning error of his life was, that he mistook the love for the practice of virtue, and was indeed not so much a good man as the friend of goodness.

170 This at least must be allowed him, that he always preserved a strong sense of the dignity, the beauty, and the necessity of virtue [2], and that he never contributed deliberately to spread corruption amongst mankind. His actions, which were generally precipitate, were often blameable; but his writings, being the productions of study, uniformly tended to the exaltation of the mind, and the propagation of morality and piety [3].

[1] He never, to use Johnson's phrase, 'cleared his mind of cant.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 221.

[2] *Post*, SAVAGE, 341.

[3] 'Did e'er my verse immodest warmth contain,
Or, once licentious, heavenly truths profane?
Never.'
*The Wanderer*, *Eng. Poets*, xli. 179. See *post*, SAVAGE, 190, 193, for *The Progress of a Divine*, an obscene

These writings may improve mankind when his failings shall 171
be forgotten, and therefore he must be considered, upon the whole, as a benefactor to the world; nor can his personal example do any hurt, since, whoever hears of his faults, will hear of the miseries which they brought upon him, and which would deserve less pity had not his condition been such as made his faults pardonable. He may be considered as a child exposed to all the temptations of indigence at an age when resolution was not yet strengthened by conviction, nor virtue confirmed by habit; a circumstance which in his *Bastard* he laments in a very affecting manner:

'——No Mother's care
Shielded my infant innocence with prayer:
No Father's guardian-hand my youth maintain'd,
Call'd forth my virtues, or from vice restrain'd[1].'

*The Bastard*, however it might provoke or mortify his mother, 172
could not be expected to melt her to compassion, so that he was still under the same want of the necessities of life, and he therefore exerted all the interest which his wit, or his birth, or his misfortunes, could procure, to obtain, upon the death of Eusden, the place of Poet Laureat[2], and prosecuted his application with so much diligence that the King publicly declared it his intention to bestow it upon him; but such was the fate of Savage that even the King, when he intended his advantage, was disappointed in his schemes, for the Lord Chamberlain, who has the disposal

poem. This was the 'piece' which he had resolved to suppress. *Post*, SAVAGE, 342. Two of his poems were licentious. *Post*, SAVAGE, 278 *n.* 3.

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xli. 202; *ante*, SAVAGE, 157.

[2] Eusden died on Sept. 27, 1730. On Nov. 8 Tyrconnel strongly recommended Savage as his successor in a letter to the Queen's favourite, Mrs. Clayton. *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, 1847, ii. 241.

Eusden was succeeded by Cibber. On Cibber's death the post was offered to Gray, who declined it. *Post*, GRAY, 15. He wrote to Mason on Dec. 19, 1757:—'I rather wish somebody may accept it that will retrieve the credit of the thing, if it be retrievable, or ever had any credit. Rowe was, I think, the last man of character that had it; Eusden was a person of great hopes in his youth, though at last he turned out a drunken parson.' Gray's *Letters*, i. 373.

Pope says of the Goddess of Dulness (*The Dunciad*, i. 103):—

'She saw old Prynne in restless Daniel shine,
And Eusden eke out Blackmore's endless line.'

In a note Pope quotes from the Duke of Buckingham's *Session of the Poets*:—

'In rush'd Eusden, and cried, Who shall have it
But I, the true Laureat, to whom the King gave it? [his claim,
Apollo begg'd pardon, and granted
But vow'd that till then he ne'er heard of his name.'

For the *post* of Laureate see *ante*, DRYDEN, 26.

of the laurel, as one of the appendages of his office [1], either did not know the King's design or did not approve it, or thought the nomination of the Laureat an encroachment upon his rights, and therefore bestowed the laurel upon Colley Cibber.

173 Mr. Savage, thus disappointed, took a resolution of applying to the queen that, having once given him life, she would enable him to support it, and therefore published a short poem on her birth-day, to which he gave the odd title of *Volunteer Laureat*. The event of this essay he has himself related in the following letter, which he prefixed to the poem when he afterwards reprinted it in *The Gentleman's Magazine* [2], from whence I have copied it intire [3], as this was one of the few attempts in which Mr. Savage succeeded.

'Mr. URBAN,

'In your Magazine for February you published the last *Volunteer Laureat*, written on a very melancholy occasion, the death of the royal patroness of arts and literature in general, and of the author of that poem in particular [4]; I now send you the first that Mr. Savage wrote under that title.—This gentleman, notwithstanding a very considerable interest, being, on the death of Mr. Eusden, disappointed of the Laureat's place, wrote the before-mentioned poem, which was no sooner published but the late Queen sent to a bookseller for it: the author had not at that time a friend either to get him introduced or his poem presented at court, yet such was the unspeakable goodness of that Princess that, notwithstanding this act of ceremony was wanting, in a few days after publication Mr. Savage received

[1] Southey, who became Poet Laureate in 1813, was directed to attend at the Chamberlain's office on a certain day, when 'a gentleman-usher would be there to administer the oath.' On this day Southey had an engagement at Woburn. 'Down I went to the office,' he writes, 'and solicited a change in the day; but this was in vain, the gentleman-usher had been spoken to, and a Poet-Laureate is a creature of a lower description. . . . I swore to be a faithful servant to the King, to reveal all treasons which might come to my knowledge, to discharge the duties of my office, and to obey the Lord Chamberlain in all matters of the King's service, and in his stead the Vice-Chamberlain.' Southey's *Life and Corres.* ed. 1850, iv. 48.

The Duke of Grafton was Lord Chamberlain in 1730. Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 394.

[2] April, 1738, p. 210. In the March number had appeared Johnson's first contribution. *Ib.* p. 156.

[3] In the first edition of the *Life* [p. 100] this poem is given. For it and the rest of these poems [1732-7] see *Eng. Poets*, xli. 215-31, and *Gent. Mag.* 1736, p. 100; 1737, p. 114; 1738, p. 154.

In Aaron Hill's *Dram. Works*, ed. 1760, Preface, p. 3, Hill is said to have written the first of these poems.

[4] Queen Caroline died on Nov. 20, 1737. [Savage's poem on her death 'came too late' for the Feb. number. *Gent. Mag.* 1738, p. 96. It appeared in the March number. *Ib.* p. 154.]

a Bank-bill of fifty pounds, and a gracious message from her Majesty, by the Lord North and Guilford [1], to this effect: "That her Majesty was highly pleased with the verses; that she took particularly kind his lines there relating to the King [2]; that he had permission to write annually on the same subject; and that he should yearly receive the like present, till something better (which was her Majesty's intention) could be done for him." After this, he was permitted to present one of his annual poems to her Majesty, had the honour of kissing her hand, and met with the most gracious reception. Yours, &c.'

Such was the performance, and such its reception; a reception 174
which, though by no means unkind, was yet not in the highest degree generous: to chain down the genius of a writer to an annual panegyrick shewed in the Queen too much desire of hearing her own praises, and a greater regard to herself than to him on whom her bounty was conferred. It was a kind of avaricious generosity, by which flattery was rather purchased than genius rewarded [3].

Mrs. Oldfield had formerly given him the same allowance with 175
much more heroic intention; she had no other view than to enable him to prosecute his studies and to set himself above the want of assistance, and was contented with doing good without stipulating for encomiums.

Mr. Savage, however, was not at liberty to make exceptions, 176
but was ravished with the favours which he had received, and probably yet more with those which he was promised; he considered himself now as a favourite of the Queen, and did not doubt but a few annual poems would establish him in some profitable employment.

He therefore assumed the title of *Volunteer Laureat*, not with- 177
out some reprehensions from Cibber, who informed him that the title of *Laureat* was a mark of honour conferred by the King, from whom all honour is derived, and which therefore no man has a right to bestow upon himself; and added, that he might with equal propriety style himself a Volunteer Lord, or Volunteer

[1] The father of Lord North, the prime-minister.

[2] The following is a specimen of these verses:—

'Plans he some scheme to reconcile mankind,
People the seas and busy every wind?
Would he by pity the deceiv'd reclaim,
And smile contending factions into shame?
Would his example lend his laws a weight,
And breathe his own soft morals o'er the state?' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 216.

[3] Johnson would judge the Queen the more harshly, partly because he was a Tory, and partly because she was a free-thinker.

Baronet[1]. It cannot be denied that the remark was just; but Savage did not think any title, which was conferred upon Mr. Cibber, so honourable as that the usurpation of it could be imputed to him as an instance of very exorbitant vanity, and therefore continued to write under the same title, and received every year the same reward.

178 He did not appear to consider these encomiums as tests of his abilities, or as any thing more than annual hints to the Queen of her promise, or acts of ceremony, by the performance of which he was intitled to his pension, and therefore did not labour them with great diligence, or print more than fifty each year, except that for some of the last years he regularly inserted them in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, by which they were dispersed over the kingdom.

179 Of some of them he had himself so low an opinion that he intended to omit them in the collection of poems, for which he printed proposals and solicited subscriptions[2]; nor can it seem strange that, being confined to the same subject, he should be at some times indolent, and at others unsuccessful; that he should sometimes delay a disagreeable task till it was too late to perform it well; or that he should sometimes repeat the same sentiment on the same occasion, or at others be misled by an attempt after novelty to forced conceptions and far-fetched images.

180 He wrote indeed with a double intention, which supplied him with some variety; for his business was to praise the Queen for the favours which he had received, and to complain to her of the delay of those which she had promised: in some of his pieces, therefore, gratitude is predominant, and in some discontent; in some he represents himself as happy in her patronage, and in others as disconsolate to find himself neglected.

181 Her promise, like other promises made to this unfortunate man, was never performed, though he took sufficient care that it should not be forgotten. The publication of his *Volunteer Laureat* procured him no other reward than a regular remittance of fifty pounds[3].

[1] Lamb, addressing Southey, wrote: 'You have flattered him [the Devil] in prose; you have chanted him in goodly odes. You have been his Jester, Volunteer Laureate, and self-elected Court Poet to Beelzebub.' Lamb's *Mrs. Leicester's School*, &c., ed. Ainger, p. 336.

[2] The Proposals are in *Gent. Mag.* 1737, p. 128.

[3] 'Last week the Lord Viscount Tyrconnel . . . presented the Queen

He was not so depressed by his disappointments as to neglect 182
any opportunity that was offered of advancing his interest. When the Princess Anne was married he wrote a poem[1] upon her departure, only, as he declared, 'because it was expected from him,' and he was not willing to bar his own prospects by any appearance of neglect.

He never mentioned any advantage gained by this poem, or 183
any regard that was paid to it, and therefore it is likely that it was considered at court as an act of duty to which he was obliged by his dependence, and which it was therefore not necessary to reward by any new favour; or perhaps the Queen really intended his advancement, and therefore thought it superfluous to lavish presents upon a man whom she intended to establish for life.

About this time not only his hopes were in danger of being 184
frustrated, but his pension likewise of being obstructed, by an accidental calumny. The writer of *The Daily Courant*, a paper then published under the direction of the ministry[2], charged him with a crime, which, though not very great in itself, would have been remarkably invidious in him, and might very justly have incensed the Queen against him. He was accused by name of influencing elections against the court, by appearing at the head of a Tory mob; nor did the accuser fail to aggravate his crime by representing it as the effect of the most atrocious ingratitude, and a kind of rebellion against the Queen, who had first preserved him from an infamous death, and afterwards distinguished him by her favour, and supported him by her charity. The charge, as it was open and confident, was likewise by good fortune very particular. The place of the transaction was mentioned, and the

with the second annual *Volunteer Laureat*, written by Mr. Savage, son of the late Earl Rivers, which Her Majesty received very graciously, and was pleased to appoint Mr. Savage a pension of 50*l.* per annum.' *The Daily Post*, March 7, 1732–3, quoted in Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 399.

[1] *The Genius of Liberty, A Poem. Occasioned by the Departure of the Prince and Princess of Orange*, *Eng. Poets*, xli. 284; advertised in *Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 395. The marriage took place on March 14, 1734. *Ib.* p. 160.

[2] In 1733 a copy of this paper was burnt at London and Liverpool for 'its reflections on the merchants' for their opposition to Walpole's Excise Bill; while at Bristol a letter in it 'was presented by the Grand Jury as a scandalous libel.' *Gent. Mag.* 1733, pp. 138, 212, 316.

Samuel Buckley, the publisher of *The Daily Courant*, corresponded with Pope, who wrote to him in Nov. 1737:—'I think it's near twenty years that I have had occasions to know you for my friend.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 538.

whole series of the rioter's conduct related. This exactness made Mr. Savage's vindication easy; for he never had in his life seen the place which was declared to be the scene of his wickedness, nor ever had been present in any town when its representatives were chosen. This answer he therefore made haste to publish, with all the circumstances necessary to make it credible; and very reasonably demanded that the accusation should be retracted in the same paper, that he might no longer suffer the imputation of sedition and ingratitude. This demand was likewise pressed by him in a private letter to the author of the paper, who, either trusting to the protection of those whose defence he had undertaken, or having entertained some personal malice against Mr. Savage, or fearing lest, by retracting so confident an assertion, he should impair the credit of his paper, refused to give him that satisfaction[1].

185 Mr. Savage therefore thought it necessary to his own vindication to prosecute him in the King's Bench; but as he did not find any ill effects from the accusation, having sufficiently cleared his innocence, he thought any farther procedure would have the appearance of revenge, and therefore willingly dropped it[2].

186 He saw soon afterwards a process commenced in the same court against himself, on an information in which he was accused of writing and publishing an obscene pamphlet.

187 It was always Mr. Savage's desire to be distinguished; and, when any controversy became popular, he never wanted some reason for engaging in it with great ardour, and appearing at the head of the party which he had chosen. As he was never celebrated for his prudence, he had no sooner taken his side, and informed himself of the chief topicks of the dispute, than he took all opportunities of asserting and propagating his principles, without much regard to his own interest, or any other visible design than that of drawing upon himself the attention of mankind.

188 The dispute between the Bishop of London and the Chancellor[3]

[1] ['What an honest paper is *The Daily Courant* in not retracting a lie which the author must know to be one!' Savage to Dr. Birch, May 14, 1735, quoted in Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 400.]

[2] There is, I believe, no report of this case.

[3] The dispute between Gibson, Bishop of London, and Lord Chancellor Talbot, was over the appointment of Dr. Rundle to the Bishopric of Gloucester. It was announced as made in *Gent. Mag.* January 1733–4, p. 52. It was not confirmed 'on account of some unguarded expressions relating to Abraham's offering of Isaac.' Warton's *Pope*, iv. 320. Rundle had been recommended by 'the highest Counsellor of the Crown.' *Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 153. See also *ib.* pp. 93, 196, 264. He was

is well known to have been for some time the chief topick of political conversation, and therefore Mr. Savage, in pursuance of his character, endeavoured to become conspicuous among the controvertists with which every coffee-house was filled on that occasion. He was an indefatigable opposer of all the claims of ecclesiastical power, though he did not know on what they were founded; and was therefore no friend to the Bishop of London. But he had another reason for appearing as a warm advocate for Dr. Rundle; for he was the friend of Mr. Foster [1] and Mr. Thomson [2], who were the friends of Mr. Savage.

made Bishop of Derry in Feb. 1734-5. *Gent. Mag.* 1735, p. 108. 'What do you say,' wrote Pulteney to Swift, on March 11 of that year, 'to the bustle made here to prevent the man from being an English bishop, and afterwards allowing him to be good Christian enough for an Irish one?' Swift's *Works*, xviii. 256. Swift wrote to Pope on Sept. 3, 1735:—'Dr. Rundle is indeed worth all the rest you ever sent us, but that is saying nothing.' *Ib.* p. 330. See also *ib.* xii. 433 for Swift's lines on him.

Pope praised him (*Epil. Sat.* ii. 71):—

'Secker is decent, Rundle has a heart.'

Savage, after describing the progress of 'the profligate priest' to a bishopric, continues:—

'See him Lord Spiritual, dead-voting seated!
He soon (tho' ne'er to heaven) shall be translated.
Would now the mitre circle Rundle's crest?
See him with Codex ready to protest.'

'Codex' was the Bishop of London. Savage's *Works*, ii. 126. This Bishop, in 1736, by defeating Walpole's bill for the relief of the Quakers, lost the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 478. See also *post*, THOMSON, 12.

[1] Dr. James Foster, a Nonconformist preacher. Johnson mentions 'the reputation which he had gained by his proper delivery.' *Post*, WATTS, 17.

'Mr. Beauclerk one day repeated to Dr. Johnson Pope's lines,

"Let modest Foster, if he will, excel
Ten metropolitans in preaching well."

Then asked the Doctor, "Why did Pope say this?" JOHNSON. Sir, he hoped it would vex somebody.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 9. 'Foster,' said Johnson, 'was a man of mean ability, and of no original thinking.' *John. Misc.* ii. 41.

Bolingbroke, in his *Letters addressed to Pope* (*Works*, 1809, v. 112), says:—'I cannot conclude my discourse better than by putting you in mind of a passage you quoted to me once with great applause, from a sermon of Foster, and to this effect:—"Where mystery begins religion ends."' Savage wrote in *Gent. Mag.* 1735, p. 213:—

'But Foster well this honest truth extends,
Where mystery begins religion ends.'

Burke wrote in 1756:—'A good parson once said that where mystery begins religion ends. Cannot I say as truly at least of human laws, that where mystery begins justice ends?' *Works*, 1808, i. 68.

Gibbon wrote of Foster in 1763:—'Wonderful! a divine preferring reason to faith, and more afraid of vice than of heresy.' *Misc. Works*, v. 300.

[2] Savage, in his *Public Spirit* (*Eng. Poets*, xli. 243), brings together the Prince of Wales and Thomson:—

'Sublime, benevolent, deep, sweetly-clear,
Worthy a Thomson's Muse, a Frederick's ear,
Thus spoke the Goddess.'

189 Thus remote was his interest in the question, which, however, as he imagined, concerned him so nearly that it was not sufficient to harangue and dispute, but necessary likewise to write upon it.

190 He therefore engaged with great ardour in a new poem, called by him *The Progress of a Divine*[1], in which he conducts a profligate priest by all the gradations of wickedness from a poor curacy in the country[2] to the highest preferments of the church, and describes with that humour which was natural to him, and that knowledge which was extended to all the diversities of human life, his behaviour in every station; and insinuates that this priest, thus accomplished, found at last a patron in the Bishop of London[3].'

191 When he was asked by one of his friends on what pretence he could charge the bishop with such an action, he had no more to say, than that he had only inverted the accusation, and that he thought it reasonable to believe that he, who obstructed the rise of a good man without reason, would for bad reasons promote the exaltation of a villain.

192 The clergy were universally provoked by this satire; and Savage, who, as was his constant practice, had set his name to his performance, was censured in *The Weekly Miscellany*[4] with severity, which he did not seem inclined to forget.

[1] In *Gent. Mag.* 1735, p. 222, is the following entry:—'*The Progress of a Divine. A Satyr.* By Richard Savage, Esq. pr. 1*s*. See Extract of it, p. 213.' This 'Extract' is entitled 'An Extract from an Epistle not yet published.' It is an attack on the Bishop, and a eulogy of Foster. (The quotation in the last note but one is from it.) Some part of the 'Epistle' must have previously appeared, as on the same page are given the lines attacking it in *The Weekly Miscellany* quoted below. This 'Extract' is not in *The Progress* as published in Savage's *Works*. The poem itself is excluded from *Eng. Poets*, no doubt owing to its obscenity. This 'Extract' is given separately, entitled *Character of the Rev. James Foster*, in *Works*, ii. 170; *Eng. Poets*, xli. 264.

Pope wrote to Samuel Wesley on Oct. 21, 1735:—'I agree with you in the opinion of Savage's strange performance, which does not deserve the benefit of the clergy.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 246.

[2] 'A curate now, his furniture review!
A few old sermons, and a bottle-screw.' Savage's *Works*, ii. 112.
The curate gains a rectory by marrying the patron's mistress. *Ib.* p. 118.

[3] 'The man has many meritorious ways:
He'll smoke his pipe, and London's prelate praise.
. . . . . .
Thus with much wealth, some jargon, and no grace,
To seat episcopal our Doctor trace.
Codex, deceiving the superior ear,
Procures the Congé (much mis-call'd) d'Élire.
. . . . . .
Lawn-sleev'd and mitr'd stands he now confest:
See Codex consecrate! A solemn jest!' *Ib.* pp. 116, 125.

[4] A short satire was likewise pub-

But a return of invective was not thought a sufficient punish- 193
ment. The Court of King's Bench was therefore moved against him, and he was obliged to return an answer to a charge of obscenity. It was urged in his defence that obscenity was criminal when it was intended to promote the practice of vice, but that Mr. Savage had only introduced obscene ideas with the view of exposing them to detestation, and of amending the age, by shewing the deformity of wickedness. This plea was admitted; and Sir Philip Yorke [1], who then presided in that court, dismissed

lished in the same paper, in which were the following lines:

'For cruel murder doom'd to hempen death,
Savage, by royal grace, prolong'd his breath.
Well might you think he spent his future years
In prayer, and fasting, and repentant tears.
—But, O vain hope!—the truly Savage cries,
"Priests, and their lavish doctrines, I despise.
Shall I——
Who, by free-thinking to free action fir'd,
In midnight brawls a deathless name acquir'd,
Now stoop to *learn of ecclesiastick men*?—
No, arm'd with rhyme, at priests I'll take my aim,
Though prudence bids me murder but their fame."'

*Weekly Miscellany.*

An answer was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, written by an unknown hand, from which the following lines are selected:

'Transform'd by thoughtless rage, and midnight wine,
From malice free, and push'd without design;
In equal brawl if Savage lung'd a thrust,
And brought the youth a victim to the dust;
So strong the hand of accident appears,
The royal hand from guilt and vengeance clears.
Instead of wasting "all thy future years, [tant tears";
Savage, in prayer and vain repen-
Exert thy pen to mend a vicious age,
To curb the priest, and sink his high-church rage;
To shew what frauds the holy vestments hide,
The nests of av'rice, lust, and pedant pride;
Then change the scene, let merit brightly shine,
And round the patriot twist the wreath divine;
The heav'nly guide deliver down to fame;
In well-tun'd lays transmit a Foster's name;
Touch ev'ry passion with harmonious art,
Exalt the genius, and correct the heart.
Thus future times shall royal grace extol;
Thus polish'd lines thy present fame enrol.
But grant——
Maliciously that Savage plung'd the steel,
And made the youth its shining vengeance feel;
My soul abhors the act, the man detests,
But more the bigotry in priestly breasts.'

*Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1735, [p. 268]. JOHNSON.

[1] Afterwards Lord Chancellor and first Earl of Hardwicke. Savage showed his gratitude in the following lines:—

'Were all like Yorke of delicate address,
Strength to discern and sweetness to express,
Learn'd, just, polite, born every heart to gain.'

*Eng. Poets*, xli. 297.

the information with encomiums upon the purity and excellence of Mr Savage's writings[1].

194 The prosecution, however, answered in some measure the purpose of those by whom it was set on foot; for Mr. Savage was so far intimidated by it that, when the edition of his poem was sold, he did not venture to reprint it; so that it was in a short time forgotten, or forgotten by all but those whom it offended.

195 It is said that some endeavours were used to incense the Queen against him; but he found advocates to obviate at least part of their effect, for though he was never advanced, he still continued to receive his pension.

196 This poem drew more infamy upon him than any incident of his life; and, as his conduct cannot be vindicated, it is proper to secure his memory from reproach, by informing those whom he made his enemies that he never intended to repeat the provocation; and that, though, whenever he thought he had any reason to complain of the clergy, he used to threaten them with a new edition of *The Progress of a Divine*, it was his calm and settled resolution to suppress it for ever[2].

197 He once intended to have made a better reparation for the folly or injustice with which he might be charged by writing another poem, called *The Progress of a Freethinker*, whom he intended to lead through all the stages of vice and folly, to convert him from virtue to wickedness, and from religion to infidelity, by all the modish sophistry used for that purpose; and at last to dismiss him by his own hand into the other world.

198 That he did not execute this design is a real loss to mankind, for he was too well acquainted with all the scenes of debauchery to have failed in his representations of them, and too zealous for virtue not to have represented them in such a manner as should expose them either to ridicule or detestation.

199 But this plan was, like others, formed and laid aside, till the vigour of his imagination was spent, and the effervescence of invention had subsided; but soon gave way to some other design, which pleased by its novelty for a while, and then was neglected like the former.

[1] *The Progress of a Divine*—to borrow the words used by Johnson of another piece (*John. Letters*, ii.158)—'is unnaturally and odiously obscene.' I do not think there is any report of the case.

[2] *Post*, SAVAGE, 342.

He was still in his usual exigences, having no certain support 200
but the pension allowed him by the Queen, which, though it might have kept an exact œconomist from want [1], was very far from being sufficient for Mr. Savage, who had never been accustomed to dismiss any of his appetites without the gratification which they solicited, and whom nothing but want of money withheld from partaking of every pleasure that fell within his view.

His conduct with regard to his pension was very par- 201
ticular. No sooner had he changed the bill than he vanished from the sight of all his acquaintances, and lay for some time out of the reach of all the enquiries that friendship or curiosity could make after him; at length he appeared again penny-less as before, but never informed even those whom he seemed to regard most where he had been, nor was his retreat ever discovered.

This was his constant practice during the whole time that he 202
received the pension from the Queen: he regularly disappeared and returned. He indeed affirmed that he retired to study, and that the money supported him in solitude for many months; but his friends declared that the short time in which it was spent sufficiently confuted his own account of his conduct [2].

His politeness and his wit still raised him friends, who were 203
desirous of setting him at length free from that indigence by which he had been hitherto oppressed; and therefore solicited Sir Robert Walpole [3] in his favour, with so much earnestness that they obtained a promise of the next place that should become vacant, not exceeding two hundred pounds a year. This promise was made with an uncommon declaration, 'that it was not the promise of a minister to a petitioner, but of a friend to his friend.'

Mr. Savage now concluded himself set at ease for ever, and, as 204
he observes in a poem [4] written on that incident of his life, 'trusted and was trusted [5]'; but soon found that his confidence

[1] *Post*, SAVAGE, 221.

[2] See *post*, SAVAGE, 340, where Johnson writes:—'His veracity was questioned, but with little reason.'

[3] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 113, 141 *n.*; *post*, 244.

[4] In the first edition of the *Life* [p. 115] is the following note:—'*The Poet's Dependence on a Statesman*, which was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. vi. p. 225, and contains among others the following passage.' Here follows a long quotation.

[5] 'I trust, am trusted on my fairy gain;

was ill-grounded, and this *friendly* promise was not inviolable. He spent a long time in solicitations, and at last despaired and desisted.

205 He did not indeed deny that he had given the minister some reason to believe that he should not strengthen his own interest by advancing him, for he had taken care to distinguish himself in coffee-houses as an advocate for the ministry of the last years of Queen Anne[1], and was always ready to justify the conduct and exalt the character of Lord Bolingbroke, whom he mentions with great regard in an *Epistle upon Authors*, which he wrote about that time, but was too wise to publish, and of which only some fragments[2] have appeared, inserted by him in the *Magazine* after his retirement.

206 To despair was not, however, the character of Savage; when one patronage failed, he had recourse to another. The prince was now extremely popular, and had very liberally rewarded the merit of some writers[3] whom Mr. Savage did not think superior to himself, and therefore he resolved to address a poem to him.

207 For this purpose he made choice of a subject which could regard only persons of the highest rank and highest affluence, and which was therefore proper for a poem intended to procure the patronage of a prince; and having retired for some time to Richmond[4], that he might prosecute his design in full tranquillity, without the temptations of pleasure, or the solicitations of creditors, by which his meditations were in equal danger of being disconcerted, he produced a poem *On* [*Of*] *Publick Spirit, with regard to Publick Works*[5].

208 The plan of this poem is very extensive, and comprises a multitude of topicks, each of which might furnish matter sufficient

And woes on woes attend, an endless train.'

*A Poet's Dependence on a Statesman*, *Gent. Mag.* 1736, p. 225; *Eng. Poets*, xli. 267.

[1] In *The Genius of Liberty* (*ante*, SAVAGE, 182) he exalts 'the great third William' and Marlborough:—'This god-like plann'd; that finish'd like a god.' *Ib.* p. 285.

[2] In the first edition of the *Life* [p. 116] is this note:—'From these the following lines are selected as an instance rather of his impartiality than genius.' The selections are from his *Satire on False Historians*, *Eng. Poets*, xli. 292; *Gent. Mag.* 1741, p. 491.

[3] He patronized among others Thomson (*post*, THOMSON, 28); Mallet (*post*, MALLET, 12); and Lyttelton (*post*, LYTTELTON, 6). Pope moreover was his 'follower.' *Post*, POPE, 217.

[4] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 66.

[5] *Eng. Poets*, xli. 232. It was published by Dodsley in June 1737, price one shilling. *Gent. Mag.* 1737, p. 374.

for a long performance, and of which some have already employed more eminent writers; but as he was perhaps not fully acquainted with the whole extent of his own design, and was writing to obtain a supply of wants too pressing to admit of long or accurate enquiries, he passes negligently over many publick works, which, even in his own opinion, deserved to be more elaborately treated.

But though he may sometimes disappoint his reader by 209
transient touches upon these subjects, which have often been considered, and therefore naturally raise expectations, he must be allowed amply to compensate his omissions by expatiating, in the conclusion of his work, upon a kind of beneficence not yet celebrated by any eminent poet, though it now appears more susceptible of embellishments, more adapted to exalt the ideas, and affect the passions, than many of those which have hitherto been thought most worthy of the ornaments of verse. The settlement of colonies in uninhabited countries, the establishment of those in security whose misfortunes have made their own country no longer pleasing or safe, the acquisition of property without injury to any, the appropriation of the waste and luxuriant bounties of nature, and the enjoyment of those gifts which heaven has scattered upon regions uncultivated and unoccupied [1], cannot be considered without giving rise to a great number of pleasing ideas, and bewildering the imagination in delightful prospects; and, therefore, whatever speculations they may produce in those who have confined themselves to political studies, naturally fixed the attention and excited the applause of a poet. The politician, when he considers men driven into other countries for shelter, and obliged to retire to forests and deserts, and pass their lives and fix their posterity in the remotest corners of the world, to avoid those hardships which they suffer or fear in their native place, may very properly enquire why the legislature does not provide a remedy for these miseries, rather than encourage an escape from them. He may conclude that the flight of every honest man is a loss to the community; that

[1] 'Has heaven reserved in pity to the poor
No pathless waste, or undiscovered shore?
No secret island in the boundless main?
No peaceful desert yet unclaimed by Spain?
Quick, let us rise, the happy seats explore, [no more.'
And bear oppression's insolence
JOHNSON, *London*, l. 114.

those who are unhappy without guilt ought to be relieved, and the life, which is overburthened by accidental calamities, set at ease by the care of the publick; and that those who have by misconduct forfeited their claim to favour ought rather to be made useful to the society which they have injured, than driven from it. But the poet is employed in a more pleasing undertaking than that of proposing laws, which, however just or expedient, will never be made, or endeavouring to reduce to rational schemes of government societies which were formed by chance, and are conducted by the private passions of those who preside in them. He guides the unhappy fugitive from want and persecution to plenty, quiet, and security, and seats him in scenes of peaceful solitude and undisturbed repose [1].

210 Savage has not forgotten, amidst the pleasing sentiments which this prospect of retirement suggested to him, to censure those crimes which have been generally committed by the discoverers of new regions [2], and to expose the enormous wickedness of making war upon barbarous nations because they cannot resist, and of invading countries because they are fruitful; of extending navigation only to propagate vice, and of visiting distant lands only to lay them waste. He has asserted the natural equality of mankind [3], and endeavoured to suppress that pride

[1] Not so Goldsmith, who, in his *Traveller*, l. 419, describes how

'The pensive exile, bending with his woe,
To stop too fearful, and too faint to go,
Casts a long look where England's glories shine,
And bids his bosom sympathize with mine.'

[2] 'I do not much wish well to discoveries,' wrote Johnson, 'for I am always afraid they will end in conquest and robbery.' *John. Letters*, i. 210. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 479.

Swift, a few years before the date of Savage's poem, had written:—'A crew of pirates are driven by a storm they know not whither; at length a boy discovers land from the topmast; they go on shore to rob and plunder; they see a harmless people, are entertained with kindness; they give the country a new name; they take formal possession of it for their king; they set up a rotten plank or a stone for a memorial; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more by force, for a sample, return home and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion acquired with a title by divine right.' *Gulliver's Travels*, part iv, ch. 12.

[3] The Tory divine South, in a sermon preached in the reign of James II, affirms that 'the morality of the great rule *of doing as a man would be done by* is as old as Adam, and bears date with human nature itself; as springing from that primitive relation of equality which all men, as fellow creatures and fellow subjects to the same supreme Lord, bear to one another in respect of that common right which every man has equally to his life and to the proper comforts of life; and consequently to all things naturally necessary to the support of both.' South's *Sermons*, ii. 119.

Twenty-two years after Johnson

which inclines men to imagine that right is the consequence of power[1].

His description of the various miseries which force men to seek 211
for refuge in distant countries affords another instance of his proficiency in the important and extensive study of human life; and the tenderness with which he recounts them, another proof of his humanity and benevolence.

It is observable that the close of this poem discovers a change 212
which experience had made in Mr. Savage's opinions. In a poem written by him in his youth, and published in his *Miscellanies*, he declares his contempt of the contracted views and narrow prospects of the middle state of life, and declares his resolution either to tower like the cedar, or be trampled like the shrub[2]; but in this poem, though addressed to a prince[3], he mentions this state of life as comprising those who ought most to attract reward, those who merit most the confidence of power, and the familiarity of greatness[4]; and, accidentally mentioning this passage to one of his friends, declared that in his opinion all the virtue of mankind was comprehended in that state[5].

In describing villas and gardens he did not omit to condemn 213
that absurd custom which prevails among the English, of permitting servants to receive money from strangers for the enter-

had supported Savage in 'asserting the natural equality of mankind' he said:—'So far is it from being true that men are naturally equal, that no two people can be half an hour together but one shall acquire an evident superiority over the other.' Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 13.

[1] In the first edition of this *Life* [p. 122] Johnson quotes ll. 275-96 of the poem (*Eng. Poets*, xli. 242). The poet makes the goddess Public Spirit exclaim to the enslavers of the Indians and Negroes:—

'Revolving empire you and yours may doom
(Rome all subdued, yet Vandals vanquish'd Rome).
Yes, empire may revolve, give them the day, [blood repay.'
And yoke may yoke, and blood may

[2] 'Falsely we those of guilty pride accuse
Whose god-like souls life's middle state refuse.
Self-love, inactive, seeks ignoble rest;
Care sleeps not calm when millions wake unblest;
Mean let me shrink, or spread sweet shade o'er all,
Low as the shrub, or as the cedar tall!
'Twas vain! 'twas wild! I sought the middle state,
And found the good, and found the truly great.'
*Misc. Poems*, 1726, p. 296.

[3] Frederick, Prince of Wales. *Ib.* p. 232.

[4] *Ib.* p. 243.

[5] 'As philosophers say virtue is seated in the middle, so, in another sense, the little virtue left in the world is chiefly to be found among the middle rank of mankind, who are neither allured out of her paths by ambition, nor driven by poverty.' SWIFT, *Works*, vi. 480.

tainment that they receive[1], and therefore inserted in his poem these lines:

'But what the flowering pride of gardens rare,
However royal, or however fair,
If gates, which to access should still give way,
Ope but, like Peter's paradise, for pay?
If perquisited varlets frequent stand,
And each new walk must a new tax demand?
What foreign eye but with contempt surveys?
What Muse shall from oblivion snatch their praise?'

214 But before the publication of his performance he recollected that the Queen allowed her garden and cave[2] at Richmond to be shewn for money, and that she so openly countenanced the practice that she had bestowed the privilege of shewing them as a place of profit on a man whose merit she valued herself upon rewarding, though she gave him only the liberty of disgracing his country.

215 He therefore thought, with more prudence than was often exerted by him, that the publication of these lines might be officiously represented as an insult upon the Queen, to whom he owed his life and his subsistence, and that the propriety of his observation would be no security against the censures which the unseasonableness of it might draw upon him; he therefore suppressed the passage in the first edition, but after the Queen's death thought the same caution no longer necessary, and restored it to the proper place[3].

[1] Bishop Hoadly, Dr. Samuel Clarke, and Steele attended at Blenheim House the performance of *All for Love* by amateurs. 'Sir Richard said to the Bishop, "Does your Lordship give money to all these fellows in laced coats and ruffles?" "No doubt," replied the Bishop. "I have not enough," said Steele. When he passed by them in the hall he told them that he had found them "men of taste," and, as such, invited them all to Drury Lane Theatre, to whatever play they should please to bespeak, he having a share in the patent.' *Corres. of John Hughes*, i. 293. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 78.

[2] 'Passing through a labyrinth you see near a pond Merlin's Cave, a Gothic building thatched; within which are the following figures in wax: Merlin, an ancient British enchanter; the excellent and learned Queen Elizabeth, and a Queen of the Amazons; here also is a library, consisting of a well-chosen collection of the works of modern authors neatly bound in vellum.' Dodsley's *London*, v. 258.

'How shall we fill a library with wit,
When Merlin's Cave is half unfurnished yet?'

POPE, *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* ii. 1. 354. See also *post*, SAVAGE, 237 *n.*

[3] As only seventy-two copies were sold of the poem (*post*, SAVAGE, 219) there could not have been a second edition. These lines are not included in the poem as published in Savage's *Works*, 1775, nor in *Eng. Poets*. The

The poem was therefore published without any political faults, 216
and inscribed to the Prince; but Mr. Savage, having no friend upon whom he could prevail to present it to him, had no other method of attracting his observation than the publication of frequent advertisements, and therefore received no reward from his patron, however generous on other occasions.

This disappointment he never mentioned without indignation, 217
being by some means or other confident that the Prince was not ignorant of his address to him; and insinuated that, if any advances in popularity could have been made by distinguishing him, he had not written without notice, or without reward.

He was once inclined to have presented his poem in person, 218
and sent to the printer for a copy with that design: but either his opinion changed or his resolution deserted him, and he continued to resent neglect without attempting to force himself into regard.

Nor was the publick much more favourable than his patron, 219
for only seventy-two were sold, though the performance was much commended by some whose judgement in that kind of writing is generally allowed. But Savage easily reconciled himself to mankind without imputing any defect to his work, by observing that his poem was unluckily published two days after the prorogation of the parliament [1], and by consequence at a time when all those who could be expected to regard it were in the hurry of preparing for their departure, or engaged in taking leave of others upon their dismission from publick affairs [2].

It must be however allowed, in justification of the publick, that 220
this performance is not the most excellent of Mr. Savage's works, and that, though it cannot be denied to contain many striking sentiments, majestick lines, and just observations, it is in general not sufficiently polished in the language, or enlivened in the imagery, or digested in the plan [3].

nearest approach to them is the following:—

'When these from Public Spirit smile, we see
Free-opening gates, and bowery pleasures free;
For sure great souls one truth can never miss,
Bliss not communicated is not bliss.'

*Eng. Poets*, xli. 235.

[1] On June 21, 1737. *Parl. Hist.* x. 341.

[2] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 165.

[3] The worst couplet is the following:—

'Navies, which to invasive foes explain,
Heaven throws not round us rocks and seas in vain.'

*Eng. Poets*, xli. 234.

221 Thus his poem contributed nothing to the alleviation of his poverty, which was such as very few could have supported with equal patience, but to which it must likewise be confessed that few would have been exposed who received punctually fifty pounds a year; a salary which, though by no means equal to the demands of vanity and luxury, is yet found sufficient to support families above want, and was undoubtedly more than the necessities of life require [1].

222 But no sooner had he received his pension than he withdrew to his darling privacy [2], from which he returned in a short time to his former distress; and for some part of the year generally lived by chance, eating only when he was invited to the tables of his acquaintances, from which the meanness of his dress often excluded him, when the politeness and variety of his conversation would have been thought a sufficient recompence for his entertainment.

223 He lodged as much by accident as he dined, and passed the night sometimes in mean houses, which are set open at night to any casual wanderers, sometimes in cellars [3], among the riot and filth of the meanest and most profligate of the rabble; and sometimes, when he had not money to support even the expences of these receptacles, walked about the streets till he was weary [4],

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 200. For 'Johnson's Ofellus in *The Art of Living in London*,' an Irish painter, 'who assured him that thirty pounds a year was enough to enable a man to live there without being contemptible,' see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 104.

'If,' said Johnson, 'you wish only to support nature, Sir William Petty fixes your allowance at three pounds a year; but, as times are much altered, let us call it six pounds. This sum will fill your belly, shelter you from the weather, and even get you a strong lasting coat, supposing it to be made of good bull's hide.' *Ibid.* p. 440.

Johnson's authority for Petty's estimate was perhaps *The Guardian*, No. 166, by Addison.

[2] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 201.

[3] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 67 *n.* 3. Thackeray, describing Hogarth's prints, tells how the Idle Apprentice 'was taken up in a night-cellar.' *English Humourists*, ed. W. L. Phelps, 1900, p. 210.

[4] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 52. 'Johnson told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that one night in particular, when Savage and he walked round St. James's-square for want of a lodging, they were not at all depressed by their situation; but in high spirits and brimful of patriotism, traversed the square for several hours, inveighed against the minister, and "resolved they would *stand by their country*."' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 164.

'Johnson has told me,' writes Hawkins, 'that whole nights have been spent by him and Savage in a perambulation round the squares of Westminster, St. James's in particular, when all the money they could both raise was less than sufficient to purchase for them the shelter and sordid comforts of a night's cellar.' Hawkins's *Johnson*, p. 53.

Forty-two years later Hannah More wrote:—'Think of Johnson's having apartments in Grosvenor Square!' *John. Misc.* ii. 192. It was in Thrale's

and lay down in the summer upon a bulk[1], or in the winter, with his associates in poverty, among the ashes of a glass-house[2].

In this manner were passed those days and those nights 224
which nature had enabled him to have employed in elevated speculations, useful studies, or pleasing conversation. On a bulk, in a cellar, or in a glass-house among thieves and beggars, was to be found the Author of *The Wanderer*, the man of exalted sentiments, extensive views, and curious observations; the man whose remarks on life might have assisted the statesman, whose ideas of virtue might have enlightened the moralist, whose eloquence might have influenced senates, and whose delicacy might have polished courts.

It cannot but be imagined that such necessities might some- 225
times force him upon disreputable practices; and it is probable that these lines in *The Wanderer* were occasioned by his reflections on his own conduct:

'Though misery leads to happiness and truth[3],
Unequal to the load, this languid youth[4]
. . . . . .
(O, let none censure, if, untried by grief,
If, amidst woe, untempted by relief),
He stoop'd reluctant to low arts of shame,
Which then, ev'n then he scorn'd, and blush'd to name.'

house in the square that he had his room. 'Thus the whirligig of time brings in his revenges.'

[1] 'Johnson said once to me, "Sir, I honour Derrick for his presence of mind. One night, when Floyd, another poor author, was wandering about the streets in the night, he found Derrick fast asleep upon a bulk; upon being suddenly waked, Derrick started up, 'My dear Floyd, I am sorry to see you in this destitute state; will you go home with me to *my lodgings*?'"' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 457.

'Thus the soft gifts of sleep conclude the day,
And stretch'd on bulks, as usual, Poets lay.'
POPE, *The Dunciad*, ii. 419.

*Bulk* Johnson defines as 'a part of a building jutting out.'

[2] 'As for a bed, we knew nothing what belonged to it for many years after my nurse died; and in winter we got into the ash-holes and nealing-arches in the glass-house called Dallow's Glass-house in Rosemary-lane, or at another glass-house in Ratcliffe-highway.' *Colonel Jack*, ch. 1, Defoe's *Works*, 1877, i. 267.

[3] In the first edition of the *Life of Savage* [p. 128] 'leads to fortitude and truth.' In the original it is 'happiness.'

[4] Johnson omits after 'youth' the following couplet:—

'Unstrengthen'd virtue scarce his bosom fir'd,
And fearful from his growing wants retir'd.'
*The Wanderer*, 1729, p. 74.

The Rev. D. C. Tovey (the editor of Gray's *Letters*) ingeniously suggests to me that the brackets should only include 'if, untried by grief.' In that case these four words will refer to 'none,' and 'if, amidst woe' to the youth. I conjecture that 'untempted' should be 'untempered,' the comma after 'woe' being removed. [For 'the anxiety with which Savage dwelt upon the minutest niceties in the correction of his sheets' see *ante*, SAVAGE, 127.]

226 Whoever was acquainted with him was certain to be solicited for small sums, which the frequency of the request made in time considerable, and he was therefore quickly shunned by those who were become familiar enough to be trusted with his necessities; but his rambling manner of life, and constant appearance at houses of publick resort, always procured him a new succession of friends, whose kindness had not been exhausted by repeated requests; so that he was seldom absolutely without resources, but had in his utmost exigences this comfort, that he always imagined himself sure of speedy relief.

227 It was observed that he always asked favours of this kind without the least submission or apparent consciousness of dependence, and that he did not seem to look upon a compliance with his request as an obligation that deserved any extraordinary acknowledgements; but a refusal was resented by him as an affront, or complained of as an injury: nor did he readily reconcile himself to those who either denied to lend, or gave him afterwards any intimation that they expected to be repaid.

228 He was sometimes so far compassionated by those who knew both his merit and distresses that they received him into their families, but they soon discovered him to be a very incommodious inmate; for, being always accustomed to an irregular manner of life, he could not confine himself to any stated hours, or pay any regard to the rules of a family, but would prolong his conversation till midnight, without considering that business might require his friend's application in the morning; and, when he had persuaded himself to retire to bed, was not, without equal difficulty, called up to dinner: it was therefore impossible to pay him any distinction without the entire subversion of all œconomy, a kind of establishment which, wherever he went, he always appeared ambitious to overthrow [1].

229 It must therefore be acknowledged, in justification of mankind, that it was not always by the negligence or coldness of his friends that Savage was distressed, but because it was in reality very difficult to preserve him long in a state of ease. To supply him with money was a hopeless attempt, for no sooner did he

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 66; *post*, 287, 334. For Mrs. Piozzi's complaints—a good deal exaggerated—of Johnson's 'subversion of the œconomy' of her establishment, see *John. Misc.* i. 231, 340. See also Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 407.

see himself master of a sum sufficient to set him free from care for a day, than he became profuse and luxurious [1]. When once he had entered a tavern, or engaged in a scheme of pleasure, he never retired till want of money obliged him to some new expedient. If he was entertained in a family nothing was any longer to be regarded there but amusements and jollity: wherever Savage entered he immediately expected that order and business should fly before him, that all should thenceforward be left to hazard, and that no dull principle of domestick management should be opposed to his inclination, or intrude upon his gaiety.

His distresses, however afflictive, never dejected him; in his 230
lowest state he wanted not spirit to assert the natural dignity of wit, and was always ready to repress that insolence which superiority of fortune incited, and to trample on that reputation which rose upon any other basis than that of merit: he never admitted any gross familiarities, or submitted to be treated otherwise than as an equal. Once, when he was without lodging, meat, or clothes, one of his friends, a man not indeed remarkable for moderation in his prosperity, left a message, that he desired to see him about nine in the morning. Savage knew that his intention was to assist him; but was very much disgusted that he should presume to prescribe the hour of his attendance, and, I believe, refused to visit him, and rejected his kindness [2].

The same invincible temper, whether firmness or obstinacy, 231
appeared in his conduct to the Lord Tyrconnel, from whom he very frequently demanded that the allowance which was once paid him should be restored; but with whom he never appeared to entertain for a moment the thought of soliciting a reconciliation, and whom he treated at once with all the haughtiness of superiority and all the bitterness of resentment. He wrote to him not in a style of supplication or respect, but of reproach,

[1] The following anecdote of Savage Adam Smith had from Johnson: 'It was, at that period, fashionable to wear scarlet cloaks trimmed with gold lace: the Doctor met him one day, just after he had received his pension, with one of these cloaks upon his back, while, at the same time, his naked toes were peeping through his shoes.' *Buchan MSS.*, quoted in Croker's *Boswell*, 1835, x. 122.

Like Edmund Smith (*ante*, SMITH, 67) Savage 'affected the airs and gaiety of a man of pleasure, but his dress was always deficient.' For the improvidence of Goldsmith see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 416, and for that of Boyse see *ib.* iv. 442.

[2] *Post*, SAVAGE, 257.

menace, and contempt[1]; and appeared determined, if he ever regained his allowance, to hold it only by the right of conquest.

232 As many more can discover that a man is richer than that he is wiser than themselves, superiority of understanding is not so readily acknowledged as that of fortune; nor is that haughtiness, which the consciousness of great abilities incites, born with the same submission as the tyranny of affluence; and therefore Savage, by asserting his claim to deference and regard, and by treating those with contempt whom better fortune animated to rebel against him, did not fail to raise a great number of enemies in the different classes of mankind. Those who thought themselves raised above him by the advantages of riches, hated him because they found no protection from the petulance of his wit. Those who were esteemed for their writings feared him as a critic and maligned him as a rival, and almost all the smaller wits were his professed enemies.

233 Among these Mr. Miller[2] so far indulged his resentment as to introduce him in a farce, and direct him to be personated on the stage in a dress like that which he then wore; a mean insult, which only insinuated that Savage had but one coat[3], and which was therefore despised by him rather than resented; for though he wrote a lampoon against Miller, he never printed it: and as no other person ought to prosecute that revenge from which the person who was injured desisted, I shall not preserve what Mr. Savage suppressed: of which the publication would indeed have been a punishment too severe for so impotent an assault.

234 The great hardships of poverty were to Savage not the want of lodging or of food, but the neglect and contempt which it drew

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 155 *n.*; *post*, 269.

[2] [I can find no mention of Savage having been personated in a farce in Genest's *Hist. of the Stage* or *Baker's Biog. Dram.* Cunningham (*Lives of the Poets*, ii. 414) says it was the facetious Joe Miller. More probably Johnson meant James Miller, the playwright and Rector of Upcerne. In his farce of *The Coffee House*, 1737, one of the characters is a poet, which Savage may have suspected was intended to personate him. There are in the printed copy, however, no directions as to the poet's dress, nor does the poet's character seem much like Savage's. In Miller's other plays there is, I think, no character resembling him.]

[3] 'The sober trader at a tatter'd cloak
Wakes from his dream, and labours for a joke;
With brisker air the silken courtiers gaze,
And turn the varied taunt a thousand ways.'
JOHNSON, *London*, l. 106.
For the means Johnson took to deter Foote from personating him on the stage see Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 299.

upon him. He complained that as his affairs grew desperate he found his reputation for capacity visibly decline, that his opinion in questions of criticism was no longer regarded when his coat was out of fashion, and that those who in the interval of his prosperity were always encouraging him to great undertakings by encomiums on his genius and assurances of success, now received any mention of his designs with coldness, thought that the subjects on which he proposed to write were very difficult, and were ready to inform him that the event of a poem was uncertain, that an author ought to employ much time in the consideration of his plan, and not presume to sit down to write in confidence of a few cursory ideas and a superficial knowledge: difficulties were started on all sides, and he was no longer qualified for any performance but *The Volunteer Laureat.*

Yet even this kind of contempt never depressed him, for he 235
always preserved a steady confidence in his own capacity, and believed nothing above his reach which he should at any time earnestly endeavour to attain. He formed schemes of the same kind with regard to knowledge and to fortune, and flattered himself with advances to be made in science, as with riches to be enjoyed in some distant period of his life. For the acquisition of knowledge he was indeed far better qualified than for that of riches, for he was naturally inquisitive and desirous of the conversation of those from whom any information was to be obtained, but by no means solicitous to improve those opportunities that were sometimes offered of raising his fortune: and he was remarkably retentive of his ideas, which, when once he was in possession of them, rarely forsook him; a quality which could never be communicated to his money.

While he was thus wearing out his life in expectation that the 236
Queen would some time recollect her promise, he had recourse to the usual practice of writers, and published proposals for printing his works by subscription[1], to which he was encouraged by the success of many who had not a better right to the favour of the publick[2]; but, whatever was the reason, he did not find the world

[1] *Gent. Mag.* 1737, p. 128.

[2] George Primrose, in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, ch. xx, tells the Vicar how he met a man 'who drew out a bundle of proposals, begging me to subscribe to a new edition he was going to give the world of Propertius with notes.... "Look at these proposals; upon these very proposals I have subsisted very comfortably for twelve years"' The Vicar asked his son: 'Is this the employment of poets now? Do men of their exalted talents thus stoop to beggary?' 'Oh!

equally inclined to favour him: and he observed with some discontent that, though he offered his works at half a guinea, he was able to procure but a small number in comparison with those who subscribed twice as much to Duck.

237 Nor was it without indignation that he saw his proposals neglected by the Queen, who patronised Mr. Duck's with uncommon ardour, and incited a competition among those who attended the court, who should most promote his interest, and who should first offer a subscription[1]. This was a distinction to which Mr. Savage made no scruple of asserting that his birth, his misfortunes, and his genius gave him a fairer title than could be pleaded by him on whom it was conferred.

238 Savage's applications were, however, not universally unsuccessful; for some of the nobility countenanced his design, encouraged his proposals, and subscribed with great liberality. He related of the Duke of Chandos particularly that, upon receiving his proposals, he sent him ten guineas[2].

239 But the money which his subscriptions afforded him was not less volatile than that which he received from his other schemes[3]; whenever a subscription was paid him he went to a tavern, and, as money so collected is necessarily received in small sums, he never was able to send his poems to the press, but for many years continued his solicitation, and squandered whatever he obtained.

no, Sir, a true poet can never be so base; for wherever there is genius there is pride.'

[1] 'Stephen Duck,' wrote Hawkesworth, 'was a poor thresher, who having written some verses, they were shown to Queen Caroline, who made him her library-keeper at Richmond. He afterwards took orders, and was preferred to a living; but growing melancholy he at last drowned himself.' Swift's *Works*, 1803, xviii. 66.

Pope introduces him in *Imit. Hor.*, *Epis.* ii 2. 137:—

'Call Tibbald Shakespeare, and he'll swear the Nine,
Dear Cibber! never match'd one ode of thine.
Lord! how we strut through Merlin's Cave to see
No poets there, but Stephen, you and me.'

Warburton says in a note that he was 'a modest and worthy man, who had the honour of being esteemed by Mr. Pope.' Pope's *Works*, 1757, iv. 217. For Merlin's Cave see *ante*, SAVAGE, 214 *n.* Some account of Duck is given in *Gent. Mag.* 1736, p. 317. Vincent Bourne (*Poems*, 1772, p. 244) praised him in Latin verse. See also Swift's *Works*, xiv. 236; Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), iv. 444, for epigrams on him; *ante*, MILTON, 269 *n.*

[2] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 113; *post*, POPE, 156.

[3] Twenty years later Dr. Percy wrote about Johnson's proposed edition of *Shakespeare*:—'I have several times called on Johnson to pay him part of your subscription. I say part, because he never thinks of working if he has a couple of guineas in his pocket. . . . I shall feed him occasionally with guineas.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 319 *n.*

This project of printing his works was frequently revived; and, 240
as his proposals grew obsolete, new ones were printed with fresher dates. To form schemes for the publication was one of his favourite amusements; nor was he ever more at ease than when, with any friend who readily fell in with his schemes, he was adjusting the print, forming the advertisements, and regulating the dispersion of his new edition, which he really intended some time to publish, and which, as long experience had shewn him the impossibility of printing the volume together, he at last determined to divide into weekly or monthly numbers, that the profits of the first might supply the expences of the next.

Thus he spent his time in mean expedients and tormenting 241
suspense, living for the greatest part in the fear of prosecutions from his creditors, and consequently skulking in obscure parts of the town, of which he was no stranger to the remotest corners. But wherever he came his address secured him friends, whom his necessities soon alienated; so that he had perhaps a more numerous acquaintance than any man ever before attained—there being scarcely any person eminent on any account to whom he was not known, or whose character he was not in some degree able to delineate.

To the acquisition of this extensive acquaintance every circum- 242
stance of his life contributed. He excelled in the arts of conversation, and therefore willingly practised them. He had seldom any home, or even a lodging in which he could be private, and therefore was driven into public-houses for the common conveniences of life and supports of nature. He was always ready to comply with every invitation, having no employment to withhold him, and often no money to provide for himself; and by dining with one company, he never failed of obtaining an introduction into another.

Thus dissipated was his life, and thus casual his subsistence; 243
yet did not the distraction of his views hinder him from reflection, nor the uncertainty of his condition depress his gaiety. When he had wandered about without any fortunate adventure by which he was led into a tavern, he sometimes retired into the fields, and was able to employ his mind in study, or amuse it with pleasing imaginations; and seldom appeared to be melancholy, but when some sudden misfortune had just fallen upon him, and even then in a few moments he would disentangle himself from his per-

plexity, adopt the subject of conversation, and apply his mind wholly to the objects that others presented to it.

244 This life, unhappy as it may be already imagined, was yet imbittered, in 1738, with new calamities. The death of the Queen [1] deprived him of all the prospects of preferment with which he so long entertained his imagination, and, as Sir Robert Walpole had before given him reason to believe that he never intended the performance of his promise [2], he was now abandoned again to fortune.

245 He was however, at that time, supported by a friend; and as it was not his custom to look out for distant calamities, or to feel any other pain than that which forced itself upon his senses, he was not much afflicted at his loss, and perhaps comforted himself that his pension would be now continued without the annual tribute of a panegyrick.

246 Another expectation contributed likewise to support him: he had taken a resolution to write a second tragedy upon the story of Sir Thomas Overbury, in which he preserved a few lines of his former play, but made a total alteration of the plan, added new incidents, and introduced new characters; so that it was a new tragedy, not a revival of the former [3].

247 Many of his friends blamed him for not making choice of another subject; but, in vindication of himself, he asserted that it was not easy to find a better, and that he thought it his interest to extinguish the memory of the first tragedy, which he could only do by writing one less defective upon the same story; by which he should entirely defeat the artifice of the booksellers, who, after the death of any author of reputation, are always industrious to swell his works by uniting his worst productions with his best.

248 In the execution of this scheme, however, he proceeded but slowly, and probably only employed himself upon it when he

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 173.

[2] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 203. Aaron Hill wrote to Thomson on May 20, 1736:—'It is pity there is nobody to be found near the ——, who has weight enough, and will enough, to put him effectually in mind that the singular care [case] of this unfortunate son of a nobleman, born in wedlock to inherit the estate and title, and prevented in both by the extraordinary interposition of a parliamentary power, without reserve of subsistence assigned to him, seems to leave him the most equitable right in the world to a pension from the Crown.' Hill's *Works*, i. 318. Hill confounds 'born *in* wedlock' with 'born *of* wedlock.'

[3] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 58 *n.*; *post*, 279.

could find no other amusement; but he pleased himself with counting the profits, and perhaps imagined that the theatrical reputation which he was about to acquire would be equivalent to all that he had lost by the death of his patroness.

He did not, in confidence of his approaching riches, neglect 249
the measures proper to secure the continuance of his pension, though some of his favourers thought him culpable for omitting to write on her death; but on her birth-day next year he gave a proof of the solidity of his judgement and the power of his genius. He knew that the track of elegy had been so long beaten that it was impossible to travel in it without treading in the footsteps of those who had gone before him; and that therefore it was necessary that he might distinguish himself from the herd of encomiasts, to find out some new walk of funeral panegyrick.

This difficult task he performed in such a manner, that his 250
poem may be justly ranked among the best pieces that the death of princes has produced[1]. By transferring the mention of her death to her birth-day he has formed a happy combination of topicks, which any other man would have thought it very difficult to connect in one view, but which he has united in such a manner that the relation between them appears natural; and it may be justly said that what no other man would have thought on, it now appears scarcely possible for any man to miss[2].

The beauty of this peculiar combination of images is so 251
masterly, that it is sufficient to set this poem above censure; and therefore it is not necessary to mention many other delicate touches which may be found in it, and which would deservedly be admired in any other performance.

To these proofs of his genius may be added from the same 252
poem an instance of his prudence, an excellence for which he was not so often distinguished; he does not forget to remind the King, in the most delicate and artful manner, of continuing his pension[3].

[1] *Eng. Poets*, xli. 228.

[2] Johnson, in the first edition of this *Life* [p. 140], has the following note:—'To exhibit a specimen of the beauties the following passages are selected.' Thirty-two lines are quoted.

[3] Addressing the 'bright Princess, seated now on high,' he says:—

'Deign one look more. Ah! see thy consort dear
Wishing all hearts, except his own, to cheer.

253 With regard to the success of this address he was for some time in suspence, but was in no great degree solicitous about it; and continued his labour upon his new tragedy with great tranquillity till the friend who had for a considerable time supported him, removing his family to another place, took occasion to dismiss him. It then became necessary to enquire more diligently what was determined in his affair, having reason to suspect that no great favour was intended him, because he had not received his pension at the usual time.

254 It is said that he did not take those methods of retrieving his interest which were most likely to succeed, and some of those who were employed in the Exchequer cautioned him against too much violence in his proceedings; but Mr. Savage, who seldom regulated his conduct by the advice of others, gave way to his passion, and demanded of Sir Robert Walpole at his levee the reason of the distinction that was made between him and the other pensioners of the Queen, with a degree of roughness which perhaps determined him to withdraw what had been only delayed.

255 Whatever was the crime of which he was accused or suspected, and whatever influence was employed against him, he received soon after an account that took from him all hopes of regaining his pension; and he had now no prospect of subsistence but from his play, and he knew no way of living for the time required to finish it.

256 So peculiar were the misfortunes of this man, deprived of an estate and title by a particular law, exposed and abandoned by a mother, defrauded by a mother of a fortune which his father had allotted him, he entered the world without a friend; and though his abilities forced themselves into esteem and reputation he was never able to obtain any real advantage, and whatever prospects arose were always intercepted as he began to approach them. The King's intentions in his favour were frustrated; his dedication to the Prince, whose generosity on every other occasion was eminent, procured him no reward; Sir Robert Walpole, who valued himself upon keeping his promise to others, broke it

Lo! still he bids thy wonted bounty flow
To weeping families of worth and woe.
He stops all tears, however fast they rise,
Save those that still must fall from [grateful eyes.'
*Eng. Poets*, xli. 231.

to him without regret; and the bounty of the Queen was after her death withdrawn from him, and from him only[1].

Such were his misfortunes, which yet he bore, not only with 257
decency, but with cheerfulness; nor was his gaiety clouded even by his last disappointments, though he was in a short time reduced to the lowest degree of distress, and often wanted both lodging and food. At this time he gave another instance of the insurmountable obstinacy of his spirit: his clothes were worn out, and he received notice that at a coffee-house some clothes and linen were left for him—the person who sent them did not, I believe, inform him to whom he was to be obliged, that he might spare the perplexity of acknowledging the benefit—but though the offer was so far generous it was made with some neglect of ceremonies, which Mr. Savage so much resented that he refused the present, and declined to enter the house till the clothes that had been designed for him were taken away[2].

His distress was now publickly known, and his friends, there- 258
fore, thought it proper to concert some measures for his relief; and one of them wrote a letter to him, in which he expressed his concern 'for the miserable withdrawing of his pension'; and gave him hopes that in a short time he should find himself supplied with a competence, 'without any dependence on those little creatures which we are pleased to call the Great[3].'

The scheme proposed for this happy and independent sub- 259
sistence was that he should retire into Wales, and receive an allowance of fifty pounds a year, to be raised by a subscription, on which he was to live privately in a cheap place, without

[1] '"I take this opportunity of letting you know that I am struck out (and am the only person struck out) of the late Queen's List of Pensions." Savage to Dr. Birch, Sept. 1, 1738.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 420.

[2] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 230. 'Mr. Bateman's lectures were so excellent, that Johnson used to come and get them at second-hand from Taylor, till his poverty being so extreme that his shoes were worn out, and his feet appeared through them, he saw that this humiliating circumstance was perceived by the Christ Church men, and he came no more. He was too proud to accept of money, and somebody having set a pair of new shoes at his door, he threw them away with indignation.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 76.

'Yet some have refused my bounties, more offended with my quickness to detect their wants than pleased with my readiness to succour them.' *Rasselas*, ch. 25.

[3] Pope wrote this letter. *Post*, SAVAGE, 270 *n.* 2, 271.

'Pope's scorn of the Great is repeated too often to be real; no man thinks much of that which he despises.' *Post*, POPE, 281.

aspiring any more to affluence, or having any farther care of reputation.

260 This offer Mr. Savage gladly accepted, though with intentions very different from those of his friends; for they proposed that he should continue an exile from London for ever, and spend all the remaining part of his life at Swansea; but he designed only to take the opportunity, which their scheme offered him, of retreating for a short time that he might prepare his play for the stage and his other works for the press, and then to return to London to exhibit his tragedy, and live upon the profits of his own labour.

261 With regard to his works, he proposed very great improvements, which would have required much time, or great application; and when he had finished them he designed to do justice to his subscribers, by publishing them according to his proposals.

262 As he was ready to entertain himself with future pleasures, he had planned out a scheme of life for the country, of which he had no knowledge but from pastorals and songs [1]. He imagined that he should be transported to scenes of flowery felicity, like those which one poet has reflected to another; and had projected a perpetual round of innocent pleasures, of which he suspected no interruption from pride, or ignorance, or brutality.

263 With these expectations he was so enchanted, that when he was once gently reproached by a friend for submitting to live upon a subscription, and advised rather by a resolute exertion of his abilities to support himself, he could not bear to debar himself from the happiness which was to be found in the calm of a cottage, or lose the opportunity of listening without intermission to the melody of the nightingale, which he believed was to be heard from every bramble, and which he did not fail to mention as a very important part of the happiness of a country life [2].

264 While this scheme was ripening his friends directed him to

[1] For Johnson's scorn of pastorals for their want of nature and truth see *ante*, MILTON, 181.

[2] In *The Wanderer*, describing the singing of different kinds of birds, he says:—

'Each a wild length of melody pursues.' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 172.

Johnson makes Thales say in praise of the country:—

'There every bush with nature's music rings;
There every breeze bears health upon its wings.'
*London*, l. 164.

'There all around the gentlest breezes stray,
There gentle music melts on every spray.'
GOLDSMITH, *The Traveller*, l. 321.

take a lodging in the liberties of the Fleet[1], that he might be secure from his creditors, and sent him every Monday a guinea, which he commonly spent before the next morning, and trusted, after his usual manner, the remaining part of the week to the bounty of fortune.

He now began very sensibly to feel the miseries of dependence. 265
Those by whom he was to be supported began to prescribe to him with an air of authority, which he knew not how decently to resent nor patiently to bear; and he soon discovered from the conduct of most of his subscribers, that he was yet in the hands of 'little creatures[2].'

Of the insolence that he was obliged to suffer he gave many 266
instances, of which none appeared to raise his indignation to a greater height than the method which was taken of furnishing him with clothes. Instead of consulting him, and allowing him to send a taylor his orders for what they thought proper to allow him, they proposed to send for a taylor to take his measure, and then to consult how they should equip him.

This treatment was not very delicate, nor was it such as 267
Savage's humanity would have suggested to him on a like occasion; but it had scarcely deserved mention had it not, by affecting him in an uncommon degree, shewn the peculiarity of his character. Upon hearing the design that was formed he came to the lodging of a friend with the most violent agonies of rage, and being asked what it could be that gave him such disturbance, he replied with the utmost vehemence of indignation, 'That they had sent for a taylor to measure him.'

How the affair ended was never enquired, for fear of renewing 268
his uneasiness. It is probable that, upon recollection, he sub-

[1] 'The *rules* or *liberties* of the Fleet are all the north side of Ludgate hill and the Old Bailey up to Fleet lane; down that lane into the market, and then turning the corner on the left all the east side along by the Fleet prison to the bottom of Ludgate hill.' Dodsley's *London*, ii. 309.

Pennant, who was born in 1726, writes in 1790:—'In walking along the street in my youth on the side next to this prison I have often been tempted by the question, *Sir, will you be pleased to walk in and be married*? Along this most lawless space was hung up the frequent sign of a male and female hand conjoined, with *Marriages performed within* written beneath. A dirty fellow invited you in. The parson was seen walking before his shop; a squalid, profligate figure, clad in a tattered plaid night-gown, with a fiery face, and ready to couple you for a dram of gin or roll of tobacco.' Pennant's *London*, p. 208.

[2] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 258.

mitted with a good grace to what he could not avoid, and that he discovered no resentment where he had no power.

269 He was, however, not humbled to implicit and universal compliance; for when the gentleman, who had first informed him of the design to support him by a subscription, attempted to procure a reconciliation with the Lord Tyrconnel, he could by no means be prevailed upon to comply with the measures that were proposed [1].

270 A letter was written for him [2] to Sir William Lemon [3], to prevail upon him to interpose his good offices with Lord Tyrconnel, in which he solicited Sir William's assistance, 'for a man who really needed it as much as any man could well do,' and informed him that he was retiring 'for ever to a place where he should no more trouble his relations, friends, or enemies'; he confessed that his passion had betrayed him to some conduct with regard to Lord Tyrconnel, 'for which he could not but heartily ask his pardon'; and as he imagined Lord Tyrconnel's passion might be yet so high that he would not 'receive a letter from him,' begged that Sir William would endeavour to soften him, and expressed his hopes that he would comply with his request, and that 'so small a relation would not harden his heart against him.'

271 That any man should presume to dictate a letter to him was not very agreeable to Mr. Savage, and therefore he was, before he had opened it, not much inclined to approve it. But when he read it he found it contained sentiments entirely opposite to his own, and, as he asserted, to the truth; and therefore, instead of copying it, wrote his friend a letter full of masculine resentment and warm expostulations. He very justly observed that the style was too supplicatory, and the representation too abject, and that he ought at least to have made him complain with 'the dignity of a gentleman in distress.' He declared that he would not write the paragraph in which he was to ask Lord Tyrconnel's pardon, for 'he despised his pardon, and therefore could not heartily, and would not hypocritically, ask it.' He remarked that his friend made a very unreasonable distinction between himself and him; for, says he, when you mention men of high rank 'in your own

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 155, 231.

[2] By Mr. Pope. JOHNSON. This note is not in the early editions of the *Life of Savage*.

[3] Sir William Leman (not Lemon) in 1737 had married Mrs. Brett's daughter. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 5 *n*.

character,' they are 'those little creatures whom we are pleased to call the Great[1],' but when you address them 'in mine,' no servility is sufficiently humble. He then with great propriety explained the ill consequences which might be expected from such a letter, which his relations would print in their own defence, and which would for ever be produced as a full answer to all that he should allege against them; for he always intended to publish a minute account of the treatment which he had received. It is to be remembered, to the honour of the gentleman by whom this letter was drawn up, that he yielded to Mr. Savage's reasons, and agreed that it ought to be suppressed[2].

After many alterations and delays, a subscription was at length 272
raised, which did not amount to fifty pounds a year, though twenty were paid by one gentleman[3]: such was the generosity of mankind, that what had been done by a player without solicitation could not now be effected by application and interest; and Savage had a great number to court and to obey for a pension less than that which Mrs. Oldfield paid him without exacting any servilities[4].

Mr. Savage, however, was satisfied and willing to retire, and 273
was convinced that the allowance, though scanty, would be more than sufficient for him, being now determined to commence a rigid œconomist, and to live according to the exactest rules of frugality; for nothing was in his opinion more contemptible than a man who, when he knew his income, exceeded it; and yet he confessed that instances of such folly were too common, and lamented that some men were not to be trusted with their own money.

Full of these salutary resolutions he left London in July, 1739, 274
having taken leave with great tenderness of his friends, and parted

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 258.

[2] Pope wrote to Savage at Bristol on Sept. 13 [1742]:– 'What was done more in relation to the Lord [Tyrconnel] but trying a method we thought more likely to serve you than threats and injurious language? You seemed to agree with us at your parting to send some letters, which after all were left in your own hands, to do as you pleased. . . . Indeed I was shocked at your strong declarations of *vengeance* and *violent measures* against him, and am very glad you now protest you meant nothing like what those words imported.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 101.

[3] 'Of the subscription of forty pounds a year that he [Pope] raised for Savage twenty were paid by himself.' *Post*, POPE, 286. When Johnson wrote this, his memory, after so long a time, was no doubt at fault as to the total subscription.

For the services which Savage was believed to have rendered to Pope see *ante*, SAVAGE, 107–110.

[4] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 42.

from the author of this narrative with tears in his eyes[1]. He was furnished with fifteen guineas, and informed that they would be sufficient not only for the expence of his journey, but for his support in Wales for some time, and that there remained but little more of the first collection. He promised a strict adherence to his maxims of parsimony, and went away in the stage-coach; nor did his friends expect to hear from him till he informed them of his arrival at Swansea.

275 But when they least expected arrived a letter dated the fourteenth day after his departure, in which he sent them word that he was yet upon the road, and without money, and that he therefore could not proceed without a remittance. They then sent him the money that was in their hands, with which he was enabled to reach Bristol, from whence he was to go to Swansèa by water.

276 At Bristol he found an embargo laid upon the shipping, so that he could not immediately obtain a passage[2]; and being therefore obliged to stay there some time he, with his usual felicity, ingratiated himself with many of the principal inhabitants, was invited to their houses, distinguished at their public feasts, and treated with a regard that gratified his vanity, and therefore easily engaged his affection.

[1] Hawkins, with whom Murphy agrees, asserts that 'what is said in Johnson's *London* of the departure of Thales must be understood of Savage.' Hawkins's *Johnson*, p. 86; *John. Misc.* i. 372. Boswell maintains that, as *London* was published in May, 1738, and Savage did not set out for Wales till July, 1739, Hawkins was mistaken. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 125. I have shown in a note on this passage that it is possible that Thales was Savage. In *John. Misc.* i. 372, I quote the following MS. note by Mr. Hussey (see Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 369; *ante*, SAVAGE, 57 *n.* 2):—'Johnson told me that *London* was written *many years* before he was acquainted with Savage, and that it was even *published before* he knew him—of which I informed Mr. Boswell, who did not think proper to believe me. Johnson also said that by Thales he did not mean any particular person' Why Hussey says that Boswell did not believe him I do not understand. On the contrary he quotes him, though not by name, as confirming his view. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 125 *n.* That *London* was written many years before it was published is not true. 'Johnson has marked upon his corrected copy of the first edition, "Written in 1738."' *Ib.* i. 120. In the poem, l. 5, he describes how he took leave of Thales, who was

'Resolv'd at length, from vice and London far,
To breathe in distant fields a purer air,
And, fix'd on Cambria's solitary shore,
Give to St. David one true Briton more.'

[2] This year, at the beginning of the war with Spain, 'an embargo was laid on all merchant ships outward bound.' SMOLLETT, *Hist.* iii. 31. On July 26 it was taken off. *Gent. Mag.* 1739, p. 383.

He began very early after his retirement to complain of the 277
conduct of his friends in London, and irritated many of them so much by his letters that they withdrew, however honourably, their contributions[1]; and it is believed that little more was paid him than the twenty pounds a year, which were allowed him by the gentleman who proposed the subscription.

After some stay at Bristol he retired to Swansea, the place 278
originally proposed for his residence, where he lived about a year, very much dissatisfied with the diminution of his salary; but contracted, as in other places, acquaintance with those who were most distinguished in that country, among whom he has celebrated Mr. Powel[2] and Mrs. Jones[3], by some verses which he inserted in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

Here he completed his tragedy, of which two acts were wanting 279
when he left London, and was desirous of coming to town to bring it upon the stage[4]. This design was very warmly opposed, and he was advised by his chief benefactor to put it into the hands of Mr. Thomson and Mr. Mallet[5], that it might be fitted for the stage, and to allow his friends to receive the profits, out of which an annual pension should be paid him.

This proposal he rejected with the utmost contempt. He 280
was by no means convinced that the judgement of those, to whom he was required to submit, was superior to his own. He was now determined, as he expressed it, to be 'no longer kept in leading-strings[6],' and had no elevated idea of 'his bounty,

[1] Pope wrote to Savage:—'It was yourself who chose Swansea for your place; you no sooner objected to it afterwards (when Mr. Mendez stopped his allowance, upon complaint that you had used him ill) but I endeavoured to add to it.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 100. For John Mendez see *ib.* x. 479, and for an anecdote of Mrs. Mendez see Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 18.

[2] *To John Powell, Esq., Barrister of Law, Gent. Mag.* 1742, p. 490; *Eng. Poets*, xli. 305.

[3] 'Mrs. Bridget Jones, A Young Widow Lady of Llanelly.' To her he addressed three poems- two of them licentious. With greater decency he wrote an epitaph on her grandmother. A Mr. Humphries addressed verses to him *On his Poem to Mrs. Jones. Gent. Mag.* 1741, pp. 324, 379, 381, 547; 1742, p. 155 (see *ib.* p. 490 *n.*); *Eng. Poets*, xli. 288, 291, 299, 300. There are other contributions by Savage to the *Magazine*, in these years. *Gent. Mag.* 1740, p. 567; 1741, pp. 491, 494.

[4] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 52 *n.*, 58 *n.*, 246.

[5] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 188. Pope wrote to Savage:—'What mortal would take your play or your business with Lord T. [Tyrconnel] out of your hands, if you could come and attend it yourself? It was only in defect of that these offices of the two gentlemen you are so angry at were offered.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 101.

[6] Pope wrote to Mallet on Dec. 17,

who proposed to pension him out of the profits of his own labours.'

281 He attempted in Wales to promote a subscription for his works, and had once hopes of success; but in a short time afterwards formed a resolution of leaving that part of the country, to which he thought it not reasonable to be confined for the gratification of those who, having promised him a liberal income, had no sooner banished him to a remote corner than they reduced his allowance to a salary scarcely equal to the necessities of life.

282 His resentment of this treatment, which, in his own opinion at least, he had not deserved, was such that he broke off all correspondence with most of his contributors, and appeared to consider them as persecutors and oppressors; and in the latter part of his life declared that their conduct toward him, since his departure from London, had 'been perfidiousness improving on perfidiousness, and inhumanity on inhumanity.'

283 It is not to be supposed that the necessities of Mr. Savage did not sometimes incite him to satirical exaggerations of the behaviour of those by whom he thought himself reduced to them. But it must be granted that the diminution of his allowance was a great hardship, and that those who withdrew their subscription from a man who, upon the faith of their promise, had gone into a kind of banishment, and abandoned all those by whom he had been before relieved in his distresses, will find it no easy task to vindicate their conduct.

284 It may be alleged, and perhaps justly, that he was petulant and contemptuous; that he more frequently reproached his subscribers for not giving him more, than thanked them for what he received; but it is to be remembered that his conduct, and

1739:—'I wrote to Mr. Savage a very sorrowful letter, which he answered in a higher key than I deserved. . . . And I have renewed my orders since for prompt payment of my part of the subscription for his retirement (for so he calls it) to his own hands this Christmas. For he declares against all measures by which any of us pretend to put him into a state of infancy, and the care of another.' Pope's *Works* (E. & C.), x. 94.

On Jan. 25 [?1739–40] Pope wrote to Mallet:—'Surely nothing can be said *to*, or I fear done *for* this poor unhappy man, who will not suffer himself to have a friend. But I will immediately send him another ten pounds (besides my own, which is paid him), and take what money you can collect in repayment; if more, it shall be accounted for to him; if less, I will be at the loss. . . . I have really taken more pains not to affront him than if my bread had depended on him. He would be to be forgiven, if it was misfortune only, and not pride that made him captious.' *Ib.* x. 95.

this is the worst charge that can be drawn up against him, did them no real injury, and that it therefore ought rather to have been pitied than resented; at least, the resentment it might provoke ought to have been generous and manly: epithets which his conduct will hardly deserve that starves the man whom he has persuaded to put himself into his power.

It might have been reasonably demanded by Savage that they 285
should, before they had taken away what they promised, have replaced him in his former state, that they should have taken no advantages from the situation to which the appearance of their kindness had reduced him, and that he should have been recalled to London before he was abandoned. He might justly represent that he ought to have been considered as a lion in the toils, and demand to be released before the dogs should be loosed upon him.

He endeavoured, indeed, to release himself, and, with an intent 286
to return to London, went to Bristol, where a repetition of the kindness which he had formerly found invited him to stay[1]. He was not only caressed and treated, but had a collection made for him of about thirty pounds, with which it had been happy if he had immediately departed for London; but his negligence did not suffer him to consider that such proofs of kindness were not often to be expected, and that this ardour of benevolence was in a great degree the effect of novelty, and might, probably, be every day less; and therefore he took no care to improve the happy time, but was encouraged by one favour to hope for another, till at length generosity was exhausted and officiousness wearied.

Another part of his misconduct was the practice of prolonging 287
his visits to unseasonable hours, and disconcerting all the families

[1] In *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1742, p. 597, are some verses dated Bristol, Oct. 15, 1742, and signed William Saunders, '*On Richard Savage, Esq., Son of the late Earl Rivers.* By a Clergyman of the Church of England.' The clergyman thus describes him:—

'Pleasing associate! still with winning ease
He studies every method how to please;
Complies with each proposal—*this*—or *that*;
With time-beguiling cards, or harmless chat;
Or moralizes—o'er the sprightly bowl—
*The feast of reason and the flow of soul.*'

In June, 1743, Savage wrote of the reverend poet:—'Can he never open his mouth in conversation but out of it must issue a lie? ... When he attempts poetry without assistance he exposes himself more than any enemy can expose him.' *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 1040.

into which he was admitted[1]. This was an error in a place of commerce which all the charms of his conversation could not compensate; for what trader would purchase such airy satisfaction[2] by the loss of solid gain, which must be the consequence of midnight merriment, as those hours which were gained at night were generally lost in the morning?

288 Thus Mr. Savage, after the curiosity of the inhabitants was gratified, found the number of his friends daily decreasing, perhaps without suspecting for what reason their conduct was altered; for he still continued to harass with his nocturnal intrusions those that yet countenanced him and admitted him to their houses.

289 But he did not spend all the time of his residence at Bristol in visits or at taverns, for he sometimes returned to his studies, and began several considerable designs. When he felt an inclination to write he always retired from the knowledge of his friends, and lay hid in an obscure part of the suburbs till he found himself again desirous of company, to which it is likely that intervals of absence made him more welcome.

290 He was always full of his design of returning to London to bring his tragedy upon the stage; but, having neglected to depart with the money that was raised for him, he could not afterwards procure a sum sufficient to defray the expences of his journey: nor perhaps would a fresh supply have had any other effect than, by putting immediate pleasures in his power, to have driven the thoughts of his journey out of his mind.

291 While he was thus spending the day in contriving a scheme for the morrow, distress stole upon him by imperceptible degrees. His conduct had already wearied some of those who were at first enamoured of his conversation; but he might, perhaps, still have devolved to others, whom he might have entertained with equal success, had not the decay of his clothes made it no longer consistent with their vanity to admit him to their tables or to associate with him in publick places. He now began to find every man from home at whose house he called; and was therefore no longer able to procure the necessaries of life, but wandered about the town, slighted and neglected, in quest of a dinner, which he did not always obtain.

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 228; *post*, 334.
[2] For *airy* see *post*, WEST, 2; *John. Letters*, ii. 116 *n.*, 361 *n.*

To complete his misery he was pursued by the officers for 292
small debts which he had contracted; and was therefore obliged to withdraw from the small number of friends from whom he had still reason to hope for favours. His custom was to lie in bed the greatest part of the day and to go out in the dark with the utmost privacy, and after having paid his visit return again before morning to his lodging, which was in the garret of an obscure inn.

Being thus excluded on one hand, and confined on the other, 293
he suffered the utmost extremities of poverty, and often fasted so long that he was seized with faintness, and had lost his appetite, not being able to bear the smell of meat till the action of his stomach was restored by a cordial.

In this distress he received a remittance of five pounds from 294
London[1], with which he provided himself a decent coat, and determined to go to London, but unhappily spent his money at a favourite tavern. Thus was he again confined to Bristol, where he was every day hunted by bailiffs. In this exigence he once more found a friend, who sheltered him in his house, though at the usual inconveniences with which his company was attended; for he could neither be persuaded to go to bed in the night nor to rise in the day.

It is observable that in these various scenes of misery he was 295
always disengaged and cheerful: he at some times pursued his studies, and at others continued or enlarged his epistolary correspondence; nor was he ever so far dejected as to endeavour to procure an increase of his allowance by any other methods than accusations and reproaches.

He had now no longer any hopes of assistance from his friends 296
at Bristol, who as merchants, and by consequence sufficiently studious of profit, cannot be supposed to have looked with much compassion upon negligence and extravagance, or to think any excellence equivalent to a fault of such consequence as neglect of œconomy. It is natural to imagine that many of those who would have relieved his real wants were discouraged from the exertion of their benevolence by observation of the use which was

[1] 'I sent to Bristol,' wrote Pope to him, 'all I could, and now with as good a will I add this little more at your desire, which I hope will answer your end you propose of making easy your journey to London.' Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), x. 101.

made of their favours, and conviction that relief would only be momentary, and that the same necessity would quickly return.

297 At last he quitted the house of his friend, and returned to his lodging at the inn, still intending to set out in a few days for London; but on the 10th of January, 1742–3, having been at supper with two of his friends, he was at his return to his lodgings arrested for a debt of about eight pounds, which he owed at a coffee-house, and conducted to the house of a sheriff's officer. The account which he gives of this misfortune, in a letter to one of the gentlemen with whom he had supped, is too remarkable to be omitted.

298 'It was not a little unfortunate for me that I spent yesterday's evening with you, because the hour hindered me from entering on my new lodging; however, I have now got one, but such an one as I believe nobody would chuse.

299 'I was arrested at the suit of Mrs. Read, just as I was going up stairs to bed, at Mr. Bowyer's; but taken in so private a manner that I believe nobody at the White Lion is apprised of it. Though I let the officers know the strength (or rather weakness) of my pocket, yet they treated me with the utmost civility; and even when they conducted me to confinement, 'twas in such a manner that I verily believe I could have escaped, which I would rather be ruined than have done, notwithstanding the whole amount of my finances was but three pence halfpenny.

300 'In the first place I must insist that you will industriously conceal this from Mrs. S——s[1], because I would not have her good-nature suffer that pain, which, I know, she would be apt to feel on this occasion.

301 'Next, I conjure you, dear Sir, by all the ties of friendship, by no means to have one uneasy thought on my account, but to have the same pleasantry of countenance and unruffled serenity of mind, which (God be praised!) I have in this, and have had in a much severer calamity. Furthermore I charge you, if you value my friendship as truly as I do yours, not to utter, or even harbour, the least resentment against Mrs. Read. I believe she has ruined me, but I freely forgive her; and (though I will never more have any intimacy with her) I would, at a due distance, rather do her an act of good, than ill will[2]. Lastly (pardon the

[1] Probably Mrs. Saunders, the wife or mother of the clergyman who three months earlier had complimented him in verse. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 286 *n.*

[2] Five months later he wrote of her:—'As for Madam Wolf Bitch, the African monster, Mr. Dagge, unknown to me, offered her three guineas to release me.' *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 1040. See *post*, SAVAGE, 326 *n.*

expression), I absolutely command you not to offer me any pecuniary assistance, nor to attempt getting me any from any one of your friends. At another time, or on any other occasion, you may, dear friend, be well assured, I would rather write to you in the submissive style of a request, than that of a peremptory command.

'However, that my truly valuable friend may not think I am 302
too proud to ask a favour, let me entreat you to let me have your boy to attend me for this day, not only for the sake of saving me the expence of porters, but for the delivery of some letters to people whose names I would not have known to strangers.

'The civil treatment I have thus far met from those whose 303
prisoner I am, makes me thankful to the Almighty that, though he has thought fit to visit me (on my birth-night [1]) with affliction, yet (such is his great goodness!) my affliction is not without alleviating circumstances. I murmur not; but am all resignation to the divine will. As to the world, I hope that I shall be endued by Heaven with that presence of mind, that serene dignity in misfortune, that constitutes the character of a true nobleman; a dignity far beyond that of coronets; a nobility arising from the just principles of philosophy, refined and exalted by those of christianity.'

He continued five days at the officer's, in hopes that he should 304
be able to procure bail, and avoid the necessity of going to prison. The state in which he passed his time and the treatment which he received are very justly expressed by him in a letter which he wrote to a friend:

'The whole day,' says he, 'has been employed in various people's filling my head with their foolish chimerical systems, which has obliged me coolly (as far as nature will admit) to digest, and accommodate myself to, every different person's way of thinking; hurried from one wild system to another till it has quite made a chaos of my imagination, and nothing done—promised—disappointed—ordered to send, every hour, from one part of the town to the other.'

When his friends, who had hitherto caressed and applauded, 305
found that to give bail and pay the debt was the same, they all refused to preserve him from a prison at the expence of eight pounds; and therefore, after having been for some time at the officer's house, 'at an immense expence,' as he observes in his letter, he was at length removed to Newgate [2].

[1] January 10 was the day which he called his birthday. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 6.

[2] A prison in the midst of Bristol. Howard's *State of the Prisons*, ed. 1777, p. 392.

306 This expence he was enabled to support by the generosity of Mr. Nash at Bath[1], who, upon receiving from him an account of his condition, immediately sent him five guineas, and promised to promote his subscription at Bath with all his interest.

307 By his removal to Newgate he obtained at least a freedom from suspense, and rest from the disturbing vicissitudes of hope and disappointment: he now found that his friends were only companions, who were willing to share his gaiety, but not to partake of his misfortunes; and therefore he no longer expected any assistance from them.

308 It must, however, be observed of one gentleman that he offered to release him by paying the debt; but that Mr. Savage would not consent, I suppose because he thought he had been before too burthensome to him.

309 He was offered by some of his friends that a collection should be made for his enlargement; but he 'treated the proposal,' and declared[2] 'he should again treat it with disdain. As to writing any mendicant letters, he had too high a spirit, and determined only to write to some ministers of state, to try to regain his pension.'

310 He continued to complain[3] of those that had sent him into the country, and objected to them that he had 'lost the profits of his play, which had been finished three years'; and in another letter declares his resolution to publish a pamphlet that the world might know how 'he had been used.'

311 This pamphlet was never written; for he in a very short time recovered his usual tranquillity, and cheerfully applied himself to more inoffensive studies. He indeed steadily declared that he was promised a yearly allowance of fifty pounds, and never received half the sum; but he seemed to resign himself to that as well as to other misfortunes, and lose the remembrance of it in his amusements and employments.

312 The cheerfulness with which he bore his confinement appears from the following letter, which he wrote, January the 30th, to one of his friends in London:

[1] Goldsmith in his *Life of Nash*—Beau Nash, the king of Bath—mentions 'his extensive humanity. None felt pity more strongly, and none made greater efforts to relieve distress.' Goldsmith's *Works*, iv. 78.

[2] In a letter after his confinement. JOHNSON. Note in first edition of this *Life*, p. 164.

[3] Letter, Jan. 15. JOHNSON. *Ib.*

'I now write to you from my confinement in Newgate, where I have been ever since Monday last was se'nnight, and where I enjoy myself with much more tranquillity than I have known for upwards of a twelvemonth past; having a room entirely to myself, and pursuing the amusement of my poetical studies uninterrupted, and agreeable to my mind. I thank the Almighty, I am now all collected in myself; and, though my person is in confinement, my mind can expatiate on ample and useful subjects with all the freedom imaginable. I am now more conversant with the Nine than ever, and if, instead of a Newgate-bird, I may be allowed to be a bird of the Muses, I assure you, Sir, I sing very freely in my cage; sometimes indeed in the plaintive notes of the nightingale, but, at others, in the cheerful strains of the lark.'

In another letter he observes that he ranges from one subject 313
to another without confining himself to any particular task; and that he was employed one week upon one attempt, and the next upon another.

Surely the fortitude of this man deserves, at least, to be 314
mentioned with applause; and, whatever faults may be imputed to him, the virtue of suffering well cannot be denied him. The two powers which, in the opinion of Epictetus, constituted a wise man are those of bearing and forbearing, which cannot indeed be affirmed to have been equally possessed by Savage; and indeed the want of one obliged him very frequently to practise the other.

He was treated by Mr. Dagg, the keeper of the prison, with 315
great humanity; was supported by him at his own table without any certainty of recompence; had a room to himself, to which he could at any time retire from all disturbance; was allowed to stand at the door of the prison, and sometimes taken out into the fields[1]: so that he suffered fewer hardships in prison than he had been accustomed to undergo in the greatest part of his life.

[1] In his letters written from prison are the following passages:—'As I was standing at our door in the street, which I am allowed to do alone whenever I please, who should be passing but Mr. Becket! In he came, and we drank in Mr. Dagge's parlour one negus and two pints of wine. . . . One day last week Mr. Dagge, finding me at the door, asked me to take a walk with him. At a public-house he treated me with ale and toddy. I found the smell of the new-mown hay very sweet, and every breeze was reviving to my spirits. . . . Mr. Price visits me in a friendly manner, and not long ago sent me a present of four pint-bottles of excellent rum, and two of as fine shrub, for punch.' *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 1040.

316 The keeper did not confine his benevolence to a gentle execution of his office, but made some overtures to the creditor for his release, though without effect; and continued, during the whole time of his imprisonment, to treat him with the utmost tenderness and civility.

317 Virtue is undoubtedly most laudable in that state which makes it most difficult, and therefore the humanity of a gaoler certainly deserves this publick attestation; and the man, whose heart has not been hardened by such an employment, may be justly proposed as a pattern of benevolence[1]. If an inscription was once engraved 'to the honest toll-gatherer,' less honours ought not to be paid 'to the tender gaoler.'

318 Mr. Savage very frequently received visits, and sometimes presents, from his acquaintances: but they did not amount to a subsistence, for the greater part of which he was indebted to the generosity of this keeper; but these favours, however they might endear to him the particular persons from whom he received them, were very far from impressing upon his mind any advantageous ideas of the people of Bristol, and therefore he thought he could not more properly employ himself in prison than in writing a poem called *London and Bristol delineated*[2].

319 When he had brought this poem to its present state, which, without considering the chasm[3], is not perfect, he wrote to London an account of his design, and informed his friend[4] that he was determined to print it with his name; but enjoined him not to communicate his intention to his Bristol acquaintance.

[1] Dagge was one of Whitefield's disciples. In 1739 Whitefield wrote:—'God having given me great favour in the gaoler's eyes, I preached a sermon on the Penitent Thief, to the poor prisoners in Newgate.' He began to read prayers and preach to them every day, till the Mayor and Sheriffs forbade Mr. Dagge to allow him to preach again. Tyerman's *Whitefield*, i. 179.

Boswell, after recounting a noble action of Akerman, Keeper of the London Newgate, continues:—'Johnson pronounced this eulogy upon his character:—"He who has long had constantly in his view the worst of mankind, and is yet eminent for the humanity of his disposition, must have had it originally in a great degree, and continued to cultivate it very carefully."' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 433.

'This is a gentle provost; seldom when
The steeled gaoler is the friend of men.'
*Measure for Measure*, iv. 2. 82.

[2] In the first edition of this *Life* [p. 167] the sentence ends 'in writing the following poem.' The whole of it is quoted.

[3] There is a break in the poem. *Eng. Poets*, xli. 311.

[4] Cave, the printer. NICHOLS, Johnson's *Works*, viii. 183 *n.*

The gentleman, surprised at his resolution, endeavoured to dissuade him from publishing it, at least from prefixing his name; and declared that he could not reconcile the injunction of secrecy with his resolution to own it at its first appearance. To this Mr. Savage returned an answer agreeable to his character in the following terms:

'I received yours this morning; and not without a little surprise at the contents. To answer a question with a question, you ask me concerning London and Bristol, Why will I add delineated[1]? Why did Mr. Woolaston add the same word to his *Religion of Nature*[2]? I suppose that it was his will and pleasure to add it in his case; and it is mine to do so in my own. You are pleased to tell me that you understand not why secrecy is enjoined, and yet I intend to set my name to it. My answer is—I have my private reasons, which I am not obliged to explain to any one. You doubt my friend Mr. S——[3] would not approve of it—And what is it to me whether he does or not? Do you imagine that Mr. S—— is to dictate to me? If any man who calls himself my friend should assume such an air, I would spurn at his friendship with contempt. You say, I seem to think so by not letting him know it—And suppose I do, what then? Perhaps I can give reasons for that disapprobation very foreign from what you would imagine. You go on in saying, Suppose I should not put my name to it—My answer is, that I will not suppose any such thing, being determined to the contrary: neither, Sir, would I have you suppose that I applied to you for want of another press[4]: nor would I have you imagine that I owe Mr. S—— obligations which I do not.'

Such was his imprudence, and such his obstinate adherence 320
to his own resolutions, however absurd. A prisoner! supported by charity! and, whatever insults he might have received during the latter part of his stay in Bristol, once caressed, esteemed, and presented with a liberal collection, he could forget on a sudden

[1] The author preferred the title of *London and Bristol Delineated* to that of *London and Bristol Compared*, which, when he began the piece, he intended to prefix to it. JOHNSON. Note in first edition of the *Life* [p. 168].

[2] 'The Queen was fond of Mr. Wollaston's book of *The Religion of Nature delineated*, and that made the reading of it and the talking of it fashionable.' WARBURTON, Pope's *Works*, viii. 149.

[3] Mr. Strong of the Post Office, to whom Savage's letters quoted in *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 1039, were addressed.

[4] Cave did not insert this poem in *The Gent. Mag.*

his danger and his obligations, to gratify the petulance of his wit, or the eagerness of his resentment, and publish a satire, by which he might reasonably expect that he should alienate those who then supported him, and provoke those whom he could neither resist nor escape[1].

321 This resolution, from the execution of which it is probable that only his death could have hindered him, is sufficient to shew how much he disregarded all considerations that opposed his present passions, and how readily he hazarded all future advantages for any immediate gratifications. Whatever was his predominant inclination, neither hope nor fear hindered him from complying with it; nor had opposition any other effect than to heighten his ardour, and irritate his vehemence.

322 This performance was, however, laid aside while he was employed in soliciting assistance from several great persons; and one interruption succeeding another hindered him from supplying the chasm, and perhaps from retouching the other parts, which he can hardly be imagined to have finished in his own opinion; for it is very unequal, and some of the lines are rather inserted to rhyme to others than to support or improve the sense: but the first and last parts are worked up with great spirit and elegance[2].

323 His time was spent in the prison for the most part in study, or in receiving visits, but sometimes he descended to lower amusements, and diverted himself in the kitchen with the conversation of the criminals[3]; for it was not pleasing to him

[1] The following lines are a sample of his abuse:—

'Thy sons, though crafty, deaf to wisdom's call;
Despising all men, and despis'd by all;
Sons, while thy cliffs a ditch-like river laves,
Rude as thy rocks, and muddy as thy waves,
Of thoughts as narrow as of words immense,
As full of turbulence as void of sense.
. . . . .
Upstarts and mushrooms, proud, relentless hearts;
Thou blank of sciences, thou dearth of arts!' *Eng. Poets*, xli. 310–2.

[2] Johnson must have forgotten the last couplet, which is exceedingly gross.

[3] Howard writes of the prison in 1777:—'For Men-felons there is a day-room, with a court-yard adjacent, twenty feet by twelve. Their dungeon, the *Pit*, down eighteen steps, is about eighteen feet by seventeen, and nine feet high; barrack bedsteads; no bedding nor straw. It is close and offensive; only a small window.' *State of the Prisons*, p. 392.

In the Crace Collection in the British Museum, vol. xxvii, p. 63, is a picture of the exterior of the room in which Savage died.

to be much without company, and though he was very capable of a judicious choice he was often contented with the first that offered[1]: for this he was sometimes reproved by his friends, who found him surrounded with felons; but the reproof was on that, as on other occasions, thrown away: he continued to gratify himself, and to set very little value on the opinion of others.

But here, as in every other scene of his life, he made use of 324
such opportunities as occurred of benefiting those who were more miserable than himself, and was always ready to perform any office of humanity to his fellow-prisoners[2].

He had now ceased from corresponding with any of his 325
subscribers except one[3], who yet continued to remit him the twenty pounds a year which he had promised him, and by whom it was expected that he would have been in a very short time enlarged, because he had directed the keeper to enquire after the state of his debts.

However, he took care to enter his name according to the 326
forms of the court, that the creditor might be obliged to make him some allowance if he was continued a prisoner, and when on that occasion he appeared in the hall was treated with very unusual respect[4].

But the resentment of the city was afterwards raised by some 327
accounts that had been spread of the satire, and he was informed that some of the merchants intended to pay the allowance which the law required, and to detain him a prisoner at their own expence. This he treated as an empty menace[5]; and perhaps might have hastened the publication, only to shew how much he was superior to their insults, had not all his schemes been suddenly destroyed.

When he had been six months in prison he received from one 328

[1] Prior, according to tradition, was in this below Savage. He was 'willing to descend from the dignity of the poet and the statesman to the low delights of mean company.' *Ante*, PRIOR, 49.

[2] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 93; *post*, 337.

[3] Pope. *Ante*, SAVAGE, 272 *n.* 3.

[4] On June 19, 1743, he wrote of his creditor Mrs. Read (*ante*, SAVAGE, 301):—'I was last court-day but one sent for up by *habeas corpus* to the Guildhall, where a rule was entered to force her to proceed to execution; which if she does not by the next court-day, her action will be superseded; and if she does, then Madam Wolf Bitch must allow the two shillings and four pence per week. . . . When I appeared at the Guildhall the Court paid me great deference and respect.' *Gent. Mag.* 1787, p. 1040.

[5] *Ib.*

of his friends [1], in whose kindness he had the greatest confidence, and on whose assistance he chiefly depended, a letter that contained a charge of very atrocious ingratitude, drawn up in such terms as sudden resentment dictated [2]. Henley, in one of his advertisements, had mentioned 'Pope's treatment of Savage [3].' This was supposed by Pope to be the consequence of a complaint made by Savage to Henley, and was therefore mentioned by him with much resentment [4]. Mr. Savage returned a very solemn protestation of his innocence [5], but, however, appeared much disturbed at the accusation [6]. Some days after-

[1] Mr. Pope. JOHNSON. This note first appears in *The Lives of the Poets*. See *ante*, SAVAGE, 112.

[2] The next two sentences first appear in *The Lives of the Poets*.

[3] John Henley, 'Orator Henley' as he was called, used to hold forth every Sunday in a large room near Lincoln's Inn Fields. 'To fill his house every Saturday's *Journal* produced a long advertisement, setting forth the next day's entertainment.' *Gent. Mag.* 1786, p. 295. In a footnote it is said:—'These advertisements were so eccentric that a collection of them were printed, which, at this time of day, would afford much entertainment.' This note should, I think, run:—'if a collection were printed, at this time of day it would, &c.'

Whiston, in 1727, published *Mr. Henley's Letters and Advertisements which concern Mr. Whiston, with a few Notes. Brit. Museum Cata.*

Pope had attacked Henley.

'And has not Colley still his lord and whore?
His butchers Henley, his freemasons Moore?' *Prol. Sat.* l. 97.

'Come, harmless characters, that no one hit;
Come Henley's oratory, Osborne's wit.' *Epil. Sat.* i. 65.

Horace Walpole wrote on Dec. 5, 1746:—'The famous Orator Henley is taken up for treasonable flippancies.' *Letters*, ii. 68.

For Henley, see *post*, BROOME, 15.

[4] This letter—if the resentment was expressed in a letter—is not in print. Pope sent Allen a letter to forward 'to the simple man it is directed to [Savage].' Later on he wrote to Allen:—'My last short letter showed you I was peevish. Savage's strange behaviour made me so; and yet I was in haste to relieve him, though I think nothing will relieve him.' Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 506; Pope's *Works* (Elwin and Courthope), ix. 201.

[5] What is apparently Pope's last letter to him begins:—'I must be sincere with you, as our correspondence is now likely to be closed. Your language is really too high, and what I am not used to from my superiors; much too extraordinary for me, at least sufficiently so to make me obey your commands, and never more presume to advise or meddle in your affairs, but leave your own conduct entirely to your own judgment.' *Ib.* x. 102; Ruffhead's *Pope*, p. 505.

[6] In *Gent. Mag.* Dec. 1745, p. 663, in some lines *To the Memory of Mr. Richard Savage*, he is described as

'Left to remorse by rage, to scorn by pride,
To friendship wronged a martyr when he died.'

A footnote refers to 'p. 178 of his *Life*, where it alludes to Mr. Pope's using the term *scoundrel*, which Savage could not long survive.'

In the title to these lines he is 'Mr. Richard Savage.' In his lifetime all his poems in *The Gent. Mag.* are by 'Richard Savage, Esq.,' and so he is styled in all the verses addressed to him.

wards he was seized with a pain in his back and side, which, as it was not violent, was not suspected to be dangerous; but growing daily more languid and dejected on the 25th of July he confined himself to his room, and a fever seized his spirits. The symptoms grew every day more formidable, but his condition did not enable him to procure any assistance. The last time that the keeper saw him was on July the 31st, 1743, when Savage, seeing him at his bed-side, said, with an uncommon earnestness, 'I have something to say to you, Sir'; but, after a pause, moved his hand in a melancholy manner, and, finding himself unable to recollect what he was going to communicate, said, ''Tis gone!' The keeper soon after left him; and the next morning he died[1]. He was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter, at the expence of the keeper.

Such were the life and death of Richard Savage, a man 329
equally distinguished by his virtues and vices; and at once remarkable for his weaknesses and abilities.

He was of a middle stature, of a thin habit of body, a long 330
visage, coarse features, and melancholy aspect[2]; of a grave and manly deportment, a solemn dignity of mien, but which, upon a nearer acquaintance, softened into an engaging easiness of manners. His walk was slow, and his voice tremulous and mournful. He was easily excited to smiles, but very seldom provoked to laughter.

His mind was in an uncommon degree vigorous and active[3]. 331
His judgement was accurate, his apprehension quick, and his memory so tenacious that he was frequently observed to know what he had learned from others in a short time, better than those by whom he was informed; and could frequently recollect incidents with all their combination of circumstances, which few would have regarded at the present time, but which the quickness of his apprehension impressed upon him. He had

[1] In the Burial Register of St. Peter's is the following entry:—'An. Dom. 1743, Aug. 2nd. Richard Savage the Poet.' *N. & Q.* 2 S. iv. 286. According to *Gent. Mag.* 1743, p. 443, he died on Aug. 5. On p. 490 is an epitaph on him in verse.

[2] Earl Rivers was 'a tall handsome man, and of a very fair complexion.' Swift's *Works*, xii. 227. The Countess of Macclesfield was described at the trial for divorce as 'a middle-sized woman, pretty full in the cheeks, disfigured with the small-pox, with thick lips, and of a brownish hair, with a dark complexion and little eyes.' *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 363.

[3] In this paragraph and the two following much of Johnson's own character is described.

the peculiar felicity that his attention never deserted him: he was present to every object, and regardful of the most trifling occurrences. He had the art of escaping from his own reflections, and accommodating himself to every new scene.

332 To this quality is to be imputed the extent of his knowledge, compared with the small time which he spent in visible endeavours to acquire it. He mingled in cursory conversation with the same steadiness of attention as others apply to a lecture; and, amidst the appearance of thoughtless gaiety, lost no new idea that was started, nor any hint that could be improved. He had therefore made in coffee-houses the same proficiency as others in their closets[1]; and it is remarkable that the writings of a man of little education and little reading have an air of learning scarcely to be found in any other performances, but which perhaps as often obscures as embellishes them.

333 His judgement was eminently exact both with regard to writings and to men. The knowledge of life was indeed his chief attainment; and it is not without some satisfaction that I can produce the suffrage of Savage in favour of human nature, of which he never appeared to entertain such odious ideas as some, who perhaps had neither his judgement nor experience, have published, either in ostentation of their sagacity, vindication of their crimes, or gratification of their malice[2].

334 His method of life particularly qualified him for conversation, of which he knew how to practise all the graces. He was never vehement or loud, but at once modest and easy, open and respectful; his language was vivacious and elegant, and equally happy upon grave or humourous subjects. He was generally censured for not knowing when to retire[3], but that was not the defect of his judgement, but of his fortune; when he left his

[1] In the first edition of the *Life of Savage* [p. 180], 'as others in their studies.' The ambiguity of 'studies' led, no doubt, to the change.

[2] Mrs. Piozzi writes:—'I used to tell Dr. Johnson in jest, that his morality was easily contented; and when I have said something as if the wickedness of the world gave me concern, he would cry out aloud against canting, and protest that he thought there was very little gross wickedness in the world, and still less of extraordinary virtue.' *John. Misc.* i. 208.

'BURKE. From the experience which I have had—and I have had a great deal—I have learnt to think *better* of mankind. JOHNSON. From my experience I have found them worse in commercial dealings, more disposed to cheat, than I had any notion of; but more disposed to do one another good than I had conceived.' Boswell's *Johnson*, iii. 236. See *ib. n.*, for similar opinions held by Bolingbroke and William Pitt.

[3] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 66, 287.

company he was frequently to spend the remaining part of the night in the street, or at least was abandoned to gloomy reflections, which it is not strange that he delayed as long as he could [1]; and sometimes forgot that he gave others pain to avoid it himself.

It cannot be said that he made use of his abilities for the 335
direction of his own conduct: an irregular and dissipated manner of life had made him the slave of every passion that happened to be excited by the presence of its object, and that slavery to his passions reciprocally produced a life irregular and dissipated. He was not master of his own motions, nor could promise any thing for the next day.

With regard to his œconomy nothing can be added to the 336
relation of his life [2]. He appeared to think himself born to be supported by others, and dispensed from all necessity of providing for himself; he therefore never prosecuted any scheme of advantage, nor endeavoured even to secure the profits which his writings might have afforded him. His temper was, in consequence of the dominion of his passions, uncertain and capricious: he was easily engaged, and easily disgusted; but he is accused of retaining his hatred more tenaciously than his benevolence.

He was compassionate both by nature and principle, and 337
always ready to perform offices of humanity [3]; but when he was provoked (and very small offences were sufficient to provoke him), he would prosecute his revenge with the utmost acrimony till his passion had subsided.

His friendship was therefore of little value; for though he was 338
zealous in the support or vindication of those whom he loved, yet it was always dangerous to trust him, because he considered himself as discharged by the first quarrel from all ties of honour or gratitude, and would betray those secrets which, in the warmth of confidence, had been imparted to him. This practice drew upon him an universal accusation of ingratitude: nor can it be denied that he was very ready to set himself free from the

[1] Boswell attributes Johnson's late hours to 'his unwillingness to go into solitude.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 421. 'Solitude,' said Reynolds, 'to Johnson was horror; nor would he ever trust himself alone but when employed in writing or reading. He has often begged me to go home with him to prevent his being alone in the coach.' *John. Misc.* ii. 221.

[2] Savage had much in common with Otway (*ante*, OTWAY, 7, 14), with Smith (*ante*, SMITH, 67, 68), and with King (*ante*, KING, 10, 15).

[3] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 93, 324.

load of an obligation [1], for he could not bear to conceive himself in a state of dependence; his pride being equally powerful with his other passions, and appearing in the form of insolence at one time, and of vanity at another. Vanity, the most innocent species of pride, was most frequently predominant: he could not easily leave off when he had once begun to mention himself or his works; nor ever read his verses without stealing his eyes from the page, to discover, in the faces of his audience, how they were affected with any favourite passage.

339 A kinder name than that of vanity ought to be given to the delicacy with which he was always careful to separate his own merit from every other man's, and to reject that praise to which he had no claim. He did not forget, in mentioning his performances, to mark every line that had been suggested or amended; and was so accurate as to relate that he owed *three words* in THE WANDERER to the advice of his friends.

340 His veracity was questioned, but with little reason [2]; his accounts, though not indeed always the same, were generally consistent. When he loved any man he suppressed all his faults; and, when he had been offended by him, concealed all his virtues: but his characters were generally true, so far as he proceeded; though it cannot be denied that his partiality might have sometimes the effect of falsehood.

341 In cases indifferent he was zealous for virtue, truth, and justice: he knew very well the necessity of goodness to the present and future happiness of mankind [3]; nor is there perhaps any writer who has less endeavoured to please by flattering the appetites or perverting the judgement.

[1] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 227. For Reynolds's observation about 'the comfort of being relieved from a burthen of gratitude' by the death of a benefactor, see Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 246.

[2] See *ante*, SAVAGE, 202, for one statement of his disbelieved apparently by Johnson. For his 'literary hypocrisy' see *ante*, SAVAGE, 111.

[3] 'MR. JOHNSON was not unacquainted with Savage's frailties; but, as he has not long since said to a friend on this subject, he knew his heart, and that was never intentionally abandoned; for though he generally mistook the *love* for the *practice* of virtue, he was at all times a true and sincere believer.' *John. Misc.* ii. 161.

'Prior's opinions . . . seem to have been right; but his life was, it seems, irregular, negligent, and sensual.' *Ante*, PRIOR, 52. See also *post*, COLLINS, 10.

Boswell, in one of his penitential letters, wrote to Temple on July 21, 1790:—'I am even almost inclined to think with you, that my great oracle Johnson did allow too much credit to good principles, without good practice.' *Letters of Boswell*, p. 327.

As an author therefore, and he now ceases to influence 342
mankind in any other character, if one piece which he had resolved to suppress[1] be excepted, he has very little to fear from the strictest moral or religious censure[2]. And though he may not be altogether secure against the objections of the critick, it must, however, be acknowledged that his works are the productions of a genius truly poetical, and, what many writers who have been more lavishly applauded cannot boast, that they have an original air, which has no resemblance of any foregoing work[3]; that the versification and sentiments have a cast peculiar to themselves, which no man can imitate with success, because what was nature in Savage would in another be affectation. It must be confessed that his descriptions are striking, his images animated, his fictions justly imagined, and his allegories artfully pursued; that his diction is elevated, though sometimes forced, and his numbers sonorous and majestick, though frequently sluggish and encumbered. Of his style, the general fault is harshness, and its general excellence is dignity; of his sentiments, the prevailing beauty is sublimity, and uniformity the prevailing defect.

For his life or for his writings none, who candidly consider his 343
fortune, will think an apology either necessary or difficult. If he was not always sufficiently instructed in his subject, his knowledge was at least greater than could have been attained by others in the same state. If his works were sometimes unfinished, accuracy cannot reasonably be exacted from a man oppressed with want, which he has no hope of relieving but by a speedy publication. The insolence and resentment of which he is accused were not easily to be avoided by a great mind, irritated by perpetual hardships, and constrained hourly to return the spurns of contempt and repress the insolence of prosperity; and vanity may surely readily be pardoned in him, to whom life afforded no other comforts than barren praises, and the consciousness of deserving them.

Those are no proper judges of his conduct who have slumbered 344
away their time on the down of plenty, nor will any wise man presume to say, 'Had I been in Savage's condition, I should have lived or written better than Savage[4].'

[1] *The Progress of a Divine. Ante*, SAVAGE, 196.

[2] *Ante*, SAVAGE, 170, 193, 278 *n.*

[3] In the first edition [p. 184] 'writer.'

[4] 'The learned, the judicious, the pious Boerhaave relates that he never

345 This relation will not be wholly without its use if those who languish under any part of his sufferings shall be enabled to fortify their patience by reflecting that they feel only those afflictions from which the abilities of Savage did not exempt him; or those who, in confidence of superior capacities or attainments, disregard the common maxims of life, shall be reminded that nothing will supply the want of prudence[1], and that negligence and irregularity long continued will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible[2].

saw a criminal dragged to execution without asking himself, "Who knows whether this man is not less culpable than me?" On the days when the prisons of this city are emptied into the grave, let every spectator of this dreadful procession put the same question to his own heart.' JOHNSON, *The Rambler*, No. 114.

'Johnson,' writes Hawkins, 'saw very clearly those offensive particulars that made a part of Cave's character; but, as he was one of the most quick-sighted men I ever knew in discovering the good and amiable qualities of others, a faculty which he has displayed, as well in the life of Cave, as in that of Savage, printed among his works, so was he ever inclined to palliate their defects.' Hawkins's *Johnson*, p. 50.

'Some writers who were possessed of the meanest abilities acquired the highest preferments, while others who seemed born to reflect a lustre upon their age perished by want and neglect. Moore, Savage, and Amhurst were possessed of great abilities; yet they were suffered to feel all the miseries that usually attend the ingenious and the imprudent, that attend men of strong passions and no phlegmatic reserve in their command.' GOLDSMITH, *Works*, iii. 132.

[1] 'Reader, attend! Whether thy soul
Soars fancy's flights beyond the pole,
Or darkling grubs this earthly hole
In low pursuit,
Know prudent, cautious self-control
Is wisdom's root.'
BURNS, *A Bard's Epitaph.*

[2] Hazlitt records Northcote as saying:—'Johnson cried up Savage because they had slept on bulks when they were young, and, lest he should be degraded into a vagabond by the association, had elevated the other into a genius. . . . I [Hazlitt] said Savage, in my mind, was one of those writers (like Chatterton) whose vices and misfortunes the world made a *set-off* to their genius, because glad to connect these ideas together.' *Conversations of Northcote*, 1830, p. 195. Northcote speaks as if the *Life of Savage* had been written when Johnson was an old man. He was thirty-five when he wrote it. He was nine-and-twenty, and Savage about forty, when they first met.

In 1771 this *Life* was translated into French by Le Tourneur. 'Cette histoire de Savage attache; c'est la peinture d'un homme malheureux, d'un caractère bizarre, d'un génie bouillant; d'un individu, tantôt bienfaisant, tantôt malfaisant, tantôt fier; tantôt vil; moitié vrai, moitié faux; en tout, plus digne de compassion que de haine, de mépris que d'éloge; agréable à entendre, dangereux à fréquenter; la meilleure leçon qu'on puisse recevoir sur les inconvéniens du commerce des poètes, leur peu de principes, de morale et de tenue. Cet ouvrage eût été délicieux, et d'une finesse à comparer aux *Mémoires du comte de Grammont*, si l'auteur anglais se fût proposé de faire la satire de son héros; mais malheureusement il est de bonne foi.' GRIMM, *Mémoires*, &c., ed. 1814, iv. 174.

## APPENDIX FF (PAGE 321)

In *The Gent. Mag.* for August, 1743, p. 416, appeared the following unsigned letter by Johnson. It is quoted in Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 164.

'MR. URBAN,

'As your collections show how often you have owed the ornaments of your poetical pages to the correspondence of the unfortunate and ingenious Mr. Savage, I doubt not but you have so much regard to his memory as to encourage any design that may have a tendency to the preservation of it from insults or calumnies; and therefore, with some degree of assurance, intreat you to inform the publick, that his life will speedily be published by a person who was favoured with his confidence, and received from himself an account of most of the transactions which he proposes to mention, to the time of his retirement to Swansea in Wales.

'From that period, to his death in the prison of Bristol, the account will be continued from materials still less liable to objection; his own letters, and those of his friends, some of which will be inserted in the work, and abstracts of others subjoined in the margin.

'It may be reasonably imagined, that others may have the same design; but as it is not credible that they can obtain the same materials, it must be expected they will supply from invention the want of intelligence; and that under the title of *The Life of Savage*, they will publish only a novel, filled with romantick adventures, and imaginary amours. You may therefore, perhaps, gratify the lovers of truth and wit, by giving me leave to inform them in your Magazine, that my account will be published in 8vo by Mr. Roberts, in Warwick-lane.'

Johnson wrote to Cave in an undated letter:—'*The Life of Savage* I am ready to go upon; and in Great Primer, and Pica notes, I reckon on sending in half a sheet a day; but the money for that shall likewise lye by in your hands till it is done. With the debates, shall not I have business enough? if I had but good pens[1].

'Towards Mr. Savage's *Life* what more have you got? I would willingly have his trial, &c., and know whether his defence be at Bristol, and would have his collection of poems, on account of the Preface,—*The Plain Dealer*,—all the magazines that have anything of his, or relating to him.'—Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 156.

*The Life of Savage*, price *2s. 6d.*, is in the Register of Books for February, 1744, in *Gent. Mag.* p. 112.

Cave was the purchaser of the copyright; the following is a copy of Johnson's receipt for the money:—'The 14th day of December, received of Mr. Ed. Cave the sum of fifteen guineas, in full, for compiling and writing *The Life of Richard Savage, Esq.*, deceased; and in full for all materials thereto applied, and not found by the said Edward Cave.

[1] The Rev. John Hussey (*John. Misc.* Preface, p. 12) wrote on the margin of his copy of Boswell's *Johnson* [1st ed. i. 83], opposite 'good pens':—'The original is written but indifferently, and it has been debated whether it is "good Pens" or "good Eyes."'

I say, received by me, SAM. JOHNSON. Dec. 14, 1743.' The title-page is as follows:—'*An account of the Life of Mr. Richard Savage, son of the Earl Rivers.* London. Printed for J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXLIV.' It reached a second edition in 1748, a third in 1767, and a fourth in 1769. A French translation was published in 1771. Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 165 *n.*

[Very few alterations were made by Johnson when he included it in the present collection. *Works*, viii. 96 *n.*]

'Sir Joshua Reynolds,' writes Boswell, 'told me that upon his return from Italy he met with it in Devonshire, knowing nothing of its author, and began to read it while he was standing with his arm leaning against a chimney-piece. It seized his attention so strongly, that, not being able to lay down the book till he had finished it, when he attempted to move, he found his arm totally benumbed. The rapidity with which this work was composed is a wonderful circumstance. Johnson has been heard to say, "I wrote forty-eight of the printed octavo pages of the *Life of Savage* at a sitting; but then I sat up all night."' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 165, v. 67.

Reynolds sailed for Italy in 1749, and returned in 1752. Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, i. 35, 87.

This *Life* in the first edition of *The Lives of the Poets* was printed in smaller type.

[Johnson's authorities for Savage's birth and early life, in addition to the poet's own statements made to him during their intimacy, were—(1) the account in Jacob's *Poetical Register*, 1719; (2) information contained in *The Plain Dealer*, 1724, Nos. 28 and 73; (3) *The Life of Mr. Richard Savage*, 1727; (4) Savage's Preface to the second edition of his *Miscellanies*, 1728. See *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 425.

## APPENDIX GG (PAGE 322)

Charles Hatton wrote on May 18, 1676:—'Last night y^e^ L^d^ Cornwallis and M^r^ Gerrard, y^e^ L^d^ Gerrards son, being in drinke, abused y^e^ sentinells in S^t^ James Parke, and, after, M^r^ Gerrard's meeting Cap^t^ With's footboy, upon what provocation is not yet known, strucke him soe y^t^ y^e^ boy fell down dead. Y^e^ sentinell cryed out murder; whereupon they both fled, but were pursued into S^r^ Stephen Fox his house. My L^d^ Cornwallis appeares and declares y^t^ he wase going up y^e^ staires when y^e^ boy wase killed; but heareing murder cryed he returned to Mr Gerrards and his servants, who said y^t^ their master only hit y^e^ boy a box on the eare of w^ch^ he dyed. Mr Gerrard absconds himself, and ther appeares noe bruise on y^e^ boy but just under his eare.'

On May 23 Hatton wrote:—'Y^e^ Lord Cornwallis is put out of y^e^ Guards, upon y^e^ murder of y^e^ boy, of w^ch^ I acquainted you in my last, though it wase then reported y^t^ he was killed only w^th^ a box of y^e^ eare; but when y^e^ chirurgions searched y^e^ corps it was found y^t^ his necke was broke. M^r^ Gerrard is gone into France; but my L^d^ Cornwallis will stand his tryal, and S^r^ S^t^ Fox hath given in baile for his appearance. The enquest have found it murder.'

On July 2 Lord Cornwallis was tried before the Peers in Westminster Hall. Some witnesses declared that 'Mr Gerrard killed ye boy by taking him by ye sholder and tripping up his heeles and flinging him agt ye ground, and yt ye Lord Cornwallis wase upon ye staires when ye fact was done, and ye boy at a good distance from ye staires. The summe of evidence, in breife, wase yt both ye Ld Cornwallis and Mr Gerrard threatened to kill ye sentinell, and yt one of them, but wch could not be proved, bid ye sentinell kill ye boy, and said:—"We will kill somebody"; and yt presently after, Mr Gerrard killed ye boy.' . . .

'After he had made his defence, and ye Sollicitor summd up ye evidence, upon ye Ld Privy Seales motion ye Lds withdrew for above 3 hours. In ye interim theyr wase brought by ye Ld Cornwallis servants Naples bisquits and wine, wch wase first presented to ye Ld High Steward, and after given about to ye Company.' He was acquitted. *Hatton Corres.* i. 127, 128, 134.

[Charles Gerard, the second Earl of Macclesfield, was the son of Charles Gerard, first Baron Gerard of Brandon, who was created Viscount Brandon and Earl of Macclesfield in 1679. He succeeded to the Earldom in 1693. His marriage took place in 1683.]

## APPENDIX HH (PAGE 322)

See also SAVAGE, 14, 160.

'When his mother, the late Countess of M——d, was big with child of him she publicly declared that the infant then in her womb did not in the least appertain to her husband, but to another noble Earl, upon which a trial was commenced in the House of Lords.' *The Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 3. Boswell, quoting what Johnson says in the text, and his statement 'that she had proclaimed herself an adulteress' (SAVAGE, 160), continues:—'I have perused the Journals of both Houses of Parliament at the period of her divorce, and there find it authentically ascertained that, so far from voluntarily submitting to the ignominious charge of adultery, she made a strenuous defence by her Counsel.' Boswell's *Johnson*, i. 171.

Mr. Moy Thomas, in *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. pp. 361, 385, 425, 445, has, with great research, disproved much of Savage's story. In 1683 the Earl, then Charles Gerard, by courtesy Viscount Brandon, was married to Anne Mason. In March 1684–5 they separated. For the harsh letter in which he refused to live with her see *ib.* p. 361. In the divorce proceedings the charge of adultery was that with Earl Rivers—ten years after the separation. Evidence was given of her husband's ill-usage of her. *Ib.* 'She pleaded that he had maliciously secluded her from bed and board.' *Parl. Hist.* v. 1174. He had been convicted—but this was not to his discredit—of taking part in the Rye House Plot. 'After long imprisonment he was suffered to redeem himself.' MACAULAY, *Hist.* ii. 290. Reresby recorded:—'The King declared on Dec. 2 [1685] he had reprieved the Lord Brandon, who was to have been executed three days afterwards, which, it must be

owned, was a great act of mercy in his Majesty, this lord having been pardoned in the late reign for breaking a boy's neck, when he was in his cups, of which being convicted he was condemned as guilty of murder.' Reresby's *Travels and Memoirs*, 1813, p. 319: see Appendix GG.

'It appears from the evidence in the divorce proceedings that his wife made great exertions "both with money and jewels" to obtain this pardon' (the second pardon). She joined him in prison, but they soon separated. *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 362.

At each of her confinements she took every precaution to ensure secrecy. *Ib.* That she was ill-used Savage admitted. *Life of Savage*, 1727, p. 5.

The character of the Countess's reputed lover was little better than that of her husband. According to the Duchess of Marlborough (*Corres.* 1838, ii. 129) Lord Rivers 'had gone under the name of Tyburn Dick for many years.'

## APPENDIX II (PAGE 323)

For Brett's intimacy with Addison see *ante*, ADDISON, 115.

Colonel Brett, of Sandywell in Gloucestershire, is described by Cibber in his *Apology*. For a short time he was one of the patentees of Drury Lane Theatre. He was introduced by a friend to his future wife, 'who had enough in her power to make him easy for life.' The wooing had to be done rapidly, and Brett was too poor to support with ease 'the bare appearance of a gentleman.' One evening Cibber reproached him for 'idling behind the scenes of the theatre before the play was begun,' and for 'the madness of not improving every moment.' He replied that 'his linen was too much soiled to be seen in company.' The actor, who was dressed for the part of a rake, 'hauled him into his shifting-room,' and changed shirts with him. 'In about ten days he married the lady. Upon raising of some new regiments he was made Lieutenant-Colonel,' but he soon resigned. Cibber's *Apology*, pp. 209–15.

In 1701 he was returned to parliament by Bishops Castle, Shropshire. *Parl. Hist.* v. 1324. 'He was,' said Dr. Young, 'a particular handsome man. The Countess of Rivers [*sic*], looking out of her window on a great disturbance in the streets, saw him assaulted by some bailiffs. She paid his debt, and soon after married him. When she died she left him more than he expected.' Spence's *Anec.* p. 355. She lived more than fifty years after their marriage, dying a widow in 1753. *Gent. Mag.* 1753, p. 491. [Jacob in 1719 describes Mrs. Brett as 'the widow of the late Colonel Brett.' *Poet. Reg.* i. 297. See also *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 380. On the other hand, the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* assigns his death to 1724. A will, stated therein to be his, bearing date Sept. 14 and proved on Sept. 16 of that year, is at Somerset House.]

It was of their daughter, Anna Margaretta, that Horace Walpole wrote:—'It was not till the last year or two of his reign that their foreign sovereign [George I] paid the nation the compliment of taking openly an English mistress.' *Letters*, Preface, p. 105. For her 'frailty' see SAVAGE, 157 *n.*

The following entries are in *Gent. Mag.* 1737, pp. 573, 637:—'Sept. 17. Sir Wm. Leman of Northall, Bt., to Miss Britt [*sic*], of Bond Street, an heiress.'

'Oct. 8. Sir Wm. Leman of Northall, Bart., to Miss Brett, half Sister to Mr. Savage, Son to the late E. Rivers.'

Savage, who contributed to the *Magazine*, no doubt was the author of the second entry. The difference in the dates is curious. For Leman see SAVAGE, 270.

## APPENDIX JJ (PAGE 323)

'Earl Rivers himself stood godfather, gave him his own name, and saw it entered accordingly in the Register Book of St. Andrew's, Holborn.' Jacob's *Poet. Reg.* i. 297. See also *Life*, 1727, p. 6.

Of Lady Macclesfield's illegitimate children the elder, baptized in 1695, under the name of Anne Savage, died soon after birth. The younger was baptized in Fox Court by the minister of St. Andrew's, on Jan. 18, 1696–7, under the name of Richard Smith, son of John and Mary Smith, in the presence, as the minister said, of 'two godfathers and a gentlewoman that was godmother.' 'From the evidence of another witness it appears that these were Lord Rivers, and a Mr. and Mrs. Ousley,' who had been Rivers's agents in the secret management of both confinements. The child was placed at nurse at Hampstead; six months later, on a report that it was not well, it was fetched away. 'The attempt of Lord Macclesfield to trace the child farther appears to have failed.' *N. & Q.* 2 S. vi. 363.

Savage, in two letters written shortly before his death, speaks of 'my sister and my niece. . . . For God's sake, call on my dear sister, and let her know the state of my affairs.' *Gent. Mag.* 1787, pp. 1039–41. This 'sister' must have been one of Lord Rivers's illegitimate children. Elizabeth, the only surviving legitimate daughter of Lord Rivers, married the Earl of Barrymore (SAVAGE, 14 *n.* 3), and died in 1714. Cokayne's *Peerage.*

Lord Rivers bequeathed a large sum to '"Miss Bessy Savage," a girl under age.' Cunningham's *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 347. [SAVAGE, 14 *n.* 3. She married (1) the third Earl of Rochford, (2) Rev. Philip Carter. She died in 1746. Cokayne's *Peerage.* For Savage's verses to her see *Eng. Poets*, xli. 259.]

His story was generally accepted. Pope, in a note on *The Dunciad*, ii. 50, calls him 'the son of the late Earl Rivers'; but he and Savage were intimate (SAVAGE, 110). Horace Walpole describes 'the repudiated wife of the Earl of Macclesfield' as 'the unnatural mother of Savage the poet.' *Letters*, Preface, p. 105.

In the register of St. Andrew's, under date of Aug. 28, 1770, is the following entry:—'William Chatterton, interred in the graveyard of Shoe Lane Workhouse.' It was the young poet, Thomas Chatterton. Wheatley's *London*, i. 44.

## APPENDIX KK (PAGE 375)

[Francis Cockayne Cust was the third son of Sir Richard Cust by his wife Anne Brownlow, Lord Tyrconnel's sister. Wotton's *Baronetage*, 1741, iii. pt. 2, p. 631. In 1771 he is described in Kimber's *Baronetage* (ii. 421) as Recorder of Grantham. The same year Grantham sent him to the House of Commons. *Parl. Hist.* xvi. 436. He died in 1791, aged 69. *Ann. Reg.* xxxiii. 70. See also *Ann. Reg.* xii. 255.]

END OF VOLUME II

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